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The *Universal History*  
of Step'anos Tarōneç'i

*Introduction, Translation, and Commentary*

TIM GREENWOOD



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*To Gilly*



## Preface

The *Universal History* of Stepʻanos Tarōnecʻi (Stephen of Tarōn) offers an Armenian perspective on the history of the world, in three books, from the seventy-fifth year of Abraham to the turn of the first millennium. It was completed in the year 1004/5 CE, in an era when the Byzantine Empire was expanding eastwards and seizing control by various means of the districts of western and central Armenia. Eager to describe and analyse the processes of political, social, and cultural change which accompanied this expansion, historians have turned to book III—the longest of the three, focused predominantly on the second half of the tenth century—and have come away disappointed. Although it records the Byzantine expansion, it does so through a series of terse entries which do not offer further comment or response. Notices recording the interactions of local Armenian, Georgian, Muslim, and Kurdish elites are scarcely more forthcoming. Instead book III is dominated by a long theological letter addressed to the metropolitan of Sebasteia defending the Armenian confession of faith and highlighting failings in the current practices of the Imperial Church. Although scholars of medieval Armenia, Byzantium, and the Caucasus have exploited the *Universal History* as a contemporary composition, invariably they have turned to other sources in order to supplement its brief narrative.

This study of the author and his work takes a very different approach. It treats the whole composition as a reflection of the historical context within which Stepʻanos was working, arguing that his decision to compose a world history was not accidental. Stepʻanos fused Armenian tradition with Roman, Persian, and Islamic history for a purpose, allowing him to demonstrate that Armenia had an ancient origin and long-standing ties with these other powers, ties which were rooted in place, time, and circumstance. This recourse to the past was designed to shape and reinforce what it meant to be Armenian in the present, at a time when it was coming under sustained pressure. Furthermore although the contents of books I and II are derivative, lifted from known works for the most part, the extracts chosen by Stepʻanos and, more particularly, the revisions made by him, reveal a clear antipathy to Byzantium. This permits a more nuanced interpretation of book III, with the theological letter now central to the whole, operating as a defiant response to the Imperial Church as well as an assertion of Armenian parity with, and independence from, Byzantine intellectual and religious culture.

Yet the *Universal History* comprises much more than a critique of Byzantium. Although it might seem counter-intuitive, this study proposes that Stepʻanos



turned to a Byzantine historical composition structured around the imperial sequence as the chronological spine for book III. Several details about the Byzantine past preserved by Step'anos are unique. From an Armenian perspective, alongside the sequences of kings, princes, and clerical leaders, books II and III record prominent monastic communities and scholars. Their inclusion may be connected to Step'anos' own responsibilities within the Armenian Church, but his decision to afford them such prominence may also be related to his conception of Armenian identity, constructing it in terms of cultural memory and tradition as well as historic political and territorial expression. His visits to these monastic communities may also account for much, if not all, of the local information which finds its way into book III, including reflections on Buyid hegemony and the actions and interactions of local Sallarid, Rawwādid, and Marwānid *amirs*. Intriguingly, his knowledge and experience of monastic communities did not extend south into the Arcruni kingdom of Vaspurakan, nor east and south-east into the districts of Siwnik', and it is striking that book III offers little on the affairs of these parts of historic Armenia.

The *Universal History* of Step'anos Tarōnec'i emerges as a sophisticated composition, assembled at a time when traditional markers of Armenian identity were being transformed through sustained engagement with a resurgent Byzantium. It represents one scholarly response to these changing circumstances, advancing a vision of world history which included, and thereby validated, Armenian tradition. As such, it reminds us that medieval histories are more than merely records of what happened. Every composition reflects the contexts in which it was composed and the responses of its author. The *Universal History* introduces us to the mind and the world of Step'anos Tarōnec'i.

## Acknowledgements

Just as Step'anos combined absolute and relative chronologies within his *Universal History* to measure the course of world history, so the duration of this research project can be reckoned in different ways. From an institutional point of view, it was begun during the period of a postdoctoral research fellowship held in the Oriental Institute at the University of Oxford and completed in the tenth year after my appointment to a lectureship at the University of St Andrews. From an annular perspective, some initial thoughts on the text and its author were presented at the Ninth General Conference of the *Association Internationale des Études Arméniennes* in Würzburg on 10 October 2002; and the full draft was sent to the Editorial Board of *Oxford Studies in Byzantium* on 7 September 2015. Or to reflect from a personal viewpoint, our daughter Eleanor was a 1-year old toddler when I began this study and embarking on her preparation for public GSCE examinations when I finished. Whichever calibration one prefers, there is no avoiding the fact that this project has taken a very long time indeed.

I should like to extend my sincere thanks to the Faculty of the Oriental Institute in Oxford for the award of a postdoctoral fellowship, during which the initial research was conducted, and to my colleagues in the School of History at the University of St Andrews, for the award of a semester of research leave in 2014/15, during which the study was completed. I am indebted to a large number of colleagues and friends for their encouragement, wise counsel, and assistance, including Ali Ansari, Juan Signes Codoñer, Catherine Holmes, James Howard-Johnston, Hugh Kennedy, Dimitri Kastritsis, Simon MacLean, Ruth Macrides, Paul Magdalino, Andrew Marsham, Karen Mat'evosyan, Paruyr Muradyan, Andrew Peacock, Ioanna Rapti, Chase Robinson, Angus Stewart, Luke Treadwell, Robert Thomson, Theo van Lint, Edda Vardanyan, Mary Whitby, and Mark Whittow. I should like to acknowledge the contributions of James Mercer and Charlie Fidler in supplying the image for the front cover, and Emma Dove, who prepared the maps. I should also like to express particular thanks to a succession of final-year undergraduate classes at the University of St Andrews who encountered and responded to extracts from book III in their study of tenth-century Byzantium. To the early cohorts who were presented with substantial unannotated blocks of text for analysis, I can only apologize.

Between 2003 and 2007, a series of different papers on aspects of the structure and contents of the *Universal History* were presented at research seminars in Oxford, Birmingham, Queen's Belfast, and Columbia, New York, and I am grateful for the thoughtful questions and comments on these

occasions. There followed a long period of silence on my part in respect of the text, which was not planned but which proved to be necessary for the completion of the project. In the first place, I realized that I needed to analyse in greater detail several of the texts exploited by Step'anos in the compilation of the *Universal History* before considering his use of them. This generated separate published studies on the *Anonymous Chronicle*, the *History* of Lewond, and the *Autobiography* and *Mathematical Problems* of Anania Širakac'i. Furthermore, I came to appreciate that in order to establish the historiographical and literary context in which Step'anos was active, I would need to assess four little-studied tenth-century compositions: the continuations of T'ovma Arcruni's *History*; the *History of the Anonymous Story-Teller*, better known for its misidentification as the lost *History* of Šapuh Bagratuni; the *History of Tarōn*, whose two parts are attributed to Zenob Glak and Yovhannēs Mamikonean; and the *History* of Bishop Uxtanēs of Sebasteia. Again, this research produced several articles for publication, some of which are still in press. The major consequence of this contextual research was to delay the completion of this project by several years. I therefore owe a particular debt of gratitude to the Editorial Board of *Oxford Studies in Byzantium* for their extraordinary patience and gentle encouragement over the intervening years. I suspect that the Board must have doubted whether this project would ever see the light of day, and I thank them for their confidence that it would do so eventually.

One major advantage of the delay in publication is that I have been able to consult, with great profit, the new edition of the text by Gurgēn Manukyan, published in 2012, together with his insightful introduction. I had been informed by Professor Paruyr Muradyan of this forthcoming work at the conference in Würzburg back in 2002 but had not expected to be able to incorporate its findings.

Any book is a work of collaboration and I thank everyone who has contributed, knowingly or otherwise. The unstinting support of my parents and my sister has meant more to me than I can express. It is, however, to my wife Gilly to whom this book is dedicated. Her constant encouragement and wise counsel over the last twenty years has kept me rooted in the real world, and the book would not have been finished without her.

At the end of the *Universal History*, Step'anos appeals to his sponsor, the catholicos Sargis, and the rest of the church, entreating them to ignore his mistakes and liberties and blaming the daily travails of the church and his own duties within it for failing to arrange the work to his own satisfaction. I have always taken comfort in the apology that Step'anos appears to be making for failing to finish his composition in a timely manner, citing the pressures of everyday work. Step'anos also anticipates that his composition will attract both praise and criticism. Like Step'anos, I take full responsibility for the ideas and the errors within this study, asking for patient understanding for the latter and trusting that both will prompt further research.

July 2016  
St Andrews

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## *List of Abbreviations*

AB	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i>
ACO	<i>Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum</i> , ed. Schwartz, Straub et al.
AE	Armenian Era
AH	Hijra Era
AVANT	Treasures of the Armenian Christian Tradition
B	<i>Byzantion</i>
BHG	<i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca</i> , ed. F. Halkin
BHO	<i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Orientalis</i> , ed. P. Peeters
BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
CFHB	Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae
CIArm	<i>Divan Hay Vimagrut'yan/Corpus Inscriptionum Armenicarum</i>
CSHB	Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae
DAI	<i>De Administrando Imperio</i> , Constantine Porphyrogenitus, ed. Moravcsik (1967)
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
DOS	Dumbarton Oaks Studies
El <sup>2</sup>	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> , 2nd edn.
GCS	<i>Griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte</i>
GT <sup>1</sup> I	<i>Girk' T'it'oc' (Book of Letters)</i> ed. Izmirianc' (1901)
GT <sup>1</sup> II	<i>Girk' T'it'oc' (Book of Letters)</i> ed. Polarean (1994)
HA	<i>Handēs Amsoreay</i>
HanjB	<i>Hayoc' anjnannuneri bařaran</i> , ed. Ačarean
HATS	Harvard Armenian Studies and Texts
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
HUAS	Hebrew University Armenian Studies
J	Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate
JEH	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
J ECS	<i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i>
J SAS	<i>Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies</i>
M	Matenadaran, Erevan
MD	Movsēs Dasxuranc'i/Kařankatuac'i
MMED	The Medieval Mediterranean

MU	Matt'ēos Urhayec'i/Matthew of Edessa
MX	Movsēs Xorenac'i/Moses Khorenats'i
NC	<i>Numismatic Chronicle</i>
NBHL	<i>Nor Baḡirk' Haykazeaṅ Lezui</i> , ed. G. Awetik'ean, X. Siwrmēlean, and M. Awgerean
OCA	<i>Orientalia Christiana Analecta</i>
OPP	Occasional Papers and Proceedings
PG	<i>Patrologia Graeca</i>
PL	<i>Patrologia Latina</i>
PO	<i>Patrologia Orientalis</i>
REArm	<i>Revue des études arméniennes</i>
REB	<i>Revue des études byzantines</i>
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SŌ I	Step'annos Ōrbēlean, <i>Patmut'iwn Nahangin Sisakan</i> , ed. Šahnazareanc' (1859)
SŌ II	Step'annos Episkopos Siwneac', <i>Patmut'iwn tann Sisakan</i> , ed. Emin (1861)
ST I	Step'anos Tarōnec'i, <i>Patmut'iwn tiezerakan</i> , ed. Malxaseanc' (1885)
ST II	Step'anos Tarōnec'i, <i>Patmut'iwn tiezerakan</i> , ed. Manukyan (2012)
T'A	T'ovma Arcruni/Thomas Artsruni
TM	<i>Travaux et Mémoires</i>
TRHS	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>
TTB	Translated Texts for Byzantinists
TTH	Translated Texts for Historians
V	Venice, Mekhitarist Library
YA	Yahya b. Sa'id al-Anṭākī
YD	Yovhannēs Drasxanakerc'i/John Catholicos

## Note on Transliteration

For the sake of consistency, this study employs the standard linguistic convention for the transliteration of Armenian adopted in *Revue des études arméniennes*. In the interest of assisting the non-specialist, however, the Anglophone versions of names of Armenian authors have also been given in the first citation, the List of Abbreviations, and in the Bibliography.

Ա	Բ	Գ	Դ	Ե	Զ	Է	Ը	Թ	Ժ	Ի	Լ	Խ	Ծ	Կ	Հ	Ձ	Ղ	Ճ	Մ
u	b	g	d	e	z	ē	ě	t'	ž	i	l	x	o	k	h	j	č	m	
Յ	Ն	Շ	Ո	Չ	Պ	Ջ	Ռ	Ս	Վ	Տ	Ր	Յ	Ի	Փ	Ք	Օ	Ֆ	ՈՒ	
y	n	š	o	č'	p	j	r	s	v	t	r	c'	w	p'	k'	ō	f	u	





# Introduction

## THE WORLD OF STEP'ANOS TARŌNEC'I

Although we do not know exactly when Step'anos Tarōneč'i was born or when he died, he lived and wrote the three books of his *Universal History*—completed in 1004 or the first months of 1005 CE—in an era which was characterized by political turbulence and religious anxiety.<sup>1</sup> For Armenian authors, this state of affairs was hardly new. The districts of historic Armenia, stretching from Cappadocia in the west to the lower reaches of the river Araxes in the east and from the upper Kur river in the north to Mesopotamia in the south, had been fought over and subjugated by rival states and regional polities for centuries. Earlier Armenian writers, however, had generally been able to construct their narratives around a simple dichotomy, between an impious external oppressor, usually Persian in origin, wishing to assert or reassert control, and an Armenian people, united in their Christian faith, refusing to submit, resisting bravely, and dying as martyrs on the battlefield or its aftermath. Even at the start of the tenth century, this model could still be deployed in historical compositions, although it is clear that it was already under strain.<sup>2</sup> By the end of the tenth century, however, the political context was so transformed that a new approach to the past was needed. The demise of the 'Abbasid caliphate meant that there was no substantial or sustained threat from a powerful non-Christian state in Mesopotamia. Indeed, as an indication of how far Armenian attitudes had shifted by the end of the tenth century, Step'anos presents the most powerful of the Buyid rulers, 'Aḏud al-Dawla, in very favourable terms, despite 'Aḏud's open appropriation of Sasanian political ideology.<sup>3</sup> Moreover,

<sup>1</sup> The title *Patmut'iwn Tiezerakan*, 'Universal History', is not found in the manuscript tradition. Instead the book is consistently titled *Patmut'iwn*, 'History', of Step'anos Tarōneč'i. To avoid confusion, however, and following convention, this study uses *Universal History* throughout.

<sup>2</sup> H. N. Kennedy and T. W. Greenwood, 'The Sajids in Arabic and Armenian Sources: A Study in Comparative Historiography', *Journal of Abbasid Studies* (forthcoming).

<sup>3</sup> In book III, chapter 16, 'Aḏud al-Dawla is described as the equal of Alexander in his wisdom. His coins confirm that he used the Sasanian royal title *šahanšah*, king of kings: L. Treadwell, *Buyid Coinage: A Die Corpus (322–445 AH)* (Oxford, 2001), xvi–xvii.

as Step'anos himself reveals, contemporary Armenian rulers had no qualms about allying with local Muslim emirs. Admittedly, this restructuring of political relationships at a regional and local level across religious identities had started long before he was writing, although it is hard to trace before the end of the ninth century.<sup>4</sup> But the principal reason why the model was now obsolete was that the source of the greatest current threat to Armenian identity no longer lay with a Zoroastrian or Muslim power to the south or east; instead it lay with a resurgent Christian polity to the west, in the form of the Byzantine Empire. The world in which Step'anos lived and worked, therefore, and the context in which he wrote his *Universal History*, was a world in transition, engaging with and being transformed by an expanding and assertive Christian empire. Through its form, content, and tone, the *Universal History* of Step'anos Tarōnec'i attests the response of one scholar to these changing circumstances.

## THE LIFE AND CAREER OF STEP'ANOS

Our knowledge of the life and career of Step'anos Tarōnec'i is, for the most part, limited to what he reveals about himself in his *Universal History*. His name indicates that he originated from the region of Tarōn, located to the west of lake Van on the upper reaches of the river Aracani, the southern branch of the Euphrates. Although Step'anos does not discuss his background openly in the text, there are isolated comments scattered throughout the work which collectively support the view that he did indeed come from Tarōn. He is the first author to associate the great historian and father of Armenian literature, Movsēs Xorenac'i, with the region of Tarōn, calling him Movsēs Tarōnec'i, bishop of Bagrewand and Aršarunik'.<sup>5</sup> Whether or not this is correct is less significant than Step'anos asserting it to be so in the penultimate sentence of book I, a prominent location. In the second chapter of book II, Step'anos notes that Bughā—a Turkish commander sent into Armenia by the caliph al-Mutawwakil in 852—arrived in Tarōn, seized three sons of Bagarat Bagratuni, and 'massacred all the inhabitants of Xoyt', on the mountain which is called

<sup>4</sup> See e.g. T'ovma Arcruni, *Patmut'iwn tann Arcruneac'*, ed. K'. Patkanean (St Petersburg, 1887), II.28 [245.23–246.3], which records that the Muslim Kaysiks of Apahunik' paid tribute and gave military service to king Smbat I Bagratuni; and that Smbat prince of Siwnik' threatened to stop paying tribute and taxes to king Smbat and redirect it to the 'Persian tyrant', *Parsic' brnaworin*, al-Afshin, Muḥammad b. Abi'l-Sāj.

<sup>5</sup> Step'anos Tarōnec'i, *Step'anosi Tarōnec'woy Asolkan Patmut'iwn tiezerakan*, ed. with intro. by S. Malxaseanc' (St Petersburg, 1885), 53.17–19; Step'anos Tarōnec'i Asolik, *Patmut'iwn Tiezerakan*, ed. with intro. by G. Manukyan, *Matenagirk' Hayoc' 10th Century Book 2*, vol. 15 (Ant'iliās, 2012), 672.171. The Malxaseanc' edition (henceforth ST I) is cited by page and line; the Manukyan edition in *Matenagirk' Hayoc'* (ST II) by page and section.

Vašginak'.<sup>6</sup> Although much of this chapter is lifted from the *History* of Yovhannēs Drasxanakertc'i, this sentence is not from that work and the name of the mountain is unique to Step'anos. It may, therefore, reflect a local tradition. And finally, in book III, chapter 14, Step'anos records that when the Kurdish Marwānid Bādh b. Dustuk sacked the city of Muš in the district of Tarōn in the late 970s, during the rebellion of Bardas Skleros, he massacred the priests in the church of Surb P'rkič' (St Saviour's). He comments that this was 'a piteous sight', a rare expression of emotion on his part.<sup>7</sup> Step'anos adds that 'the stains of their blood are evident even now in the same church', suggesting that he had himself visited the site. On the basis of this passage, it is tempting to posit that Step'anos had a personal connection with Muš, but this would almost certainly be to push the evidence too far. The most that can be said is that he visited Muš at some point during the writing of his *Universal History*, and that Bādh's attack left a deep impression on him. Nevertheless, there is no reason to doubt that Step'anos did indeed come from the district of Tarōn.

Of his personal background nothing is known, although it seems unlikely that he was related to the princely family of Tarōn which barely features in the narrative and whose members were commonly named Grigor, Ašot, or Bagrat but never Step'anos.<sup>8</sup> We can be confident, however, that Step'anos was brought up and educated in a monastic environment. In III.7, having provided details about those monasteries founded while Anania Mokac'i was catholicos (941/2–963/4), their leaders and other noted members, as well as a list of famous hermits and *vardapets*, Step'anos reveals that: 'In our youth, we saw some of these in their old age with our own eyes, tasting the sweet delight of their words.'<sup>9</sup> Evidently Step'anos had seen and perhaps listened to some of

<sup>6</sup> ST I, 107.14–17; ST II, 707.234.

<sup>7</sup> ST I, 192.10; ST II, 763.8: *olormeli tesakaw*.

<sup>8</sup> Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, ed. G. Moravcsik and trans. R. J. H. Jenkins, CFHB I (Washington, DC, 1967), ch. 43, records the complicated family history of the princes of Tarōn in the first half of the tenth century, involving Krikorikios (little Grigor) and his sons Pankratios (Bagarat) and Asotios (Ašot), as well as his brother Apoganem and nephew Tornikios. In III.8 we learn about the death of Ašot, prince of Tarōn, in 966/7; III.14 reports the valour of his sons, Grigor and Bagarat, on the battlefield, fighting for Bardas Skleros; and III.33 records the death of Grigor in Bulgaria and capture of his son Ašot, for which see also Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, 339 and 341. The princely house of Tarōn was a branch of the extended Bagratuni family. In the second half of the ninth century Ašot prince of Tarōn and *kouropalates* was the first cousin of Ašot I Bagratuni, prince of princes and later king of Armenia. Krikorikios is described as a relative of Ašot I's son, Smbat, in *DAI* c. 43, ll. 34–5: *συγγενής*. Yet evidence for this princely house continuing to assert a Bagratuni connection in the tenth century is hard to find, and following the annexation of the principality and their move to Byzantine service and territory they preferred to self-identify using the family name Taronites. See also N. Adontz, 'Les Taronites en Arménie et à Byzance', *B* 9 (1934), 715–38; *B* 10 (1935), 531–51; repr. in *Études arméno-byzantines* (Lisbon, 1965), 197–235; B. Martin-Hisard, 'Constantinople et les archontes du monde caucasien dans le Livre des Cérémonies, II, 48', *TM* 13 (2000), 375–81.

<sup>9</sup> ST I, 178.18–20; ST II, 754.53.

these famous scholars, and the only place he could have done so would have been from within a monastic community. Frustratingly, he does not reveal the identity of those he had encountered as a young man, nor where or when he had done so. On the basis of this statement, Emin supposed that Step'anos must have been born in around 928, because he would then have been around 15 years old when Anania became catholicos and the monasteries were founded.<sup>10</sup> But as Malxaseanc' observed, this contention supposed that the monasteries were founded, and that Step'anos encountered some of these monks, in the year of Anania's accession.<sup>11</sup> He maintained that his birth occurred long after 928, without offering a specific date, and this must be the case. Indeed, there is no reason why Step'anos had to have been born during the lifetime of Anania, for, as will be discussed further later on, the list contemplates not only the founders of these monasteries but also names their immediate successors. The monastery of Xlajor, for example, was founded by father Sion, who was succeeded by the elderly Petros, who then handed over to father Barseł.<sup>12</sup> More significantly, the community of Kamrjajor was founded by father Yovhannēs, who was succeeded by the man of God Polykarpos, who was succeeded by the scholarly Samuēl.<sup>13</sup> We know from the following chapter (III.8) that Polykarpos was still alive in c.970, because he was one of the leading figures at the council in Ani which deposed Anania's successor Vahanik.<sup>14</sup> In other words, the sequences of monastic leaders preserved by Step'anos in III.7 extend in time beyond the death of Anania Mokac'i. Step'anos only records that he encountered some of them in his youth, not all of them, and those that he did meet need not have been the founders but their successors.

On the other hand, in III.9 Step'anos identifies another group of scholars and hermits who were active during the nineteen years when Xač'ik I was catholicos (972/3–990/1), and includes among them father Jeremiah, 'the ascetic of Christ and my companion', who lived near to the hermitage of T'elenik' in the district of Nig, five miles from modern Bjni.<sup>15</sup> It is impossible to know when they became companions or the age of Step'anos when they did so, but even if this occurred in Xač'ik's first year, Step'anos need not have been born before c.950. Indeed Step'anos could have been born as late as c.970, if his sojourn with Jeremiah did not occur until late in the era of Xač'ik's oversight of the Armenian Church. Therefore, although he came from Tarōn and was brought up, it seems, in a coenobitic community, Step'anos later moved to the foothills of Mount Aragac' to spend time with an ascetic.

<sup>10</sup> N. Emin, *Vseobščaja istorija Stepanosa Taronского, Asox'ika po prozvaniju, pisatelja 11-go stoletija* (Moscow, 1864), i–iii, cited in ST I, ix–x.

<sup>11</sup> ST I, x–xii.

<sup>12</sup> ST I, 174.22–175.7; ST II, 751.28–9.

<sup>13</sup> ST I, 173.14–174.7; ST II, 750.19–751.24.

<sup>14</sup> ST I, 181.22–3; ST II, 756.12.

<sup>15</sup> ST I, 186.3–4; ST II, 759.7: *ar hawr Eremiayi čgnaworin K'ristosi ew enkerakci imoy.*

Step'anos does not reveal how long he spent with Jeremiah, but at some point in the final decade of the tenth century Step'anos was commissioned by catholicos Sargis I Sewanc'i to compose the *Universal History*. In I.1, he describes offering the completed work as a present to the 'most learned among scholars', lord Sargis, which could be taken to imply that Step'anos undertook the composition at his own initiative.<sup>16</sup> This, however, was not the case, because in the same passage Step'anos also notes that he had been 'obliged by your compelling order'. This notion of deliberate commission is confirmed in the Conclusion to book III, where Step'anos repeats that he had written his chronological composition at the command of Sargis.<sup>17</sup> Quite how Step'anos came to be selected by Sargis for this role is not immediately obvious. There is no indication, for instance, that they had encountered one another before Sargis became catholicos in 992/3. In III.32 Step'anos reveals that Sargis had been brought up and educated under the care of his paternal uncle in the monastery of Sewan, but does not suggest that he himself had any ties with that community.<sup>18</sup> On the other hand, the short account given by Step'anos of Xaç'ik's patriarchate may reveal the circumstances under which Step'anos came to enter into the service of the catholicos. In III.9 he describes the building and decoration of the cathedral church at Argina in largely conventional terms which find parallels elsewhere in the *Universal History*.<sup>19</sup> The reference, however, to Xaç'ik acquiring manuscripts containing the word of God, 'the books of the holy Apostles and the prophet-proclaimed narratives, together with commentaries composed by all the *vardapets*', is not formulaic or stereotypical. Rather it seems to record a particular initiative on the part of Xaç'ik I to expand the collection of scholarly resources in the archives of the catholicos. It is my belief that Step'anos came to be involved in this project. Exactly when he did so is unclear, but it is striking that Step'anos chose to associate this scholarly enterprise specifically with Xaç'ik rather than his sponsor Sargis. This inclines me to the view that he started working in the archives of the catholicos at Argina during the era of Xaç'ik I. If so, he would have been in post when Sargis became catholicos, and hence available to be selected to compose a work such as the *Universal History*.

The proposition that Step'anos worked in the archives of the catholicos is strongly supported by one particular characteristic of the *Universal History*. It has long been recognized that this composition preserves a remarkable

<sup>16</sup> ST I, 7.18–23; ST II, 640.15: *ov amenimastd yimastuns*.

<sup>17</sup> ST I, 285.8–12; ST II, 828.5.

<sup>18</sup> ST I, 258.16–259.7; ST II, 810.1–2.

<sup>19</sup> ST I, 185.3–16; ST II, 758.2–3. By way of comparison, see III.2 for a description of St Saviour's in Širakawan, built by Smbat I with a very high dome and walls of smooth stone; III.7, the cathedral in Kars built by Abas, with stone columns, polished granite blocks, and a magnificently decorated dome; or III.30, the cathedral in Ani completed by Katramidē, with a dome, a high vault, and embellished with tapestries of various colours, embroidered with purple flowers.

amount of precise information about a wide range of monastic communities scattered across the regions and districts of tenth-century Armenia, including new and existing foundations, the names and personal characteristics of monastic leaders, prominent scholars and the titles of the works which they composed or the intellectual gifts for which they were renowned. Less attention, however, has been paid to how this material was assembled, or to how it came to be incorporated in this text. The obvious way to achieve Xač'ik's ambition was to establish what texts the archives already held and then to go out and visit the major repositories of scholarly literature, namely monastic libraries, to examine their collections. Such a process would necessarily have included finding works written by scholars within those communities. Although otherwise reticent about his career, Step'anos tells us in III.7 that he spent time in the monastery of Xlajor in the district of Derjan, that he was there during the days of Lent when father Barseł the leader of the community died, and that while he was there he undertook, and perhaps completed, chronological research, indicating that he had access to the monastery's library.<sup>20</sup> Frustratingly, he does not reveal when he made this visit, although we may suppose that it took place after he had started work on the *Universal History*. While this is the only occasion when Step'anos reveals he travelled to a monastery for the purposes of research, it seems highly probable that he made other such visits to all of the monastic communities which feature in the *Universal History*, for it is otherwise hard to envisage how Step'anos could have obtained such precise information about so many communities, including their locations and leading scholars. By way of illustration, in III.9 Step'anos records that the *vardapet* Yovhannēs was killed during a raid and buried in monastery called Aksigoms in the district of Basean, 'now Saint Yovhan' (presumably after the *vardapet*), at the foot of Mount Ciranik'.<sup>21</sup> Step'anos was aware that the original name of the monastery had changed, although its location, defined in terms of district and topography, remained the same. Furthermore, it is clear that Step'anos continued to undertake these trips. When describing the foundation of Širimvank' by Abas of Kars, at III.17, Step'anos notes that its leader was a celebrated figure called Movsēs who died with his two brothers in Armenian Era 451 (21 March 1002–20 March 1003).<sup>22</sup> This is a rare cast-forward by Step'anos, which disrupts the chronological structure of the composition. Its inclusion indicates that he visited this monastery, or otherwise obtained this information, during this year.

Thus, when Sargis decided to commission a work of history in the form and character of the *Universal History*, he turned to someone who was already working in the archives of the Catholicosate. With his close knowledge of that

<sup>20</sup> ST I, 175.16–18; ST II, 751.31.

<sup>21</sup> ST I, 185.17–22; ST II, 759.4–5.

<sup>22</sup> ST I, 197.14–198.8; ST II, 767.8–13.

collection and the other monastic libraries he had visited, together with the personal contacts he had made, Step'anos was in an ideal position to undertake that task. Moreover, there can be no doubt that he utilized materials already lodged in the archives of the Catholicosate. As shall be established later, he exploited the *History* of Yovhannēs Draxanakertc'i, the work of an early tenth-century catholicos, whose final notices date to the first months of 924. He also had access to a dossier of recent high-level ecclesiastical correspondence, given the inclusion, at III.21, of a long response written on behalf of Xaç'ik I to the metropolitan of Sebasteia, perhaps in 986/7. Step'anos records that this metropolitan, and other metropolitans, had started to write very long letters to lord Xaç'ik.<sup>23</sup> Step'anos therefore decided to include one of the replies, implying that he was aware of several. One of these other letters, addressed to Theodore, metropolitan of Melitene, was composed by Samuēl Kamrjajorec'i, also at the command of Xaç'ik, and was preserved separately in the collection of ecclesiastical correspondence known as *Girk' T'it'oc'* or *Book of Letters*.<sup>24</sup>

Frustratingly, it is not possible to show that Step'anos was himself directly involved in the copying of any known text as part of Xaç'ik's initiative to develop the archives of the catholicos at Argina. T'amrazyan has argued that Xaç'ik was educated in the monastery of Xawarajor in the district of Aršarunik', where one of his fellow students was Anania Narekac'i.<sup>25</sup> Following T'amrazyan, Anania dedicated a collection of spiritual exercises, *Xratk'*, to Xaç'ik while he was still bishop of Aršarunik', before his elevation to the office of catholicos in 972/3.<sup>26</sup> Later on, Anania composed a refutation of Chalcedonian dogma called *Hawatarmat* or *Root of Faith*, which was also dedicated to Xaç'ik.<sup>27</sup> This was presented to him in person at Argina in the summer of either 980 or 987. This was also the occasion when the bishop of Sebasteia, Uxtanēs, was commissioned by Anania to write his *History*.<sup>28</sup> But while these episodes confirm that Xaç'ik was indeed a major figure in contemporary intellectual networks, to whom new compositions were dedicated, they do not attest the development of the scholarly resources in Argina through the copying of existing works; nor do they prove the role of Step'anos in that project.

<sup>23</sup> ST I, 202.7–9; ST II, 770.8.

<sup>24</sup> *Girk' T'it'oc'*, ed. Y. Izmirianc' (Tiflis, 1901), 302.1–322.29; *Girk' T'it'oc'*, ed. N. Połarean (Jerusalem, 1994), 550.1–579.16.

<sup>25</sup> H. H. T'amrazyan, *Anania Narekac'i kyank'ë ev matenagrut'yunë* (Erevan, 1986), 14–53.

<sup>26</sup> T'amrazyan, *Anania*, 192–328; see also A. and J.-P. Mahé, *Grégoire de Narek, Tragédie. Matean olbergut'ean Le livre de lamentation*, CSCO, vol. 584, subs. 106 (Louvain, 2000), 59–60.

<sup>27</sup> T'amrazyan, *Anania*, 130; Mahé and Mahé, *Grégoire de Narek, Tragédie*, 57 and n. 223.

<sup>28</sup> Uxtanēs, *Patmut'iwn Hayoc'*, ed. with intro. by P. Hovannisyan and G. Madoyan, *Matenagirk' Hayoc' 10th Century Book 2*, vol. 15 (Ant'lias, 2012), I.1 [453.53].



This is not quite the end of the story, however. Attached to a copy of the Armenian adaptation of Nemesius' *On Human Nature* preserved in Jerusalem 1862 is the following colophon:

Remember in your holy and living prayers the owner of this holy testament, lord Xaç'ik, who with great eagerness caused it to be written from authentic copies for the instruction of God-loving monks, and God will remember you at his coming and in his Kingdom. It was written and decorated by my hand Gēorg, an insignificant scribe, in Era 426 [27 March 977–26 March 978].<sup>29</sup>

Although Gēorg does not reveal the source of the original copies, his colophon confirms that Xaç'ik actively sought out texts, in this instance the work of a late fourth-century Christian philosopher, and had them copied for the instruction of monks. The *Universal History* attests the same process, but from the perspective of one engaged in searching for texts rather than simply copying them out.

Step'anos is unusual amongst medieval Armenian historians in that by convention he is credited with another name, *Asolik*. This has been taken to mean either 'little speaker' (the participle formed in *ol* from the present stem of *asel* with a diminutive suffix, *ik*) or 'singer' in the sense of one experienced in religious singing (derived from the verb *asolel*).<sup>30</sup> But it is striking that this name is not applied to Step'anos in the *Universal History*, at least in the surviving manuscripts, nor is it found in the earliest subsequent reference to the work. In his *History*, composed shortly after 1072, Aristakēs refers to 'Step'anos Tarōnac'i who composed books of world history from Creation with an excellent structure, beginning with the first man and he finishes his history with the death of Gagik'.<sup>31</sup> By the time Samuēl Anec'i had completed his *Chronicle* in 1163, however, Step'anos had gained a specific ecclesiastical rank and a new surname as well as a variant spelling of his proper name. Samuēl called him 'Step'annos *vardapet*, surnamed *Asnik*'.<sup>32</sup> Kirakos Ganjakec'i used the same description in his *History* in the middle of the following century, although he named him *Asolik* rather than *Asnik*.<sup>33</sup> As will be demonstrated later, Vardan Arewelc'i's *Historical Compilation*, completed shortly after 1267, used the *Universal History* extensively, but the single direct quotation is introduced simply with 'Asolik says'.<sup>34</sup> On the

<sup>29</sup> A. S. Mat'evosyan, *Hayeren Jeagreri Hišatakaranner 5–12dd* (Erevan, 1988), no. 77.

<sup>30</sup> ST I, vii; ST II, 619.

<sup>31</sup> Aristakēs, *Patmut'iwñ Aristakisi Lastivertc'woy*, ed. K. N. Yuzbašyan (Erevan, 1963), 26.12–14.

<sup>32</sup> Samuēl Anec'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwñ Adamic' minč'ew 1776*, ed. K. Mat'evosyan (Erevan, 2014), 79.37–38. This new scholarly edition disentangles the complex series of continuations to Samuēl's original work, which Mat'evosyan argues, at 11–12, concluded in 1163.

<sup>33</sup> Kirakos Ganjakec'i, *Patmut'iwñ Hayoc'*, ed. K. A. Melik'-Ohanjanyan (Erevan, 1961), 7.14–15.

<sup>34</sup> Vardan Arewelc'i, *Hawak'umn patmut'ean Vardanay Vardapeti* (Venice, 1862; repr. Delmar, NY, 1991), 54.23–4. This edition was edited by Ľ. Ališan, but his name does not appear in the publication. See n. 339.

basis of these references, the picture seems straightforward. Writing just seventy years after the *Universal History* was completed, Aristakēs knew its author simply as Stepʿanos Tarōnacʿi [sic], but a century later his name and status had been transformed.

One final piece of evidence has been treated by many scholars as decisive. In his letter 55, the eleventh-century Armenian polymath Grigor Magistros wrote to Gēorg *vardapet* in the following terms: ‘Therefore this letter requests you to give to us the commentary on the prophet Jeremiah, which the blessed and extremely old man Asołnik had written.’<sup>35</sup> Quite understandably, this has been interpreted as a clear reference to Stepʿanos Tarōnacʿi and as evidence that he was still alive, though very aged, in the 1040s or 1050s, when the letter was written. Yet we should pause for thought before accepting this identification. Grigor Magistros does not associate Stepʿanos Tarōnacʿi with Asołnik or Asołik, nor the latter with the *Universal History* or indeed any historical work, while the commentary on Jeremiah has not been discovered and is presumed lost. While there is no reason to doubt that Asołnik or Asołik did indeed write such a commentary and that he was alive in the middle of the eleventh century, the identification of this figure with Stepʿanos Tarōnacʿi remains unproven. Indeed, the significant expansion in the amount of detail provided by Samuēl Anecʿi in his short description suggests that two figures have become conflated, one Stepʿanos Tarōnacʿi, the author of the *Universal History*, and a second Stepʿannos, *vardapet*, known as Asołnik or Asołik, the author of the lost commentary. Therefore, although many commentators over the last century and a half have preferred to use Asołik as a convenient shortened form of the name of the author of the *Universal History*, in this study he will be identified only as Stepʿanos Tarōnacʿi.

## HISTORIOGRAPHICAL CONTEXT

Before plunging into a detailed analysis of the content, structure, and purposes of the *Universal History*, it is important to establish the historiographical context in which it was written. What were the interests and ambitions of other Armenian writers of the time, and how did they articulate these in their works of history? Admittedly, this is not a question which has attracted much in the way of scholarly discussion, largely because the historiographical context of the *Universal History* has been treated as settled. In terms of historical narrative, this is certainly the case. As the only sustained contemporary study on tenth-century affairs, book III bridges the gap between the final notices of

<sup>35</sup> Grigor Magistros, *Grigor Magistrosi Tʿhʿerē*, ed. Kʿ. Kostaneancʿ (Alexandropol, 1910), 128.18–20.

the *History* of Yovhannēs Draxanakertc'i, describing the perilous situation of its author in the first months of 924, and the first notices in the *History* of Aristakēs, recording the visit of the Byzantine emperor Basil II to the Caucasus in the year 1000 and its impact across Tayk' and Abkhazia.<sup>36</sup> These two works have therefore provided the historiographical context for the *Universal History*, and there is some justification for this approach. Step'anos himself identified the *History* of Yovhannēs Draxanakertc'i as the most recent work in the series of Armenian compositions cited in the opening chapter of book I, and he exploited it extensively in books II and III.<sup>37</sup> Furthermore, as we saw earlier, the *History* of Aristakēs commends the *Universal History* in its opening and implies a relationship with the conclusion of that work. It is worth recalling, however, that both of these Armenian authors had their own interests and concerns. Aristakēs completed his study of eleventh-century history after the battle of Manzikert in 1071.<sup>38</sup> As a result, he was writing seven decades after the events described in the opening passages of his *History*, leaving him open to the charge that he had reshaped the past in order to present that catastrophe as the culmination of a much longer and inevitable process. The contention that as one Armenian history concluded another picked up the threads of the same story, and told it in the same way, is not substantiated when one examines the compositions individually. Although there are points of correspondence between them, medieval Armenian histories construct their own stories in their own ways. They are not instalments in a single grand narrative. So while the *Universal History* may bridge the narrative gap between the *Histories* of Yovhannēs Draxanakertc'i and Aristakēs, it does not follow that these works offer the best or most contemporary historiographical context within which to situate that work.

This traditional attachment to 'l'histoire événementielle', and the contribution of the *Universal History* to it, has distracted scholarly attention away from four other less familiar, but more contemporary, Armenian histories. These offer different literary and historical contexts against which the *Universal History* may be placed and analysed. As we shall see, these works are extremely diverse in many respects, but they are united in reflecting a more creative attitude towards the past, one not based upon, or circumscribed by, narrative.

<sup>36</sup> Yovhannēs Draxanakertc'i, *Patmut'iwn Hayoc'*, ed. M. Emin (Moscow, 1853; repr. Tiflis, 1912; and Delmar, NY, 1980), LXVII.17–20 [357.19–358.24], recording the flight of Yovhannēs in the winter of 923/4 to Gagik Arcruni, described as the king of Armenia, *t'agaworn Hayoc'*; Aristakēs, *Patmut'iwn*, 22.25–24.11, although these events are dated to 450 AE [21.iii.1001–20.iii.1002].

<sup>37</sup> ST I, 7.12–13; ST II, 640.14.

<sup>38</sup> The final chapter in Aristakēs' *History* reports the blinding of Romanos IV Diogenes by his own subjects, and his death—on 4 August 1072—as well as the apparent determination of Alp Arslan to seek revenge for his murder, prevented by his own death on 15 December 1072: Aristakēs, *Patmut'iwn*, 140.7–141.22.

Some feature well-known episodes from the distant past reimagined in new ways; others tell stories about characters who seem to combine elements from the lives of several different historical figures. As records of what happened these may have little to commend them, but as recent works of historical literature, defined broadly, they reveal much about the circumstances in which their authors were writing and the attitudes which they held. These compositions offer a much richer and more contemporary perspective through which to interpret the *Universal History*.

The four texts divide into two groups. The first focuses primarily upon members of the Arcruni princely family in Vaspurakan and their interactions with caliphs and local emirs. The second reaches back into the past and contemplates historic Armenian relations with the Roman Empire, both before and during the activities of St Grigor the Illuminator and the conversion of Armenia to Christianity. Let us briefly examine each of these in turn.

T'ovma Arcruni's *History of the House of Arcrunik*' holds particular value for historians of medieval Armenia. Not only does it attest how malleable, how susceptible to reinterpretation, the distant Armenian past could be, with Arcruni figures being inserted into familiar episodes, such as the battle of Awarayr; it also records the ceaseless struggle for hegemony between different branches of the extended Arcruni family and even between close relatives.<sup>39</sup> Those passages covering the second half of the ninth century are particularly rich in this respect, describing in great detail how bitter rivalries were played out at a local level. In the sole surviving manuscript, the original composition ends mid-sentence in a notice dated to 904, but this is followed by a series of continuations. The first of these opens with the birth of Gurgēn Arcruni in 882 and provides a narrative of events which overlaps with, but is separate from, T'ovma's own composition.<sup>40</sup> This has clearly been lifted from a separate work which extends beyond T'ovma's *History* and considers at length the character and achievements of Gagik I Arcruni, the leading member of the Arcruni family in the first four decades of the tenth century. Employing an elaborate literary style, the anonymous author praises Gagik for his wisdom, his virtue, and his valour in various situations. Great attention is paid to his building activities at several locations, most notably on the island of Alt'amar.<sup>41</sup> The extended study concludes with an elegy, incomplete, reflecting once more

<sup>39</sup> The Armenian forces under Vardan Mamikonean were defeated in the battle of Awarayr in 451 and suffered heavy losses among the lay and clerical elite, some during the battle but others in captivity. It is the centrepiece of the *Histories* of both Lazar P'arpec'i and Elišē. As Thomson has stressed, however, it is only in T'ovma's *History* that Vahan Arcruni playing a leading role in the action: R. W. Thomson, *History of the House of the Artsrunik*' (Detroit, 1985), 21 and 33–5.

<sup>40</sup> T'A III.29–IV.11 [262.1–305.9].

<sup>41</sup> T'A IV.6–8 [290.12–299.23] for Gagik's constructions at Ostan and Alt'amar, although there are short references to the development of other sites outside these chapters.

on his achievements.<sup>42</sup> This eulogizing biography of Gagik is entirely conventional save in one respect, namely its representation of the relationship between Gagik and Yūsuf b. Abī'l Sāj.<sup>43</sup> Previous histories, including the *History* of Yovhannēs Draxanakertc'i, had depicted the relationship between Sajid emirs and Armenian princes as unequal and violent, characterized by oppression and conflict. The continuation, however, conceptualized this relationship in an entirely new way. On hearing of his reputation, bravery, and intelligence, Yūsuf invites Gagik to his court, where he is deeply impressed by the latter's wisdom. They discuss profound and obscure questions, otherwise undefined, as well as various aspects of kingship, including practical solutions to present dilemmas, knowledge of past royal dynasties, and the dimensions of their kingdoms. Gagik is depicted as a young and handsome man, his outward appearance reflecting his inner virtues. This passage evokes the tenth-century salon culture of the *majlis* and even the *munāzara*, where the court was treated as the locus of intellectual dialogue and debate.<sup>44</sup> It seems improbable that a Sajid would have sought to take any lessons in kingship from an Armenian prince, nor that an Armenian prince would have given them, but the story clearly held meaning for its Armenian author. Although the continuation is undated, its composition seems best suited to a time shortly after Gagik's death in 943, when memories of Gagik were strongest and such a work would have held greatest significance. Evidently in the middle of tenth century, even the recent past was capable of being refashioned. Now that the threat of Sajid depredations had disappeared and even the memory of them was fading, the relationship between Yūsuf and Gagik could be imagined in new terms, as equals respecting and learning from one another. Not only does this indicate that Armenian historical writing in Arcruni Vaspurakan was now in dialogue with contemporary Arabic and Persian literature and forms and modes of expression; it also suggests that a process of political and social transformation was under way, with traditional loyalties and identities breaking down.

Another little-studied composition supports this contention. The *History of the Anonymous Story-Teller* is best known for its misidentification as the

<sup>42</sup> T<sup>c</sup>A IV.11 [304.16–305.9].

<sup>43</sup> T<sup>c</sup>A IV.3 [283.3–284.24].

<sup>44</sup> See *EF*<sup>2</sup> s.v. *Madjlis* [consulted online on 15 June 2016 <[http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912\\_islam\\_COM\\_0606](http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0606)>]: a meeting place, assembly, or chamber for debates, often associated in the tenth century with the setting, real and fictional, in which political and judicial decisions were discussed and adopted, plaintiffs and panegyrists gathered to petition the sovereign, and poetry was recited. *EF*<sup>2</sup> s.v. *Munāzara* [consulted online on 15 June 2016 <[http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912\\_islam\\_SIM\\_5507](http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_5507)>]: a formal theological or juridical dispute, employing a question-and-answer framework, but also a rhetorical contest for entertainment. It also defines a literary genre in which two or more figures debate and display their intellectual and rhetorical gifts. The court of Sayf al-Dawla in Aleppo in the middle of the tenth century is often viewed as representative of such a culture, where poets such as Abū Firās and al-Mutanabbī and scholars such as Ibn Nubāta were patronized; see *EF*<sup>2</sup> s.v. *Sayf al-Dawla* [consulted online on 15 June 2016 <[http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912\\_islam\\_COM\\_1010](http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_1010)>].

*History* of Šapuh Bagratuni, the title under which it was published in 1921.<sup>45</sup> Traces of this error persist in its confusing attribution to Pseudo-Šapuh, but this is far from being its only challenge. Thomson observed in the introduction to his translation of the work that it was ‘a collection of oral tales, most of them dealing with persons of the Arcruni family which were gathered at an unknown time and written down by an unknown author’.<sup>46</sup> Given this apparent lack of context, scholars have been reluctant to delve too deeply into this collection and assess its historical potential. Yet we should pause before throwing up our hands in despair and admitting defeat. For while it remains the case that the collection will never be capable of absolute dating, and its compiler is always going to be anonymous, there are several features which, when viewed collectively, do afford insight into where and when this collection was compiled.

The *History of the Anonymous Story-Teller* is divided into two parts.<sup>47</sup> The first considers late sixth- and early seventh-century affairs, and is split into several sections. It opens with an extraordinary biography of the Prophet Muḥammad.<sup>48</sup> He is portrayed as a Persian, the son of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, from ‘the city of Rueran, near the city of Rēyy, opposite the fortress of Isfahan’.<sup>49</sup> Among the many divergent traditions, Muḥammad is reported as inducing merchants from Samarra to travel to Alexandria and deceiving them on the way, as well as being responsible for founding the city of Baghdad. The second section switches westwards and records a number of fictional stories concerning the emperor Maurice, including the assertions that he had an Armenian heritage, that he defeated K’asrē, king of Persia—Khusro II, the Sasanian *šahanšah*—and that he married his sister.<sup>50</sup> A separate heading introduces the third section, describing the recovery of the True Cross by Heraclius after a victory over king K’asrē on the plain of T’awrēž (Tabrīz).<sup>51</sup> K’asrē is depicted living in a palace ‘in the capital known as the Golden City, that is, T’awrēž’.<sup>52</sup> Even if the identification of the Golden City is a gloss, this misidentification is instructive; Tabrīz is the capital from where Persian kings

<sup>45</sup> The first edition: *Patmut’iwn Šaphoy Bagratunwoy*, ed. G. Tēr-Mkrč’ean and M. Tēr-Movsēsean (Ējmiacin, 1921). The critical edition, with introduction and facing Russian translation, used for all citations: *Patmut’iwn Ananun zruc’agri karcece’al Šapuh Bagratuni*, ed. and tr. M. H. Darbinyan-Melik’yan (Erevan, 1971).

<sup>46</sup> R. W. Thomson, ‘The Anonymous Story-Teller (Also known as “Pseudo-Šapuh”)', *REArm* 21 (1988–9), 171.

<sup>47</sup> Anonymous Story-Teller/Pseudo-Šapuh, 39–107 and 109–97 respectively. For a brief summary of the whole, see Thomson, ‘Anonymous Story-Teller’, 172–80.

<sup>48</sup> Anonymous Story-Teller/Pseudo-Šapuh, 41.6–47.19.

<sup>49</sup> Anonymous Story-Teller/Pseudo-Šapuh, 41.6–8.

<sup>50</sup> Anonymous Story-Teller/Pseudo-Šapuh, 47.20–53.5.

<sup>51</sup> Anonymous Story-Teller/Pseudo-Šapuh, 53.6–71.24.

<sup>52</sup> Anonymous Story-Teller/Pseudo-Šapuh, 55.7–8: *i Šahas(tann) or Oski k’alak’n koč’en or ē T’awrēž*.

are deemed to rule. This is followed by a version of the Arab conquest of the Near East down to the failed siege of Constantinople in 717 which is closely related to the narrative preserved in the *History* of Łewond.<sup>53</sup> The final section moves back in time to describe the Arab conquest of Armenia and a massacre of Roman troops at a bridge, betrayed by prince Vard Rštuni to Sahak, son of Hurmizt, the ruler of the Persians.<sup>54</sup> Full of remorse, Vard is directed by bishop Grigorios and a hermit called Simeon to build churches dedicated to St Step'anos the Protomartyr. In obeying their advice, the penitent Vard manages to secure relics of the saint from Jerusalem.

The second part of the work comprises a series of narratives, loosely combined, which seem to reflect something of the prevailing conditions in ninth- and tenth-century Vaspurakan. It must be admitted straightaway that this too is a highly imaginative work, a creative blend of history and fiction, in which separate but homonymous figures have become conflated. The clearest illustration of this is found in the final passages, where a composite Smbat Bagratuni appears, an amalgam of traditions associated with Smbat I Bagratuni and Smbat II Bagratuni who reigned at the start and the end of the tenth century respectively.<sup>55</sup> It is not, therefore, a work to turn to for a sober narrative of what happened. The materials have become so jumbled together that there is no point in trying to disentangle the real from the make-believe. Nevertheless, even invented worlds reveal something of the context in which they were imagined. By taking a step back from the minutiae of the tales, several features begin to emerge.

In the first place, the world depicted in the second part is inhabited by members of the Arcruni, Anjewac'i, and Rštuni princely houses. It is not limited to a single branch of the Arcruni family. In other words, there is a surprising but welcome breadth to the range of noble families featured in the text. Secondly, while the characters from these princely houses may be contrived, and the stories associated with them may be largely or wholly invented, the geographical space which they inhabit is real. It is defined in terms of the districts of eastern Vaspurakan and neighbouring regions further east, notably Hēr, Salmast, and Marand, which are treated as Persian rather than Armenian territory. The cities, fortresses, and villages located in these districts occur throughout the composition, as well as named topographical features such as valleys and mountains.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>53</sup> Anonymous Story-Teller/Pseudo-Šapuh, 71.25–93.23; for the identification of Łewond's *History*, see Thomson, 'The Anonymous Story-Teller', 175 and n. 8.

<sup>54</sup> Anonymous Story-Teller/Pseudo-Šapuh 93.24–107.16.

<sup>55</sup> For this conflation of Smbat I and Smbat II, see Anonymous Story-Teller/Pseudo-Šapuh, 185.25–197.5, with the same figure battling with 'Yusep' son of Apuseč' (Yūsuf b. Abi'l Sāi) and contending with Datos (Theodosius III) of Abkhazia (r. 975–8), on whom see III.28 and n. 490, where he is named T'ewtas.

<sup>56</sup> Derēn sold his city, *k'atak'n*, of Van to his brother Gagik (115.8–11); Zafran gave the fortress, *berdn*, of Sewan to his nephew and the stronghold, *amurn*, of Nkan to his uncle, and that

This focalization is a particular characteristic of the *History of the Anonymous Story-Teller*, situating the narratives in terms of place. However, there is no hint of any movement westwards into Byzantine Anatolia by the Arcruni house, at least not in the version of the text which has survived; the departure from Vaspurakan by Senek'erim Arcruni in 1021 does not feature, even indirectly. Indeed, part two opens with the assertion that Armenia was divided between the house of the Bagratunik' in the north and the house of Arcrunik' in Vaspurakan.<sup>57</sup> This is not revised or revisited, suggesting that it still held meaning. Finally, the latest historical event in the narrative which is capable of independent corroboration is the campaign of Smbat II Bagratuni against Abkhazia in 989.<sup>58</sup> Moreover, although arguments from silence are always problematic, it is very striking that there are no references to Turks anywhere in the work. This suggests that this collection of traditions had made the transition to written form before Seljuk raiding parties began to impinge on Vaspurakan in the decades after 1030.

The evidence outlined above supports the contention that the present form of the *History of the Anonymous Story-Teller* was established at the end of the tenth century or the beginning of the eleventh century, somewhere in the three decades between 990 and 1020. If one accepts this dating, this composition becomes a near-contemporary work emanating from Vaspurakan with which the *Universal History* of Step'anos Tarōnec'i may be compared. It offers useful insights into the wider cultural milieu. Most significantly, one cannot help but notice its strongly Persianate character. It is expressed powerfully at the start of the text through the extraordinary account of the life and career of the Prophet Muḥammad. But it also features in the final notices, in which the caliph, Ali, son of Apusaylēp, is described as ruling over the land of the Persians and seems to be based in Tabriz.<sup>59</sup> Furthermore, the great emir Abuseč, the father of Afšin and Usep (al-Afshīn and Yūsuf), is recorded as being of the Persian nation and holding the city of Ardawet (Ardabil) and its territory; and Usep is granted the city of Srav (Sarāv), then Ardawet, Norh, and the district of Zarewand by Ali.<sup>60</sup> These notices therefore provide a colourful version of the rise of the Sajids to power in Āzarbayjān, in which

of Marandak to his brother-in-law, and the valley of Kotor in Anjax to his sister (for *gerin*, read *k'ern*) (129.12–17); the mountain which they call Oskigōti (133.16–17).

<sup>57</sup> Anonymous Story-Teller/Pseudo-Šapuh, 109.4–9.

<sup>58</sup> Anonymous Story-Teller/Pseudo-Šapuh, 187.11–193.4.

<sup>59</sup> Anonymous Story-Teller/Pseudo-Šapuh, 179.14–15: *Isk ašxarhin Parsic' t'agaworeac' Ali ordi Apusaylēpay . . .*; Anonymous Story-Teller/Pseudo-Šapuh, 181.23–24: *. . . ew el gnac' i k'alak'en Sraway ew ērek i šahastann T'avrēžay.*

<sup>60</sup> Anonymous Story-Teller/Pseudo-Šapuh, 179.23–26: *Ew ēr mard mi azgēn Parsic', amiray mec, ew koč'ēr anun nora Apuseč ew yunēr k'alak' zArdawet ew ēzsahmans noray. Ew meřaw amirayn Apuseč. Ew ēin noray 2 ordik' Ap'šin ew Usep.* For the subsequent grant of the cities, see Anonymous Story-Teller/Pseudo-Šapuh, 185.3–5 and 15–18.



they are presented not in terms of their relationship with the ‘Abbasid caliphs in Baghdad but in terms of their ties to Tabriz. We should not, therefore, read this composition for its narrative value but rather for what it reveals about the circulation and popularity of stories from neighbouring regions, stories which do not have Armenian or Christian dimensions but which nevertheless came to be preserved in Armenian historical memory. Indeed, one could argue that the *History of the Anonymous Story-Teller* expresses the cultural hybridity of Vaspurakan, fusing local Armenian and non-Armenian traditions to create a highly entertaining series of tableaux populated by a large cast of characters. In support of this, it is striking that when the impossibly generous prince Derēn Arcruni meets a mysterious stranger, he is described as speaking to him in the Tačik tongue, that is, in Arabic.<sup>61</sup> Just as Gagik Arcruni had no difficulty in conversing with the Sajid Yūsuf in the Continuator’s narrative, so Derēn had no difficulty conversing with the disguised king of Baghdad. This bears out Ibn Ḥawqal’s observation that the majority of the inhabitants of Armenia spoke Persian, but that it was extremely rare to find someone speaking Persian who did not also speak Arabic, and that both merchants and the landowning elite spoke excellent Arabic.<sup>62</sup>

The literary culture of tenth-century Vaspurakan therefore reflects significant engagement with Persian Āzarbayjān and northern Mesopotamia, looking predominantly east and south rather than westwards to Byzantium.<sup>63</sup> Its surviving historical literature is infused with contemporary expressions of Persian courtly culture and popular traditions centred on the actions of local nobles and more distant, often more powerful, non-Armenian rulers from further afield. This orientation is revealing. Although the *Universal History* of Step’anos Tarōnec’i has very little to say about Vaspurakan and reveals no direct borrowings from either T’ovma Arcuni’s *History* or its continuations, or the *History of the Anonymous Story-Teller*, it nevertheless possesses a similar breadth of historical vision. At III.16 it preserves an unheralded but invaluable description of the Buyid ruler ‘Aḏud al-Dawla, which is similar in tone and

<sup>61</sup> Anonymous Story-Teller/Pseudo-Šapuh, 117.11–12: *Ew xōsec’aw ēnd nma tački lezuaw zi useal ēr Dērēn zlezun tačkak’.*

<sup>62</sup> Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb šūrat al-’ard: opus geographicum auctore Ibn Hauqal*, ed. J. H. Kramers, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1938, 1939), II, 348–9; tr. J. H. Kramers and G. Wiet, *Configuration de la terre*, 2 vols. (Beyrouth and Paris, 1964), II, 342.

<sup>63</sup> Vaspurakan participated in other networks of cultural exchange. A three-part panegyric composed by Grigor Narekac’i for Step’anos, bishop of Mokk’, records the translation of a relic of the Holy Cross to the newly finished church of the Holy Mother of God in the monastery of Aparank’ on the Thursday of Easter week in 983. The relic had been given by Basil II to Zap’ranik prince of Mokk’, who later held the rank of *manglabites*. For the text, see now Grigor Narekac’i, *Patmut’iwn Aparanic’ Xaç’in*, in *Matenagirk’ Hayoc’ 10th Century Grigor Narekac’i*, vol. 12 (Ant’ilias, 2008), 913–29, including a fulsome eulogy to Basil II and his brother Constantine at 916.29–30. The ceremony was attended by the three Arcruni kings of Vaspurakan, Ašot-Sahak, Gurgēn-Xaç’ik, and Senek’erim-Yovhannēs, reported at 926.119–123. For the most recent published analysis, see Mahé and Mahé, *Grégoire de Narek, Tragédie*, 78–86.

character to passages in the *History of the Anonymous Story-Teller*. Moreover, from III.12 until the end of the work, Step'anos incorporates a mass of short notices which comment on the actions and affairs of neighbouring rulers, including, but not limited to, their interactions with Armenians. By way of illustration, a cluster of different figures, correctly identified, feature in quick succession in the first half of book III: Abū al Ḥayjā b. Ibrāhīm b. Marzbān, the Sallārid *amir* (III.12), Abū Dulaf, the *amir* of Golt'n (III.13), Bādḥ b. Dustuk, the founder of the Kurdish Marwānids (III.14), and Abū al Ḥayjā al-Rawwādī, the leader of the Kurdish Rawwādīs (III.18). This is not to suggest that these passages derive from a single collection similar to *History of the Anonymous Story-Teller*. Many of them are short, terse notices recording changes in the regional balance of power which impinged in some way on Bagratuni interests. A few, however, also record snatches of direct speech or pass comment on the incident in some way, and these features bring them closer in character to the stories preserved in that text. Whilst these notices have much greater historical purchase than those preserved in the *History of the Anonymous Story-Teller*, they attest a similar mentality, an awareness of how power was structured at a local and regional level, how Armenians and non-Armenians interacted and the extent to which this changed over time.

The second cluster of contemporary Armenian histories also comprises two texts: the *History of Tarōn*, whose two parts are attributed to Zenob Glak and Yovhannēs Mamikonean, and the *History* of bishop Uxtanēs of Sebasteia, in three parts, of which the third is lost.<sup>64</sup> Their titles advertise a very different origin and orientation, for the first is focused on the western district of Tarōn, wholly annexed by the Byzantine Empire in 966/7, and the second is written by a bishop of Sebasteia, situated far to the west and always under Byzantine control, but with a sizeable Armenian population in the second half of the tenth century. If the histories discussed above express something of the prevailing Persianate culture of tenth-century Vaspurakan, these two works, in their different ways, look in the opposite direction, westwards towards the Roman Empire of late antiquity and so by implication towards the Byzantine Empire of the present day.

The historical value of the *History of Tarōn* has until very recently been doubted, with much of the scholarly debate taken up with the original form, dating, and authorship of the work as a whole.<sup>65</sup> The part attributed to Zenob Glak purports to record the conversion of Armenia by St Grigor the

<sup>64</sup> Yovhannēs Mamikonean, *Patmut'wn Tarawnoy*, ed. with intro. by A. Hakobyan, *Matenagirk' Hayoc' 7th Century*, vol. 5 (Ant'īlias, 2005), 971–1101 (part I) and 1102–26 (part II); Uxtanēs, *Patmut'wn Hayoc'*, ed. with intro. by P. Hovannisyan and G. Madoyan, *Matenagirk' Hayoc' 10th Century Book 2*, vol. 15 (Ant'īlias, 2012), 446–510 (part I) and 510–616 (part II).

<sup>65</sup> For an excellent overview of past approaches, see L. Avdoyan, *Pseudo-Yovhannēs Mamikonean The History of Tarōn Occasional Papers and Proceedings 6* (Atlanta, Ga., 1991), 13–25 and 42–8.

Illuminator at the start of the fourth century, whilst Yovhannēs Mamikonean is credited with an account of the conflicts which apparently engulfed Tarōn in the first half of the seventh century. The conversion narrative, however, is unlike any of the other accounts of this pivotal event; moreover, the multiple campaigns waged across Tarōn are impossibly compressed in both space and time. If, however, one accepts the meticulous research undertaken by Avdoyan, and his contention that the work was composed after the Byzantine annexation of Tarōn in 966/7 and before Uxtanēs compiled his own *History* during the 980s—since he refers to the testimony of Zenob Glak on the issue of when and by whom Trdat was crowned king—then the *History of Tarōn* takes on a new and vital significance as a composition of the late tenth century, providing insight into the present through its presentation of the past.<sup>66</sup> Through studying the several ways in which the familiar conversion narrative was rethought and transformed, often in radical ways, we can begin to explore the social and cultural landscape of late tenth-century Tarōn.<sup>67</sup>

The first part of the *History of Tarōn* situates the monastery of Glak at Innaknean at the centre of the conversion narrative. It maintains that this was the location where St Grigor first destroyed pagan shrines, drove out demons, and built a martyrion for the relics of John the Baptist. The effect of this refashioning is to undermine the primacy of the traditional centre of Christian practice and devotion in Tarōn at Aštišat. This substitution lies at the heart of why the *History of Tarōn* was composed, promoting the claims of the previously unattested community of Glak at the expense of Aštišat.<sup>68</sup> This composition, therefore, illustrates the new possibilities which opened up in Tarōn after the departure of the extended princely family and the clerical elite in 966/7. The monastery of Glak took advantage of these changed circumstances to assert its central role in the ministry of St Grigor and the conversion of Armenia. At the same time, it laid claim to, or perhaps consolidated its possession of, certain named estates surrounding the monastery by asserting that St Grigor himself had given them to the monastery.<sup>69</sup> It also promoted the authenticity of its relics of John the Baptist, the holy Karapet. Their sanctity was founded on their translation by St Grigor himself and attested by the later miracles associated with them. Several figures invoke

<sup>66</sup> Avdoyan, *Pseudo-Yovhannēs*, 42–7. The *terminus ante quem* for the compilation of Uxtanēs' *History* is supplied by the death of king Smbat II Bagratuni in the winter of 989/90, since he was alive at the time of composition. For the specific reference to Zenob Glak, see Uxtanēs I.76 [509.2–8].

<sup>67</sup> For a recent study of this text, see T. W. Greenwood, “‘Imagined past, revealed present’: A Reassessment of Պատմութիւն Տարօնյ [History of Tarōn]”, *Mélanges Jean-Pierre Mahé, TM 18* (Paris, 2014), 377–92.

<sup>68</sup> Greenwood, ‘Imagined past, revealed present’, 380–1.

<sup>69</sup> Yovhannēs Mamikonean, 1026.224–1027.235; Avdoyan, *Pseudo-Yovhannēs*, 88–9; Greenwood, ‘Imagined past, revealed present’, 381–3.

the assistance of this saint in battle or single combat and emerge triumphant as a result. Furthermore, an extended prayer, purportedly spoken by an ascetic and martyr, Polykarpos, just before he and his six colleagues were killed by marauding Persians, may be interpreted as expressing the wider ambitions and expectations of the monastic community.<sup>70</sup> Polykarpos offers forgiveness through the intercession of the holy Karapet for all sinners who travel to the monastery and give generously from their own wealth. The prayer is given divine approval, with a voice from heaven stating: ‘May it be as you wish. Whoever for the sake of my name shall go on pilgrimage to [this church of] the Karapet, I shall release them on the day of my visitation.’<sup>71</sup> How one might establish a relationship with the monastic community, and the advantages of so doing, could hardly have been set out more explicitly.

As Avdoyan observed, the *History of Tarōn* is the earliest surviving example of a work of ‘institutional’ history in Armenian literature, focused on the history of the monastery of Glak at Innaknean.<sup>72</sup> He did not address why such a text might have been produced, nor why it was composed at this time. Yet it cannot be simply coincidental that such a new form of historical writing should have emerged in the district of Tarōn during the later tenth century. This was a time of radical political and social restructuring following the departure of the existing lay and clerical elite, when new opportunities presented themselves both to individuals and institutions to lay claim to material resources as well as past traditions. As Step‘anos himself appreciated, monasteries were permanent features in a changing social and cultural landscape as well as the principal repositories of Armenian historical memory, with the means to perpetuate and to refine historical traditions. The *History of Tarōn* represents a literary response to the Byzantine annexation of that district from a monastic community which sought to take advantage of the new circumstances and advertised itself as the principal centre of pilgrimage and devotional worship in Tarōn. In this enterprise, it proved to be remarkably successful.

This revision of the conversion narrative also provided an opportunity to reimagine the relationship with the Imperial Church. From the outset, the *History of Tarōn* establishes multiple connections between the activities and movements of St Grigor the Illuminator, the monastery of Glak at Innaknean, and the metropolitan of Caesarea. The opening passages assert that Grigor was consecrated by Leontios in Caesarea, and that he received relics of John the Baptist from him.<sup>73</sup> These are familiar features across the Agat‘angelos cycles.<sup>74</sup> However, new links are also developed in the course of correspondence

<sup>70</sup> Yovhannēs Mamikonean, 1057.6–1064.69; Avdoyan, *Pseudo-Yovhannēs*, 114–19.

<sup>71</sup> Yovhannēs Mamikonean, 1062.52–1063.53; Avdoyan, *Pseudo-Yovhannēs*, 118.

<sup>72</sup> Avdoyan, *Pseudo-Yovhannēs*, 6 and 47–8.

<sup>73</sup> Yovhannēs Mamikonean, 981.1, 982.5; Avdoyan, *Pseudo-Yovhannēs*, 56.

<sup>74</sup> A recension: Agat‘angelos, *Patmut‘iwn Hayoc‘*, ed. G. Tēr-Mkrtč‘ean and S. Kanayeanč‘ (Tiflis, 1909; repr. Delmar, NY, 1980), §§809–14; V Recension: G. Garitte, *Documents pour*

between Grigor and the metropolitan. Grigor notes that Leontios had presented ‘two living confessors of Christ, Anton and Krōnidēs, to Armenia’, and asks him to send further workers, including Eliazaros, the brother of Zenob, and Timotēos, bishop of Agdēn, ‘whose knowledge of literature you yourself have greatly praised’.<sup>75</sup> None of these figures feature in other texts, but these references establish a relationship of dependence between Tarōn and the see of Caesarea in the formative era, with Grigor himself requesting trained clerics of various kinds—bishops, monks, and scholars are all mentioned—to support his mission. The *History of Tarōn*, therefore, asserts that the Imperial Church played a vital role in the Christianization of fourth-century Tarōn and the mission of St Grigor. This is significant, because it is clear that the Byzantine annexation of Tarōn in 966/7 inaugurated a transformation in episcopal oversight. *Notitia* 10, which records the network of metropolitans and bishops under the authority of the patriarch of Constantinople at the end of the tenth century, reveals that four new imperial sees had been created by this date: one for Tarōn itself, another centred on the city of Muš, a third for the district of Xoyt’, and a fourth for the unidentified Katsoun, which should probably associated with a site dedicated to the Holy Cross, *Surb Xaç’*.<sup>76</sup> It is not clear how these sees related to one another, nor if they were created at the same time, but at some point in the eleventh century they were brought together under the oversight of a new metropolitan of Keltzene, Kortzene, and Tarōn.<sup>77</sup> The relationship between Tarōn and the see of Caesarea envisaged in the *History of Tarōn* should be interpreted as prefiguring, and hence legitimizing, the actual circumstances of the late tenth century.

In contrast to its inventive retelling of ecclesiastical history, the *History of Tarōn* offers little analysis of the changed political context. King Trdat and St Grigor move freely through Roman territory, but they encounter archbishops and other clerics rather than emperors or laymen. The only exception seems to be the description of the location of monastery of Glak at Innaknean in the opening passage of part one. It is defined as being situated in the old Roman province of Armenia IV, on the borders of Armenia III.<sup>78</sup> Although the boundaries of the Roman provinces designated as Armenia were revised several times in late antiquity, Innaknean had never been in either of these

*l'étude du livre d'Agathange*, Studi e Testi 127 (Vatican City, 1946), 154–7. For a translation and commentary on all the versions of both recensions which describe this episode, see R. W. Thomson, *The Lives of Saint Gregory* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 2010), 417–25.

<sup>75</sup> Yovhannēs Mamikonean, 984.11–985.17; Avdoyan, *Pseudo-Yovhannēs*, 57–8.

<sup>76</sup> *Notitiae Episcopatum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, ed. and tr. by J. Darrouzès (Paris, 1981), 336.

<sup>77</sup> For further analysis, see Greenwood, ‘Imagined past, revealed present’, 384–5 and esp. n. 35.

<sup>78</sup> Yovhannēs Mamikonean, 983.7–9; Avdoyan, *Pseudo-Yovhannēs*, 56–7.

provinces at any time.<sup>79</sup> Nevertheless, the fact that it could be imagined as being located on imperial territory, and that this was unproblematic, reveals the positive attitude of the author towards the Byzantine Empire. In this regard it is also significant that there is no hint of confessional tension or disagreement within the text.

It is only in part two, which purports to describe events from the late sixth and early seventh centuries, that imperial affairs register in the narrative.<sup>80</sup> These, however, are largely confined to situating the conflicts between Armenian princes and Persian commanders in the context of the murder of the emperor Maurice by Phokas.<sup>81</sup> This could imply that political turmoil in the Byzantine Empire was viewed as causing turmoil in Tarōn—that there was a causative link. Overall, however, the second part of the *History of Tarōn* devotes far more attention to the confrontations between Armenians and Persians, fantastical confrontations which are portrayed as taking place in the vicinity of Innaknean and its estates. This violent rejection of Persian dominion, or indeed relationship of any kind, serves to distance this work from the *History of the Anonymous Story-Teller* by a considerable margin.

In order to obtain an impression of how Armenians related—or rather, how they could be represented as relating—to the Byzantine Empire on a political level at the end of the tenth century, we must turn to the *History* of bishop Uxtanēs of Sebasteia. As noted previously, this work originally comprised three books, of which only two survive. The first book opens with a long preface, and then records the history of humanity in terms of kings and patriarchs from Adam down to the era of king Trdat and St Grigor the Illuminator, in seventy-six chapters. The second book rehearses the separation of the Armenian and Georgian churches at the start of the seventh century, in seventy chapters. The third part, now lost, considered the (re)baptism of the people called Cad or Cayt', which should be interpreted as a pejorative term for Chalcedonian Armenians, meaning deficient, incomplete, or hybrid, neither fully Greek nor fully Armenian.<sup>82</sup> Towards the end of the preface Uxtanēs

<sup>79</sup> R. H. Hewsen, *The Geography of Ananias of Širak (Ašxarhac'oyc'): The Long and Short Recensions*, Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients (Wiesbaden, 1992), 16–27.

<sup>80</sup> Yovhannēs Mamikonean, 1045.1–1126.55; Avdoyan, *Pseudo-Yovhannēs*, 104–63. For further analysis of part II, see Greenwood, 'Imagined past, revealed present', 387–91.

<sup>81</sup> Yovhannēs Mamikonean 1055.28, 1057.1; Avdoyan, *Pseudo-Yovhannēs*, 112–13.

<sup>82</sup> NBHL, I, 1005, citing the tenth-century Xosrov Anjewac'i, *Meknut' iwn groc' žamakargu-t'ean* (Constantinople, 1840), 199: *cayd kardan, ew t'eri i hawats*, 'they call Cayd, and deficient in the faith'; and in a work attributed to the fifteenth-century Unitor, Mxit'ar Aparanec'i: *Omank' i junac', ew omank' i hayoc', ork' koč'en kisat joynk' ew cat' hayk'*, 'some from the Greeks and others from the Armenians, who are called half-Greeks and incomplete Armenians'. M.-F. Brosset maintained that the Cad were an Armenian tribe living in Utik', a misconception followed by Arzoumanian: see M.-F. Brosset, *Deux Historiens Arméniens. Kiracos de Gantzac, XIII<sup>e</sup> S., Histoire d'Arménie, Oukhtanès d'Ourha, X<sup>e</sup> S., Histoire en Trois Parties* (St. Pétersbourg, 1870), xi–xii; Z. Arzoumanian, *Bishop Ukhtanes of Sebastia, History of Armenia Part II, History of the Severance of the Georgians from the Armenians* (Fort Lauderdale, Fla., 1985), 33–5. See also

lists the three books in sequence.<sup>83</sup> This confirms that he viewed them as constituent parts of a single work rather than freestanding studies. In relation to the Cad/Cayt', Uxtanēs intimates that he is going to list their:

districts and the principal villages and cities and fortresses, organized by district, which are in that country, just as your will commanded; and the monasteries with their monks, each by name, and the remote places of the hermits, both those who live in communities and those who live by themselves, whether in inhabited or uninhabited places, in order to illustrate the power of God which worked in secret and openly on those who have been baptized, through the appearance of signs and miracles, visions and manifestations, all together spiritual works. And the speech and the care and the labour and the testimony of the bishops of [the see of] the blessed Grigor and his servants, the cooperation and command of king Smbat and the enthusiasm of the nobles for this spiritual work, and the testimony of the princes, according to each one's authority, and the other members of the elite, according to each one's honour, those who worked with us in this discourse and spiritual endeavour.<sup>84</sup>

In other words, Uxtanēs seems to be suggesting that this third part set out exactly where these communities of rebaptized Armenians were located—and perhaps where those Chalcedonian Armenians who had rejected this initiative were settled as well. The reference to them being located 'in that country' implies that they were not situated in Armenia. This conceptualization holds significance for interpreting the *Universal History* and will be addressed in more detail in the conclusion.

Unlike the authors of the other three historical compositions, who remain firmly in the shadows, the figure of Uxtanēs emerges in sharp relief from the pages of the preface to his *History*. Uxtanēs was a pupil of Anania Narekac'i, and held his master in the highest esteem, addressing him as 'the most sublime of the fathers' and 'O most sublime lord, adorned by God, my lord and universal *vardapet*'.<sup>85</sup> Uxtanēs considered himself to be the last and least of his pupils, a familiar trope. He records that he had met Anania on the banks of

V. A. Arutjunova-Fidanjan, 'The Ethno-Confessional Self-Awareness of Armenian Chalcedonians', *REArm* 21 (1988/9), 354–63; J.-P. Mahé, 'L'Église arménienne de 611 à 1066', in *Histoire du Christianisme des origines à nos jours, IV, Evêques, moines et empereurs (610–1054)*, ed. G. Dagron, P. Riché, and A. Vauchez (Paris, 1993), 510 and n. 501; and A. Mahé and J. P. Mahé, *Histoire de l'Arménie des origines à nos jours* (Paris, 2012), 151–2.

<sup>83</sup> Uxtanēs I.1 [454.66]. The preface was not translated by Brosset, who judged it 'n'est guère qu'une insignifiante phraséologie, et une série d'amplifications sur des textes évangéliques...': Brosset, *Deux Historiens*, viii.

<sup>84</sup> Uxtanēs I.1 [454.66].

<sup>85</sup> Uxtanēs I.1 [447.5]: *ov vsemakand i hars*; [451.38]: *ov astuacazard ew vsemakan tēr im tēr ew tiezerakan vardapet*.

the Axurean river, and had celebrated the liturgy with him and ‘our honoured by God and holy patriarch Xaç’ik’, on the 11th day of the month of *trē*, a Sunday, at the ninth hour, during the summertime.<sup>86</sup> Since Xaç’ik founded the cathedral church at Argina on the Axurean river, it is almost certain that this is where they met. This was the occasion when Anania presented Xaç’ik with his *Hawatarmat*, or *Root of Faith*, a refutation of dyophysite belief.<sup>87</sup> Uxtanēs recalls that Anania had spoken with him face to face about ‘this History’, suggesting that if he, Anania, were looking for a place to learn, Uxtanēs should respond with such a composition and give him what he wanted, a composition which examined and revealed changes over time. He continues:

Now, you, accept this composition from me as a sign of love in fulfilment of the promise and to satisfy your request concerning this History. Now from you to me, so that you shall remember our promise and sign of love, because in that holy place, you inscribed the Lord’s name, through a memorial of love, may you continue for ever to remember in your prayers the grace of the Holy Spirit for you and us in equal measure; through the intercession of all the saints, may [grace] be given to us for deeds, in which we stand and boast, through trust in God.<sup>88</sup>

In other words, Uxtanēs uses the preface to remind Anania that he had commissioned this work and that he expected sufficient recompense, albeit in spiritual terms. It is clear from the preface that the two had also been in contact about the commission. Uxtanēs refers to ‘the words which flowed from your lips and the compliments from your Magnanimity to my own Insignificance’ being conveyed by means of ‘our beloved and trusted brother, P’ilippos the priest’; and later on to some brief words of his own being conveyed to Anania by Simēon the priest.<sup>89</sup> Furthermore, the preface is headed: ‘Reply to the letter of Anania and promise to fulfil his request’, implying a second letter from Anania. It is not clear whether these exchanges took place before or after their meeting at Argina. As noted above, T’amrazyan argued that this took place either in early July 980 or 987, using the coincidence between the day of the week and the date. A *terminus ante quem* for the completion of the *History* is supplied by the death of king Smbat II, in the winter of 989/90; the passage cited above was clearly written while he was alive. If the meeting did take place in early July 987, Uxtanēs completed his *History* in two and a half years. This is a narrow time-frame for the composition, but by no means an impossible one. Both dates remain viable.

Of the two surviving books, it is the second, articulating the schism between the Armenian and Georgian churches in the first decade of the seventh

<sup>86</sup> Uxtanēs I.1 [453.53].

<sup>87</sup> Uxtanēs I.1 [453.53] refers specifically to *zgirs Hawatarmat*; see also n. 27.

<sup>88</sup> Uxtanēs I.1 [453.54–6]. <sup>89</sup> Uxtanēs I.1 [446.2–3].



century, which has attracted most scholarly attention. It is organized around a mass of extracts from letters preserved in the *Girk' T'it'oc'* or *Book of Letters*. Twenty-nine of the seventy chapters are based on twenty-seven letters found in this collection. The individual relationships between the original letters and their redacted forms in Uxtanēs' *History* have been studied by others and will not be discussed here, beyond observing that it is highly likely the *Girk' T'it'oc'* was preserved in the archives of the Catholicosate in Argina, and it has already been established that Uxtanēs travelled there in person on at least one occasion.<sup>90</sup> Two further chapters are based on letters which Uxtanēs asserts were found in Tiflis and translated from Georgian into Armenian by a priest named Kirakos.<sup>91</sup> This seems unlikely. Their location at the very start of the book, together with two unexpected expressions of hostility towards the Romans in the first letter, support the contention that these two letters were both devised by Uxtanēs himself. The first urges Kiwrion: 'Do not be of the same opinion as the Romans'; the second notes that he had spent a long time living in the country of the Romans 'until the grace of the Spirit summoned you to this calling and pulled you out of the iron furnace, from the violent furnaces of the Romans'.<sup>92</sup> Yet the twenty-seven original letters preserved in the *Girk' T'it'oc'* do not conceptualize doctrinal error in such terms. While they may condemn the teachings of individual scholars or the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon and offer long theological rebuttals, no letter equates Roman belief with heresy, nor associates living in Roman territory as akin to living in a furnace. These reflect the opinions of someone living at a different time and in a different context, and that person can only be Uxtanēs himself. The association of these two letters with Tiflis, therefore, provided them with a plausible but fictitious origin.

The remaining chapters establish the historical framework within which the extracted and redacted versions of the original letters are to be interpreted. This framework represents a seventh-century context as it was imagined by Uxtanēs, that is to say, one constructed by a late tenth-century author. The chapters comprise a blend of material. Some of the information has clearly been lifted from the letters themselves and then elaborated or developed, but other notices contain details which are otherwise unattested. Garsoïan has

<sup>90</sup> J.-P. Mahé, 'La Rupture arméno-géorgienne au début de VII<sup>e</sup> siècle et les réécritures historiographiques des IX<sup>e</sup>-X<sup>e</sup> siècles', *Il Caucaso: Cerniera fra culture dal Mediterraneo alla Persia (Secoli IV-VII)*. *Settimane di studio del Centro Italiano di studi sull' alto medioevo* XLIII (Spoleto, 1996), 936-48.

<sup>91</sup> The letters are cited in Uxtanēs II.2 and 3 [513-16]. Their discovery by Kirakos is reported in II.4 [516]. For a summary of the debate, see N. G. Garsoïan, *L'Église arménienne et le grand schisme d'Orient*, CSCO, vol. 574, subs. 100 (Louvain, 1999), 310-13 and esp. n. 65. Mahé, 'La Rupture', 939 and n. 58, states: 'Ces deux documents ne contiennent aucune donnée suspecte, qui puisse faire douter de leur authenticité.' Garsoïan, *L'Église*, 310 argues: 'Il est probable que certaines modifications ont été introduits dans ces deux documents particulièrement intéressants, mais elles ne semblent pas avoir sérieusement faussé leur contenu.'

<sup>92</sup> Uxtanēs II.2 [514.23 and 515.34].

argued that ‘ses interprétations, invariablement injurieuses pour Kiwrion, reflètent davantage le point de vue polémique du X<sup>e</sup> siècle que celui des documents du VII<sup>e</sup>’, and this must surely be the case.<sup>93</sup> If one accepts this contention, however, it follows that it is not possible to disentangle the genuine from the imagined, at least not without independent corroboration. Nevertheless, since all of the information contained in these chapters has been filtered through the mind of Uxtanēs, we should recognize that they reveal the past that Uxtanēs wanted to project. By way of illustration, the statement in the opening chapter of book II, that Kiwrion had lived for fifteen years in the district of Koloneia in the great city of Nikopolis, may be true, but it may equally be the case that creating this background for Kiwrion served Uxtanēs’ polemical purposes.<sup>94</sup> It enabled him to present Kiwrion as someone with a connection to the region, and so justified his appropriation of the original seventh-century correspondence. It is striking that the Nestorian *xužik* whom Kiwrion allegedly consecrated as a bishop is also identified as coming from Koloneia, from a village called Zutarim, near to the city of Nikopolis. This allowed Uxtanēs to assert that, ‘not only did they come from the same district and village but they also shared the same heresy and were fellow students of the same evil teachings’.<sup>95</sup> Their common origin seems improbable. Uxtanēs also betrays a misunderstanding of the term *xužik*. In late antique Armenia this denoted someone from Xužastan and was never applied to a Roman dyophysite. Intriguingly, Uxtanēs names this *xužik* Kis, a name which he derives from *xstut’iwn*, harshness or inflexibility.<sup>96</sup> This etymology is convenient, but also improbable. It seems more likely that Uxtanēs was inviting his readers to associate the man’s name with *kēs*, half, highlighting someone who was half-and-half, half Armenian but half Roman as well, and so establishing a precursor to those known as Cad/Cayt’.

Book II of Uxtanēs’ *History*, therefore, holds great significance for the study of ethno-confessional tensions in the late tenth century. It is written from the perspective of a bishop of the Armenian Church who recognized the leadership of the catholicos Xač’ik, but whose pastoral oversight covered Armenian communities located within the Byzantine Empire in and around Sebasteia. His sharp antipathy towards Chalcedon emerges forcefully, but this is directed against Kiwrion rather than representatives of the Imperial Church. It is worth remembering, however, that the *History* was commissioned by Anania Narekac’i, whose own anti-Chalcedonian treatise *Hawatarmat* was mentioned earlier. While the *History* is written out of the context of contemporary turbulence in and around Sebasteia, we should not forget that it was written for someone located on the southern shore of lake Van in Vaspurakan, a region then outside the formal structures of the Imperial Church, whose own

<sup>93</sup> Garsoïan, *L’Église*, 313.

<sup>95</sup> Uxtanēs II.1 [511.19].

<sup>94</sup> Uxtanēs II.1 [510.8].

<sup>96</sup> Uxtanēs II.1 [511.17].

dyophysite sympathies had manifested themselves a decade or more before, when the controversial catholicos Vahanik had taken refuge there.<sup>97</sup> Catholicos Anania Mokac'i had previously experienced a similar challenge in his dealings with Siwnik' a generation before.<sup>98</sup> Chalcedonian Armenians were not confined to any one district, and it may be that Uxtanēs refrained intentionally from commenting on the involvement of the Imperial Church, whatever his own experience in Sebasteia may have been.

At first glance, the first book of Uxtanēs' *History* seems to contain little of value, no more than a compilation of extracts from known works tracing the course of human history from Adam to the reign of king Trdat and the mission of St Grigor. Only chapter 75 has attracted regular scholarly comment, and this is because it is described as an extract from the *History* of Šapuh Bagratuni, a lost work of the late ninth century.<sup>99</sup> Closer examination, however, reveals that there is much more to this book than has previously been acknowledged. Four features in particular deserve to be highlighted. Its debt to the first two books of the *History* of Movsēs Xorenac'i has long been appreciated, as the introduction to Brosset's translation attests.<sup>100</sup> Uxtanēs derived his knowledge of the Armenian past primarily—although, as we shall see, not exclusively—from Xorenac'i's *History*. But Uxtanēs then undertook a second editorial process. Rather than leaving the individual extracts in a raw, undigested state, he then fused them with material drawn from a late seventh-century Armenian composite work of universal history and chronology, sometimes attributed to Anania Širakac'i, and most recently published under the authorship of P'ilon Tirakac'i, but better-known as the *Anonymous Chronicle*.<sup>101</sup> There can be no doubt whatsoever that Uxtanēs exploited this text directly; the borrowings are multiple and verbatim, to the extent that the first fifty-nine chapters of book I, from the opening passages recording the

<sup>97</sup> See III.8 and n.156; and more briefly this Introduction, n. 14.

<sup>98</sup> Anania Mokac'i, "Tea'n Ananiayi Hayoc' kat'olikosi yałas apstambut'ean tann Ałuanic' or ěnd žamanaks leal ic'ē jėrnadrut'iwnn artak'oy surb lusaworc'i at'ofoyn", ed. G. Tėr-Mkrt-č'ean, *Ararat* (1897), 129–44; repr. in *Matenagirk' Hayoc'*, vol. 10 (Ant'ılias, 2009), 255–74; repr., with facing French translation by P. Boisson, in *Mélanges Jean-Pierre Mahé* TM 18 (Paris, 2014), 786–829.

<sup>99</sup> Uxtanēs I.75, in the heading [508.1] and in the final sentence [509.19]: *i patmut'enē Šap'oy*. Confusingly this is §90 in Brosset, *Deux Historiens*, 274.

<sup>100</sup> Brosset, *Deux Historiens*, x.

<sup>101</sup> *Anonymous Chronicle*, *Ananum žamanakagrut'iwın*, ed. B. Sargisean (Venice, 1904), 1–80; A. G. Abrahamyan, *Anania Širakac'u matenagrut'yunē* (Erevan, 1944), 357–99; P'ilon Tirakac'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwın*, ed. A. Hakobyan, *Matenagirk' Hayoc' 7th Century*, vol. 5 (Ant'ılias, 2005), 899–969. All references will be to Hakobyan's recent edition, although the familiar title *Anonymous Chronicle* will be retained to avoid further confusion. For a study of this work, without, however, a translation, see T. W. Greenwood, "New Light from the East": Chronography and Ecclesiastical History through a Late Seventh-Century Armenian Source', *J ECS* 16/2 (2008), 197–254. It is striking that Uxtanēs I.43 [480.11–17] contains a short imperial sequence, comprising Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius, which is now missing from the surviving witnesses to the *Anonymous Chronicle*.

descent from Adam to the summary of the reign of the emperor Constantine, comprise material derived from one or other of these texts, that is, either the *History* of Movsēs Xorenac'i or the *Anonymous Chronicle*. All of the passages describing Roman emperors, their years in power and events which took place during their reigns, from Gaius Julius Caesar to Constantine I, were lifted verbatim from the *Anonymous Chronicle*.<sup>102</sup> Uxtanēs did not merge or meld the extracts; rather, he interleaved them. Admittedly, the resultant narrative is fragmented and disrupted, alternating between extracts from the two texts, but it evinces a deeper purpose on the part of Uxtanēs, namely to impose a chronology on the Armenian past as it had been recorded by Xorenac'i. This is highly significant. Although earlier tenth-century Armenian historians had shown an awareness of the broad sweep of human history from the time of Adam to the present day, including T'ovma Arcruni and Yovhannēs Draxanakertc'i, none of them had shown any interest in chronological precision. Uxtanēs' *History* therefore emerges as an important work for the study of the *Universal History* of Step'anos Tarōnec'i. As we shall see, that work demonstrates an even greater interest in chronological precision.

This process of compilation on the part of Uxtanēs not only provided a chronological framework to the past, from Adam to the reign of king Trdat; it also fused the distant Armenian past with the distant Roman past. This too seems to have been in the mind of Uxtanēs when he came to compile book I. Episodes from Xorenac'i's *History* which comment on relations between Armenians and Romans feature prominently in his selections. Chapter 17, for example, offers a brief summary of the reign of Aram drawn from Xorenac'i's *History* (I.13 and I.14), and describes his campaign 'to the regions of the Biwandac'ik', [the site] which is called Caesarea'.<sup>103</sup> Although the reference to Caesarea is in Xorenac'i's *History*, its location by reference to the inhabitants of Byzantium, the forerunner of Constantinople, seems to have been inserted by Uxtanēs in place of the inhabitants of Cappadocia. The inclusion of the correspondence between Abgar and the emperor Tiberius in chapters 36–8, and the concession of Mesopotamia to Vespasian and Titus by Eruand in chapter 41, provide other instances of Roman–Armenian engagement, and it is striking that relations are often presented in terms of antagonism and hostility.<sup>104</sup> Of course, Uxtanēs' decision to include the full Roman imperial sequence as preserved in the *Anonymous Chronicle*, in seventeen sections, also imparted a strong Roman tinge to book I, but these selections from Xorenac'i's *History* imply intent. One way of approaching book I,

<sup>102</sup> *Contra* Brosset, *Deux Historiens*, x, who identified Eusebius' *Chronicle* as the source.

<sup>103</sup> Uxtanēs I.17 [463.5]: *i kolmans Biwandac'woc', or ayžm koč'i Kesaria*. Movsēs Xorenac'i, *Patmut'iwn Hayoc'*, ed. M. Abelean and S. Yarut'iwnean (Tiflis, 1913; repr. Delmar, NY, 1981; rev. edn. (with collations by A. B. Sargsean) Erevan, 1991), I.14 [46.4–5]: *i kolmans Kapadov-kac'woc', i teli mi or ayžm asi Kesaria*.

<sup>104</sup> Uxtanēs I.36–8 [475–6]; Uxtanēs I.41 [478–9].

therefore, is to see it as a commentary on Armenian–Roman relations in the past, and an invitation to understand the present in similar terms.

The third feature of book I, first noted by Peeters, is its knowledge of saints and holy sites in and around the city of Sebasteia.<sup>105</sup> This is illustrated through two chapters. Chapter 46 comprises a short hagiography of St Theodore Teron or Tiron (sometimes known as Theodore of Amaseia).<sup>106</sup> In this account, Theodore came from the village of Sabobē, six miles from the city of Verisa, in ‘the district of Armeniakon, which was called Second Armenia’.<sup>107</sup> He fought and defeated a dragon, *višap*, on the estate, *p̄rastin*, of a widow named Eusebia, and was subsequently martyred in the city of Amaseia. An unnamed pious woman took the relics of the saint to the village of Euchaïta, near to the city of Amaseia, and placed them in a tomb with great honour. The narrative ends by noting that the holy martyr was killed on the twenty-fourth day of the month of *mareri*. Although not previously identified, this is a redaction of a short hagiography titled *History of the City of Amaseia and the Life and Works of St Theodore the Commander*.<sup>108</sup> The longer version credits Eusebia with the translation of the relics and specifies Theodore’s feast day as the second day of the month of June during the reign of Maximian and Maximinus, as well as recording a long conversation between the saint and Berenikēs/Brinkas, the *senekapet*.<sup>109</sup> Whether or not Uxtanēs was personally responsible for the redaction is impossible to determine.

<sup>105</sup> P. Peeters, ‘Sainte Sousanik, martyre en Arméno-Géorgie († 12/14 décembre 482/484)’, *AB* 53 (1935), 248. Peeters does not, however, refer to the account of the life of St Theodore.

<sup>106</sup> Uxtanēs I.46 [484.9–16]. For a discussion of Theodore, see C. Walter, ‘Theodore, Arche-type of the Warrior Saint’, *REB* 57 (1999), 163–210, with the specific limitation to ‘Byzantine tradition’ expressed at n. 181. The recent study of the two Theodores is also limited to texts in Greek: J. Haldon, *A Tale of Two Saints: The Martyrdoms and Miracles of Saints Theodore ‘the Recruit’ and ‘the General’*, TTB 2 (Liverpool, 2016). The relationship between the Greek and Armenian traditions has not been established. Several features in Uxtanēs’ short account, including Eusebia’s encounter and conversation with Theodore prior to the killing of the dragon, coincide with Haldon’s Text 4 (*BHG* 1794: 187–90) and the version preserved in the encomium of Nikephoros Ouranos (*BHG* 1762m); see F. Halkin, ‘Un opuscule inconnu du magistre Nicéphore Ouranos (Vie de Saint Théodore le Conscriit)’, *AB* 80: 308–24.

<sup>107</sup> The gloss attached to *gawañ ayn Armeneak, or koč’i Erkrord Hayk’*, suggests that the underlying account was in Greek. The reference to Eusebia’s landholding as an estate, *πρόδοτειον*, supports this. Although this is rendered *P̄rasmin* in Uxtanēs I.46 [484.12], this is a corruption of *p̄rastin* found in the longer recension, for which see next note. Uxtanēs names the estate as Ahota, which may be a corruption of Euchaïta; the site of his relics is clearly identified by Uxtanēs as *Ewk’aita*.

<sup>108</sup> ‘Patmut’iwn Amasia k’alak’i ew yałags snndean ew varuc’ srbony T’ēodorosi zōravarin’, *Sop’erk’ haykakank’* 16 (1854), 55–87. This title identifies Theodore Stratelates, but it is clear that the account is focused on Theodore Teron. For *p̄rastin*, see 60, ll. 10 and 15. See also N. Andrikan, ‘Ditolut’iwn mẽ Patmut’iwn Amasia k’alak’i grut’ean vray’, *Bazmavēp* 63 (1905), 441–8; and P. Muradyan ‘T’ēodoros zinvori vkayabanut’yan xmbgrut’yunnerē’, *Banber Erevani Hamalsarani* (1970/1), 176–89.

<sup>109</sup> For the exchanges between Theodore, Brinkas/Berenikēs, and the *dukenarios* Posidonios, see ‘Patmut’iwn Amasia’, 64–6. Brinkas seems to be based on Joseph Bringas, the *parakoimomenos* of Romanos II (r. 9 November 959–15 March 963), who was bitterly opposed to

The second chapter to show knowledge of contemporary religious culture in Sebasteia clearly reflects the direct input of Uxtanēs. Chapter 61 is devoted to the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia.<sup>110</sup> As recounted by Uxtanēs, the emperor Licinius tried to force Christians to worship idols in the district of Cappadocia, ‘in the *t’emn* [theme] of T’ewlaxunēk’ and Anatolikon and Charsianon and Armeniakon and Dazimon’. The Christians for their part sought refuge in remote locations around Sebasteia, some in Melesitn, a fortress in the mountains, others going to Taxalasun, a mountain, and others to the region of Tiwknoc’. None of these sites are known, but they attest precise local knowledge on the part of the author. At the site of the ensuing massacre numerous churches were built, and Uxtanēs reveals that this was called Ekefec’ajor, ‘Valley of Churches’. The Forty Martyrs were soldiers who refused to carry out the order of Licinius. They fled to a cave on the banks of the river Halys, a strongpoint ‘which now is a settlement, called Vahan the Brave, and still serves as a place of refuge for the saints; the names of each one are written on stone tablets and the symbol of victory, the Cross has been carved onto the stone columns’.<sup>111</sup> When Licinius heard, he ordered the *duk*’s, the military commander, and the *datawor*, judge, who were in the city of Sebasteia to search for the Forty, and when they found them to torture them to death. Uxtanēs notes that they were extracted from their refuge and taken to Sebasteia on the fifteenth day of the month of *areg*, ‘which we have appointed as the day of the festival of the Holy Forty, not casually but after some scholars had made careful examination, and we have decreed to celebrate [that day] every year in our diocese in perpetuity to the glory of God’.<sup>112</sup> Uxtanēs also reveals that he had examined the matter and discovered that their torments had begun on this day, and they were martyred on 9 March, the day established by the holy fathers and the day when he had celebrated, and would continue to celebrate, their festival, along with the whole orthodox church, although he does not tell us where this took place. The narrative concludes with an extract from the

Nikephoros Phokas but who failed to prevent him from seizing control, in early August 963. Both Bringas and Posidonios appear in Haldon’s Text 2 (*BHG* 1761: 128). Their exchanges with Theodore are similar, and in some instances verbatim, thereby proving a direct relationship between the Armenian and Greek texts.

<sup>110</sup> Uxtanēs I.61 [495–96]. Once more, a text in Greek may underlie this account: *i gawārn or koč’i Kaputakēk’ ew i t’emn T’ewlaxunēk’ ew Anatawlikēk’ ew Xartanayk’ ew Armenakk’ ew Dazimon ... t’emn* is a transliterated form of *θέμα*. For a study of the Greek text, see P. Karlin-Hayter, ‘Passio of the XL Martyrs of Sebasteia. The Greek Tradition: The Earliest Account’, *AB* 109 (1991), 249–304. This consults the Armenian version of the *Passio* (*BHO* 712) but does not cite or otherwise refer to Uxtanēs’ version. Peeters, ‘Sainte Sousanik’, 248, refers briefly, and disparagingly, to this chapter.

<sup>111</sup> Uxtanēs I.61 [496.8]: *mi yezr getoyn or koč’i Alis i teli mi amroc’i ... isk ayžm šēn or koč’i K’aj-Vahanay.*

<sup>112</sup> Uxtanēs I.61 [496.13].

homily dedicated to the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia composed by ‘the blessed Barseł’, St Basil of Caesarea.<sup>113</sup>

This long chapter therefore provides vital insight into local religious topography and memorialization. It indicates that Uxtanēs was indeed the bishop of Sebasteia at the time of composition, and that one of the issues he had been confronted with was where and when to celebrate the feast day of the Forty Martyrs, the most famous local saints. Promoting the commemoration of the arrest of the Forty on the banks of the river Halys on a day appointed by Uxtanēs, rather than at the site of their martyrdom in Sebasteia on the well-known feast day, suggests that Uxtanēs and his flock of Armenian Christians did not have access to this well-known pilgrimage site. Uxtanēs therefore advanced the claims of this alternative site, while at the same time recognizing the popularity of the original. Rather unexpectedly, therefore, Uxtanēs’ *History* reveals a significant amount of information about local religious practice in and around late tenth-century Sebasteia, from the perspective of an orthodox Armenian bishop, and the challenges of both acknowledging local cults and festivals and developing distinctive ways of celebrating them.

The final twenty-one chapters (56–76) present a more complicated picture.<sup>114</sup> They are focused on the mass of traditions surrounding the reign of Trdat and the activities of St Grigor. Rather than plotting a singular path, it seems that Uxtanēs resolved to include them all, even when this produced confusion and repetition. Extracts from Xorenac’i’s *History* and the *Anonymous Chronicle* sit alongside passages selected from the *History of Tarōn*, the *History of Agat’angelos*, the Armenian *Life of Sylvester*, and the lost *History of Šapuh Bagratuni*.<sup>115</sup> It is, however, the exploitation of the *History of Tarōn* which merits further comment, for as argued earlier, this work was composed in the aftermath of the annexation of Tarōn in 966/7. Since Uxtanēs was

<sup>113</sup> Homily XIX, *In sanctos quadraginta martyres*, PG 31: 508.1B–C. For an annotated translation, see P. Allen et al., ‘Let us die that we may live’: *Greek Homilies on Christian Martyrs from Asia Minor, Palestine and Syria c. 350–c. 450 AD* (London and New York, 2003), 67–77, at 68.1. The sequence of the sentences has been altered, but the overlap in terms of content is close.

<sup>114</sup> Uxtanēs I.49–76 [486–510].

<sup>115</sup> By way of illustration, the second part of Uxtanēs I.50 [487.7–20] is derived from *Anonymous Chronicle*: P’ilon Tirakac’i, *Žamanakagrut’iwn*, 942.131–944.150; Uxtanēs I.56 [490.1–11] is derived from MX II.76–77 [214.10–215.16]; Uxtanēs I.57 [491–2] is derived, almost verbatim, from the first part of the *History of Tarōn*, attributed to Zenob Glak: Yovhannēs Mamikonean, 1001.1–1004.22; Uxtanēs I.62 [497–8] summarizes the torments of St Grigor as presented in Agat’angelos §§ 48, 49, 69, 102, 103, 105, 106, 107, 109, 111, 112, 115, 119, 121, and 122; Uxtanēs I.71 [504.6–505.36] is derived from the first Armenian version of the *Life of Sylvester*, for which see R. W. Thomson, ‘The Armenian Versions of the “Life of Sylvester”’, *JAS* 14 (2005), 55–139. The description at 505.23 of the sound accompanying Constantine’s baptism, ‘there was a crackling as if from a frying pan’, *Ew ewew čarčatumn orpēs i tapakac’*, occurs in the original version, Thomson’s Arm1, but is missing from the later adaptation, Arm2; see Thomson, ‘Life of Sylvester’, 94 and n. 157, which identifies this passage in Uxtanēs; and Uxtanēs I.75 [508–9], extracted from the *History* of Šapuh Bagratuni.

writing his *History* in the 980s, the *History of Tarōn* must have been circulating very soon after its composition, although it is impossible to know whether there was direct contact between Sebasteia and the monastery of Glak in Innaknean or indirect contact through a third party. It may be that Uxtanēs found, or otherwise obtained, this text in the library of the Catholicosate at Argina, since we know that he was there on at least one occasion and that he exploited the *Girk' T'lt'oc'* for book II of his *History*. Although the exact circumstances are unknown, and probably unknowable, it is clear that the *History of Tarōn* was available in some form to Uxtanēs, and that he was unsure quite what to make of its evidence when it conflicted with his other authorities. In I.76 he preferred the testimony of Movsēs Xorenač'i on the identity of the emperor who crowned Trdat.<sup>116</sup> But we should note that this did not deter him from incorporating other extracts from the *History of Tarōn*.<sup>117</sup>

In light of the above, it is clear that the *Universal History* of Step'anos Tarōnec'i was composed in a contemporary historiographical context which was more vibrant and more varied than has previously been acknowledged. The two surviving expressions of historical literature from Vaspurakan, one of the continuations of T'ovma Arcruni's *History* and the *History of the Anonymous Story-Teller*, attest a strongly Persianate cultural milieu. Armenian princes feature in these works, but they tend to do so in relationship with caliphs, governors, and emirs, looking east and south. By contrast, the *History of Tarōn* and Uxtanēs' *History* originated in parts of western Armenia under Byzantine control, and articulate different responses to those changed circumstances. The *History of Tarōn* offers a new account of the mission of St Grigor the Illuminator and the conversion of Armenia, one in which the primacy of the monastery of Glak at Innaknean and the oversight of the metropolitan of Caesarea are stressed. The lack of hostility to the Roman Empire and the Imperial church is striking, and suggests a willingness to work within the transformed political and religious landscape. Uxtanēs, on the other hand, reveals a degree of antipathy towards the Roman Empire through the first book of his *History*. The reigns of individual emperors are presented in terms of the persecution and martyrdom of Christians or the emergence of heterodox beliefs. Of course, these passages derive ultimately from Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* via the *Anonymous Chronicle*, and one could argue that Uxtanēs used these extracts for exclusively chronological purposes. Yet, when viewed in the light of the anti-Chalcedonian tone of book II—and the specific association of doctrinal error with the Romans, noted earlier—it seems

<sup>116</sup> Uxtanēs I.76 [509.1–6].

<sup>117</sup> See Uxtanēs I.57, cited in n. 115, and I.74 [507.6–508.9], again from the first part of the *History of Tarōn*, attributed to Zenob Glak: Yovhannēs Mamikonean, 993.63–5. Intriguingly, I.74 bears the heading 'from another history', *yalmē patmut'enē*.



that Uxtanēs was inviting his audience to view contemporary Romans in the same way, as persecutors of the faithful who permitted heresies to flourish and who were themselves heterodox. Whilst the author of the *History of Tarōn* projected a past characterized by peaceful interaction between Roman and Armenian Christians, Uxtanēs presented an alternative vision of Roman–Armenian relations, of past repression and doctrinal tension. Although there is no evidence of direct relationship between the *Universal History* and any one of these four texts, nevertheless it has a degree of proximity to each of them, reflecting its compilation in a contemporary cultural milieu. Let us now turn to examine the *Universal History* itself in detail.

### STRUCTURE, CONTENT, PURPOSE

The *Universal History* addresses the whole of human history, from Creation down to the year 1004/5 CE. It is divided into three books of unequal length, each of which is further subdivided into chapters. Book I extends in time from ‘our forefather Adam’ until the accession of king Trdat, and comprises five chapters.<sup>118</sup> Book II covers the period from the reign of king Trdat and ‘our second father and the first illuminator of us Armenians’, that is, Grigor the Illuminator, down to the ‘second restoration of this kingdom of Armenia’ which took place when Ašot I Bagratuni was crowned king on 26 August 884, after a hiatus of four and a half centuries; it is divided into six chapters.<sup>119</sup> Book III records events from then until the year 1004/5; it extends over forty-eight chapters, plus a separate, and highly informative, conclusion.<sup>120</sup> Step’anos has therefore structured world time around the two most significant events in Armenian history, at least in his eyes: the conversion of Armenia at the start of the fourth century and the restoration of the kingdom at the end of the ninth century. These events impart additional meaning to his tripartite division. Far from being random breaks, Step’anos planned them, recognizing the sweep of world history but organizing it by reference to Armenian tradition.

There are two further indicators of careful preparation on the part of Step’anos. Although the division into three books is hardly new in Armenian historical writing, having been employed by Movsēs Xorenac’i in his own *History of Armenia*, Step’anos seems to be the first Armenian author to have considered the internal structure of his composition and the relative

<sup>118</sup> ST I, 3–53; ST II, 639–72.

<sup>119</sup> ST I, 57–145; ST II, 672–735. The date of Ašot’s coronation is established in a colophon in M3711, published by Mat’evosyan, *Hišatakaranner*, no. 47.

<sup>120</sup> ST I, 149–286; ST II, 735–829.

dimensions of the sections. Book I comprises almost exactly one-sixth of the whole, book II one-third, and book III one-half. The books seem to be in proportion to one another, and in inverse proportion to their chronological scope. No previous work of Armenian historical writing gives any indication of having been planned in this way. Secondly, it is clear that the opening and closing passages of each book have been crafted very deliberately by Step'anos. By way of illustration, these afforded him the opportunity to list his sources (I.1), to ruminate on the passage of time and the role of divine Providence in human history (III.1), and to address his sponsor, catholicos Sargis, and all future readers (III.Conclusion).<sup>121</sup> In other words, Step'anos exploited these points of transition, these interstices in an ongoing chronological exegesis of world history, to reflect on his own craft as a historian. As we shall see later, these passages therefore hold particular value as expressions of intent and wider purpose on the part of Step'anos, giving us valuable insight into the mind of the author. For the moment, however, it is their location which is striking, attesting an awareness of the value of order and structure in a historical composition focused on relative and absolute chronologies, relegating personal statements of ambition and means to the margins of the composition. From the outset, Step'anos emerges as someone who adopted a highly structured approach to the past, who planned the whole work, and who finished it—although not entirely to his satisfaction it seems, judging from his comments in the Conclusion—before handing it over to Sargis.<sup>122</sup>

Before considering the purposes of the work as a whole, the structure and contents of each book will be analysed. Hitherto, the first two books have been treated as less significant, and in narrative terms this is undeniable. They are composite, largely—although not entirely—made up of extracts from known sources. But this does not mean that they are without value. Philologists have compared the extracts with earlier Armenian texts which have survived only in later manuscripts, although it must be admitted that this comparative approach works less well in circumstances where the compiler has adapted the original. As we shall see, Step'anos was not averse to making his own revisions. Scholars of Armenian linguistics have studied the manuscripts for evidence of lexical and orthographical shifts. Historians, however, have been reluctant to engage with them, preferring to concentrate on book III. Yet the first two books allow us to study Step'anos at work, the editorial decisions he took when selecting material for inclusion and how he fitted them together.

<sup>121</sup> I.1: ST I, 3.3–7.26; ST II, 639.1–640.16. III.1: ST I, 155.3–157.5; ST II, 738.1–739.6. III. Conclusion: ST I, 284.1–286.8; ST II, 828.1–829.8.

<sup>122</sup> Step'anos reflects on his shallow understanding and his mistakes, anticipating both praise and criticism for the composition. These comments are largely self-deprecating and conventional. Yet Step'anos also seems to be expressing some frustration that the travails of everyday church business had prevented him from achieving the 'proper arrangements of this composition', implying that he thought it could be improved.

Alterations and additions reveal how Step'anos further shaped his material. It is only with the benefit of these insights into the editorial process that it becomes possible to analyse the construction of book III, previously hidden from view by virtue of the dearth of extant underlying sources and the silence of Step'anos on this subject.

### Book I: The Distant Past—Abraham to Trdat

The opening to book I is instructive. It associates the literary legacy of the poets and orators of the Armenians and other peoples with the books of the Old Testament written by the prophets, starting with Moses. This implies equality of achievement and spiritual discernment between the two groups, which is a bold claim. It also legitimizes Step'anos' own undertaking, 'giving testimonies for those that are to come of things that have taken place, adopting a scholarly approach . . .'.<sup>123</sup> Having named Old Testament authors and mentioned Josephus in passing, Step'anos then commends those blessed 'with intelligence who recorded through written compositions the names and times of kings and all the contemporary matters which were worthy of recollection'.<sup>124</sup> Step'anos highlights Eusebius Pamphili as *čšmarit t'uohn žamanakac'*, the true calculator of time, describing the chronological scope of Eusebius' *Chronicle* as extending from Adam and Eve's banishment from the Garden of Eden to the Vicennalia of Constantine I.<sup>125</sup> Such extravagant praise for Eusebius is both striking and informative, for it provides the first evidence of Step'anos' particular interest in, and attention to, chronology. Both parts of Eusebius' *Chronicle*—the *Chronographia*, comprising an ancillary collection of raw chronological data, and the *Chronological Canons*, the tables which presented the results of Eusebius' research in an innovative and accessible form—had been translated into Armenian, arguably at an early date.<sup>126</sup> Several previous Armenian historians—including Movsēs Xorenac'i, the author of the *Anonymous Chronicle*, T'ovma Arcruni, Yovhannēs Draxxanakertc'i, Movsēs Dasxuranc'i, and most recently, Uxtanēs—had sought to graft Armenian tradition onto world history. But only the *Anonymous Chronicle* and Uxtanēs had shown any interest in establishing chronological precision from Creation onwards, and as noted above, Uxtanēs was dependent upon the

<sup>123</sup> ST I, 5.11–14; ST II, 639.1.

<sup>124</sup> ST I, 6.12–16; ST II, 640.6.

<sup>125</sup> ST I, 6.16; ST II, 640.7.

<sup>126</sup> *Eusebii Pamphili Caesariensis Episcopi, Chronicum Bipartitum*, 2 vols. ed. J. Aucher/Y. Awgarean (Venice, 1818); commentary and translation by J. Karst, *Die Chronik aus dem armenischen übersetzt mit textkritischem Commentar, Eusebius Werke*, GCS Bd. 5 (Leipzig, 1911). For a recent discussion of the dating of the Armenian version, see Greenwood, 'New Light from the East', 198–207.

*Anonymous Chronicle* for his sequence of Roman emperors, fusing seventeen extracts from that work with passages from the *History* of Movsēs Xorenac'i. And even Uxtanēs only followed this pattern in book I of his *History*, to the reigns of Constantine I and Trdat in the early fourth century. Step'anos, however, kept rigorously to his chronological brief throughout his composition. This eulogy to Eusebius, therefore, is more than mere convention. It expresses an affinity on the part of Step'anos for a fellow calculator of time, as well as generating the chronographical context in which Step'anos wished to situate his own composition. Time was central to Step'anos' historical vision, as his *Universal History* demonstrates. This is one important dimension which sets him apart from earlier Armenian historians.

Before embarking on his chronology of human history, however, Step'anos lists previous Armenian historians whose works he has consulted. His sequence begins first and foremost with Agat'angelos, before moving on to 'the great Movsēs, equal to Eusebius, who is named the father of literature'.<sup>127</sup> Step'anos exploited the *History* of Movsēs Xorenac'i extensively in four chapters—I.4, I.5, II.1, and III.2—and it is clear that Movsēs' high reputation had already been established by the start of the tenth century, judging by the similar epithets applied to him by T'ovma Arcruni and Movsēs Dasxuranc'i.<sup>128</sup> Intriguingly, neither of these authors equated Movsēs with Eusebius in this manner, suggesting that this was Step'anos' own opinion. Step'anos then lists the *Histories* of vardapet Elišē, Łazar P'arpec'i, and P'awstos Biwzand, the *History of Heraclius*, 'said to be by bishop Sebēos', the *History* of Łewond, and lastly, 'in more recent days', the *Histories* of Šapuh Bagratuni and lord Yovhannēs, catholicos of Armenia.<sup>129</sup> He adds the following:

Now having selected from all of these, like [picking] delightful flowers, pleasing to the eye with very beautiful colours and sweetly scented, from far-stretched plains and mountain valleys, I have brought and offer [this] as a present to your God-loving person and your inquisitive intellect, being obliged by your compelling order, O most learned one among scholars, with a divinely adorned and virtue-covered brilliance, honoured above all, Lord Sargis.<sup>130</sup>

In this way, Step'anos is asserting that his work is a compilation of extracts from all of the works he has cited. Careful textual analysis across books I and II and book III.1–6 confirms that this is indeed the case, and passages from all these texts do feature. Admittedly, not all the earlier works contribute equally.

<sup>127</sup> ST I, 7.2–3; ST II, 640.11, *mecn Movsēs, hangoyñ Ewsebeay or k'ert'olac' anuani hayr*. For a brief introduction and bibliographic references to these and the following works, see I.1 and nn. 9–19.

<sup>128</sup> T'A I.11 [75.34], *tiezerahrč'akeal k'ert'oln*, the world-famous orator; Movsēs Dasxuranc'i/ Kałankatuac'i, *Patmut'iwn Ałuanic' ašxarhi*, ed. V. Ařak'elyan (Erevan, 1983), I.8 [12.15], *mez k'ert'olahayrn*, our literary father.

<sup>129</sup> ST I, 7.3–12; ST II, 640.12–14.

<sup>130</sup> ST I, 7.15–23; ST II, 640.15.

Elišē's *History* is cited just once, at the opening of II.2, whereas the *History* of Yovhannēs Draxanakertc'ī was used extensively across books II and III, but in a work of universal history this is only to be expected, given the narrow chronological focus of the first and the broad sweep of the second.<sup>131</sup> On the other hand, Step'anos does not include the *Anonymous Chronicle* in this list. This is surprising, because it seems to underlie several passages in I.1 and I.3. Indeed, at one point in I.1 Step'anos refers to a subtotal calculated by 'Origen and Anania Širakac'ī, implying that he was familiar with the *Anonymous Chronicle* and its association with Anania.<sup>132</sup> Quite why Step'anos did not include Anania in his list of Armenian historians is probably never going to be resolved, but it is worth pointing out that he was no more forthcoming about his sources for II.5–6 or from III.6 onwards. One line of argument would be to propose that substantial parts of book I derive from the lost *History* of Šapuh Bagratuni. Admittedly, there is some circumstantial evidence to suggest that this composition concluded with the coronation of Ašot I Bagratuni in August 884, and it evidently had an interest in royal history.<sup>133</sup> In the preface to his own *History*, Yovhannēs Draxanakertc'ī referred to this event and the renewal of the kingdom, noting in the next sentence that Šapuh the historian had written about life and deeds of Ašot.<sup>134</sup> Yovhannēs also commended Šapuh's *History* again shortly after his description of Ašot's coronation.<sup>135</sup> Furthermore, the substantial passage from that work cited by Uxtanēs at the end of book I of his *History* records several traditions surrounding the transmission of the crown of David, king of Israel, via the Sasanian *šahanšah* Šapuh I to Constantine I.<sup>136</sup> So it is possible that Step'anos exploited Šapuh's *History* far more than has previously been acknowledged, even that it may have influenced the chronological scope of the first two books of the *Universal History*, recalling that book I concludes with the accession of Trdat and book II with the restoration of an Armenian royal line through the coronation of Ašot. But unless and until a copy of Šapuh's lost *History* turns up, the relationship between that text and the *Universal History* will remain opaque.

This list of Armenian authors prompts one broader observation. With the exception of Šapuh's lost *History*, the body of historical texts recorded by Step'anos has been transmitted to the present day. Yet it is by no means a full list of extant medieval Armenian historical compositions. It lacks the *Histories* of T'ovma Arcruni, Movsēs Dasxuranc'ī, and any reflection of the Siwnian

<sup>131</sup> For the solitary reference to Elišē, see II.2 and n. 87; the *History* of Yovhannēs Draxanakertc'ī was exploited in II.2, II.4, and III.2–6.

<sup>132</sup> ST I, 9.203; ST II, 641.23.

<sup>133</sup> T. W. Greenwood, 'A Reassessment of the *History* of Lewond', *Le Muséon* 125: 1–2 (2012), 118–19.

<sup>134</sup> YD Preface.13–14 [6.17–7.9].

<sup>135</sup> YD XXIX.21 [140.23–142.1].

<sup>136</sup> Uxtanēs I.75 [508.1] and [509.19], *ard asac'ak' zorpisut'iwn t'agin i patmut'enē Šap'oy*.

past which would later be preserved by Step'annos Ōrbēlean.<sup>137</sup> The historical traditions of Vaspurakan, Ałuank', and Siwnik' do not feature in the list of authorities provided by Step'anos. As a result, the representation of Armenia by Step'anos in the *Universal History* is more limited than historic or contemporary circumstances warranted. Focusing on the royal lines of Aršakuni and then Bagratuni kings, together with the sequence of catholicoi of Armenia, had the effect of reducing or curtailing the definition of Armenia, excluding those royal dynasties who were not Bagratuni and those ecclesiastical leaders who were not aligned doctrinally, or arraigned beneath the headship of, the catholicos. Thus the expression of 'Armenian' identity provided by the *Universal History* was carefully crafted by Step'anos, perhaps more artfully than has been appreciated. As outlined further in the conclusion, this had an impact on the construction of Armenian historical memory.

Following these preliminary comments by Step'anos, the chronological survey begins. The remainder of chapter 1 calculates the passage of time from the seventy-fifth year of Abraham through the line of the patriarchs to the Exodus under Moses; and from the Exodus through the sequence of judges and then kings until the construction of the Temple under Solomon in Jerusalem; and then the line of the kings of Judah until the fall of Jerusalem and the Babylonian captivity under Nebuchadnezzar; and from the release and return under Cyrus and the sequence of Achaemenid kings of Persia until their destruction at the hands of Alexander the Great. Chapter 2 is much shorter, and describes the sequence of Ptolemaic kings of Egypt from the death of Alexander to Cleopatra, Julius Caesar, and the nineteenth year of Tiberius, identified as the year of the Crucifixion. Chapter 3, however, reverts back in time to the sequence of Jewish high priests during the reign of Cyrus and the restoration of the Temple under Zerubbabel. It extends down to the capture of Jerusalem by Pompey, the reign of Herod, the birth and Passion of Jesus Christ, the destruction of Jerusalem by Vespasian, and a sequence of Roman emperors to the twentieth year of Constantine I, the original conclusion of Eusebius' *Chronicle*. Chapter 4 also moves backwards, to the descent from Noah's sons, the kings of Assyria from Ninus, the kings of Media, and (for a second time) the Achaemenid kings of Persia. After reporting the death of Alexander, the chapter moves swiftly across Ptolemaic and Seleucid history down to the emergence of Aršak the Brave, the progenitor of the Parthian dynasty. Having observed that Aršak the Great, the grandson of Aršak the Brave, appointed his brother Vałaršak as king over this country of Armenia, the chapter lists the sequence of Parthian kings down to their demise at the

<sup>137</sup> Step'annos Ōrbēlean, *Patmut'iwn Nahangin Sisakan*, ed. K. Šahnazareanc' (Paris, 1859; repr. Tiflis, 1910); Step'annos Episkopos Siwneac', *Patmut'iwn tann Sisakan*, ed. N. Emin (Moscow, 1861); French translation by M.-F. Brosset, *Histoire de la Siounie par Stéphanos Orbélian* (St Petersburg, 1864).

hands of Artašir Stahrac'i, the son of Sasan. In contrast, chapter 5 is relatively straightforward in terms of content and origin, being a study of the Armenian royal line from the Parthian era to the accession of Trdat. This is based almost entirely upon extracts from book II of the *History* of Movsēs Xorenac'i. The final entry acknowledges this, by noting that 'everything from the reign of Aršak the Brave until this point has been said by the great historian Movsēs Tarōnec'i, bishop of Bagrewand and Aršarunik'.<sup>138</sup> The chapter then ends with a statement that the 'death of Xosrov, king of Armenia, is the end of our book'.

The fusion of Old Testament sequences of patriarchs and kings with Persian, Egyptian, and then Roman rulers over the first two chapters supplies the simplest complete chronological framework for a world history, with the major moments of transition being the release of the Jews from captivity in Babylon, the death of Alexander the Great, and the death of Cleopatra. In chronological terms, it would have been easiest for Step'anos to continue the Roman imperial sequence begun at the end of I.2.<sup>139</sup> This, however, would have prevented him from fulfilling two other purposes. Firstly, Step'anos included a sequence of Jewish high priests, as quasi-leaders of their people, at the opening of I.3, not because it afforded further chronological detail or precision—indeed quite the reverse, because the first eleven figures are not given specific years—but rather because it prefigured and justified the subsequent use of Armenian catholicoi in II.2 as a legitimate sequence.<sup>140</sup> Secondly, the bare chronological framework established in the first two chapters did not intersect directly with ancient Armenian royal tradition. It was to address this need that I.4 retreated back in time, to the emergence of the Parthian dynasty, because the Aršakuni kings were descended, or came to be represented as descending, from the Parthian dynasty. In summary, therefore, the first two chapters sought to establish a universal chronology, extending from the time of Adam to the Crucifixion, while chapters 3 and 4 introduced themes of religious leadership and Armenian kingship. These were developed across the remainder of the *Universal History*.

It is, however, a far bigger challenge to establish what source or sources Step'anos had in front of him. Having praised Eusebius as the 'true calculator of time', one might have supposed that Step'anos would have exploited his *Chronicle* directly and faithfully, whether through the collection of materials preserved in the *Chronographia* or the *Chronological Canons* themselves. Unfortunately, the situation is not as simple as that. For when the mass of chronographical material preserved in the first four chapters of book

<sup>138</sup> ST I, 53.16–20; ST II, 672.171.

<sup>139</sup> ST I, 18.7–12; ST II, 648.9, from Julius Caesar to the nineteenth year of Tiberius, the year of the Crucifixion.

<sup>140</sup> ST I, 19.1–20.21; ST II, 648.1–650.9.

I is analysed, it is found to reflect a range of relationships with Eusebius' great work. Some of the extracts appear to have been lifted almost verbatim from the *Chronographia*; others have been expanded through the insertion of short sentences or comments usually taken from the margins of the *Chronological Canons*; others seem to comprise compilations of notices taken from the *Canons* themselves; yet other passages, notably the running sub-totals, have been substantially revised. We should also acknowledge that some passages seem to be more closely related to the contents of the *Anonymous Chronicle* than to Eusebius' *Chronicle*. Since that composition also draws extensively on Eusebius' *Chronicle*, it is often difficult to distinguish between passages which may have been lifted directly from that work and those which have been transmitted through the intermediate *Anonymous Chronicle*. Moreover, we should not ignore the possibility that some or all of the material in these four chapters may have been transmitted through other intermediate texts now lost to us. And this is without considering excisions or alterations made in the course of transmission. These issues have conspired to make it a daunting, and probably impossible, task to try and disentangle the various strands and determine with any confidence what text or texts may have been available to Step'anos.

By way of illustration, let us turn back to chapter 1. The opening chronological section, considering the sequence from the seventy-fifth year of Abraham to the time of the Exodus, is most closely related to a passage from the *Chronographia*.<sup>141</sup> The descent through Levi rather than Joseph distinguishes it from the *Chronological Canons*, but the name of the mother of Moses, Jochebed, is not given by Eusebius and so is a later gloss, possibly by Step'anos himself. Although the figure of 505 years is given by Eusebius, the total number of years from Adam to the Exodus is given as 3809 by Step'anos but 3689 by Eusebius.<sup>142</sup> The following passage records that the Exodus took place on day 13 of the month of Nisan in the year 3809; there is no discussion of this in Eusebius' composition.<sup>143</sup> Step'anos then moves on to consider the much-contested period of time between the Exodus and the construction of the Temple by Solomon. He refers approvingly to Origen and Anania Širakac'i, and then constructs a sequence from Moses to Solomon which is based on a passage in the *Chronographia* but with two additional entries inserted.<sup>144</sup> One was lifted from a separate version of that sequence in the *Chronographia*, but the other seems to come from the *Chronological Canons*.<sup>145</sup> A series of notices follows, all of which have been extracted from the *Chronographia*

<sup>141</sup> ST I, 8.1–21; ST II, 641.17–21. *Yak'abet'*, Jochebed.

<sup>142</sup> See I.1 and n. 27.

<sup>143</sup> ST I, 8.22–9.8; ST II, 641.22–3.

<sup>144</sup> ST I, 9.9–10.6; ST II, 642.24–6.

<sup>145</sup> Ehud and Shamgar feature in a separate list of judges in the *Chronographia*; see I.1 and n. 34; the city of Troy is called Eglon in the *Chronographia* but Elon in the *Chronological Canons*; see I.1 and n. 37.



although the names of Saul's three sons are given only by Step'anos. And this blend, of extracts from both parts of Eusebius' composition which have been revised or interpolated an unknown number of times, is representative of the first four chapters of book I.

When we turn to the final section of I.1 and the sequence of Achaemenid kings of Persia from Cyrus to Darius III we encounter a different set of challenges.<sup>146</sup> On this occasion, the sequence, and the isolated notices of Jewish history inserted into it, finds its closest analogue in the *Anonymous Chronicle*, although its information had in turn been derived from the *Chronological Canons*.<sup>147</sup> Three of the Persian kings receive Armenian calques of their original Greek epithets: Artašēs *Erkaynajern* is Artaxerses I *Makrokeir*, in Latin *Longimanus*; Dareh *Xort'* is Darius II *Nothus*; and Artašēs *Ušet'* is Artaxerxes II *Mnemon*. Yet a second sequence of the Achaemenid kings appears in I.4, and it is immediately clear that this is unrelated to the first.<sup>148</sup> It lacks the Jewish notices, omits a number of short-lived figures, and identifies Artaxerxes I as Artašēs *Erkaynabazuk*, a different rendering of *Makrokeir* in Armenian. Darius II is identified as Dareh *Harčordin*, again a variant rendition. The repetition of the sequence is necessary because it introduces Alexander the Great and then Ptolemaic and Seleucid history, the backdrop for the emergence of the Parthians and hence the Armenian royal line. This does not, however, tell us why Step'anos chose to use a different, and in chronological terms contradictory, sequence.

If we take a step back from the ebb and flow of correspondence and dissonance between these texts, two features stand out. Step'anos—or his underlying source—seems to have had an interest in addressing those disputed or contentious calculations which depended on biblical exegesis. For while the first four chapters of book I set out a substantial amount of chronological data without comment as to its accuracy, there are six passages inserted into the chronologies which comment on biblical evidence, both when this is unclear—such as the number of years Saul and Samuel were in power—and when this is prophetic in character—Jeremiah's seventy years of exile in Babylon or Daniel's sixty-nine weeks of years.<sup>149</sup> This interest in the relationship between world time and biblical prophecy was not original; all of the extracts derive from Eusebius' *Chronicle*, although at least one of them was mediated through the *Anonymous Chronicle*. Their inclusion, however, is significant because it suggests that Step'anos was aware of a relationship between the chronological progression of human history and God's future plan for the world, as expressed in biblical prophecy. Secondly, it is clear that Step'anos undertook

<sup>146</sup> ST I, 15.21–16.22; ST II, 646.58–647.66.

<sup>147</sup> See I.1 and nn. 81, 89.

<sup>148</sup> ST I, 27.24–8.12; ST II, 654.22.

<sup>149</sup> ST I, 8.1–11, 8.22–9.8, 10.7–11.19, 13.20–14.19, 20.6–21, and 21.14–22; ST II, 641.17–20, 641.22–3, 642.27–643.34, 645.45–50, 649.5–650.9, and 650.17–18.

his own chronological calculations. Individual subtotals are scattered throughout the first four chapters.<sup>150</sup> On three separate occasions in the first two chapters, Step'anos supplies a chronological summary. Two give partial or incomplete breakdowns, but the third, at the end of I.2, offers a complete survey of world time, using the breakdown at the end of the *Chronological Canons* as a template.<sup>151</sup> It shows an awareness of Eusebius' own total, that there were 5228 years from Adam until the fifteenth year of Tiberius, the start of Jesus' ministry, although this figure has been amended to 5232 years in order to recalibrate to the year of the Crucifixion, which Step'anos avers happened in the nineteenth year of Tiberius. But despite his earlier eulogizing of Eusebius as 'the true calculator of time', Step'anos did not treat this as his base figure but preferred to make his own calculation for the period of time which had elapsed between Adam and the Crucifixion. The total he gives is 5310 years, an increase of seventy-eight years on that supplied by Eusebius. Step'anos used his own figure in two subsequent synchronisms, one in II.6 defining the date of the return of the True Cross during the reign of Heraclius, and the other in the Conclusion to book III establishing the date when he completed the *Universal History*.<sup>152</sup> Unlike Uxtanēs, Step'anos was personally involved in chronological computation. While Uxtanēs inserted extracts from the *Anonymous Chronicle* into his book I without comment or alteration, Step'anos presented his own figures for the sum of human history.

As noted earlier, I.5 comprises a survey of Aršakuni history, from Vałaršak, brother of Aršak the Great, to the reign of Trdat, derived almost exclusively from book II of the *History* of Movsēs Xorenac'ı. This summary is independent of the synopsis provided by Uxtanēs in book I of his *History*. Although both Uxtanēs and Step'anos exploited the same source, they did so individually. Step'anos did not rely on Uxtanēs' work, and shows no direct knowledge of that text. Nevertheless, both works display a similar attitude towards Armenian engagement with 'western' and then Roman interests. Vałaršak, for example, is portrayed by Step'anos gathering his forces and marching to the borders of Chaldea, a district whose name would later be preserved as a Byzantine theme.<sup>153</sup> He encountered his opponent Morp'olik near the summit of the hill of Koloneia, defeated him, and subjugated the lands which he had seized, bordering Mažak—the Armenian name for Caesarea in Cappadocia—and Pontus.

<sup>150</sup> See e.g. in I.1, 441 years from the third year of Solomon and the building of the Temple to its destruction: ST I, 12.16–19; ST II, 644.41; in I.3, 291 years from the Crucifixion in the nineteenth year of Tiberius to the Council of Constantine (Nicaea): ST I, 22.15–16; ST II, 651.25; or I.4, 457 years of Parthian rule, from the 30th year of Ptolemy Philadelphus to the second year of the Roman emperor Philip: ST I, 31.19–25; ST II, 657.44–5.

<sup>151</sup> Incomplete summaries in I.1, at ST I, 8.20–1 and 12.7–10; ST II, 641.21 and 644.38. Complete survey in I.2, at ST I, 18.13–22; ST II, 648.10–11. See also I.2 and nn. 99–100.

<sup>152</sup> ST I, 142.3–8 and 285.1–3; ST II, 732.40–1 and 828.3.

<sup>153</sup> ST I, 32.1–33.9; ST II, 657.5–658.9.

Although this can be read as a straightforward summary, one can also make a case for this story being formative, Step'anos commenting on the present by using the past to establish a territorial definition of Armenia which included districts and lands far to the west, as well as a relationship with Greeks and then Romans characterized by mutual suspicion, conflict, and oppression. Vałaršak's grandson Artasēs marched to the west against Croesus, king of Lydia, and 'reduced to submission the continent between the two seas...intending to subdue the whole west'.<sup>154</sup> Tigran, his son, went out against the forces of the Greeks 'who had rushed to invade this country of ours', and defeated them, entrusting Caesarea and the care of Asia Minor to his brother-in-law Mithridates.<sup>155</sup> Subsequently Arjam gave tribute to the Romans for Mesopotamia and the regions of Caesarea; 'this was the beginning of part of Armenia entering under tribute to the Romans'.<sup>156</sup> Later on, during the reigns of Vespasian and Titus, Eruand conceded Mesopotamia to the Romans entirely and also paid a heavy tribute for Armenia.<sup>157</sup> Admittedly, this relationship is only one of the dimensions to the distant Armenian past explored across the chapter—it also contemplates the actions of kings of Armenia and their regnal years, religious practices, and even boundary-marking—but the engagement with, and antagonism and hostility towards, the west, and by implication the Romans, is consistent.

Within this mass of Xorenac'i-derived material there is one intriguing exception. Having reported the correspondence between Abgar and Jesus—in much briefer detail than Uxtanēs—Step'anos notes that the painting with the Saviour's appearance was kept in Edessa 'until the days of Nikephoros the king of the Greeks; he had it transported under the control of the metropolitan Abraham to Constantinople'.<sup>158</sup> Movsēs' original text had stated that the image was in Edessa 'up until today', but Step'anos was aware of the recovery of the Mandylion in the middle of the tenth century and evidently felt compelled to update the notice to reflect the current location of the image.<sup>159</sup> Step'anos is mistaken in his attribution to Nikephoros II Phokas, for it was in the final year of the reign of Romanos I Lecapenos that the Mandylion was translated to Constantinople, arriving in the city on the evening of 15 August 944.<sup>160</sup> It is possible that he may have confused this episode with the recovery of the Keramidion, the Holy Tile, from Hierapolis in October 966, during the reign of Nikephoros II. Moreover, it is striking that

<sup>154</sup> ST I, 38.1–17, with the quotation at ll. 12–14; ST II, 661.51–662.56.

<sup>155</sup> ST I, 39.1–11; ST II, 662.58–61. <sup>156</sup> ST I, 42.1–4; ST II, 664.80–1.

<sup>157</sup> ST I, 47.8–14; ST II, 668.122–3. Across these passages, the focus on Asia Minor in general and Caesarea in Cappadocia in particular is striking.

<sup>158</sup> ST I, 45.19–46.2, with the quotation at ll. 45.25–46.2; ST II, 667.110–11.

<sup>159</sup> MX II.32 [150.18–20].

<sup>160</sup> M. Guscin, *The Image of Edessa*, MMED 82 (Leiden and Boston, 2009), 179–80.

Leo the Deacon maintained in his *History* that the Keramidion had been recovered from Edessa.<sup>161</sup> But Step'anos' passing remark that the image was transported to Constantinople under the control of metropolitan Abraham is corroborated by the contemporary *Narratio de imagine Edessena*, a work either written or commissioned by the emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus. The *Narratio* records that Romanos sent the God-fearing bishop of Samosata, Abramios, to find and take possession of the genuine image, and he escorted it back to Constantinople.<sup>162</sup> Through this previously unheralded notice, Step'anos confirms that he had knowledge of the recent translation of holy relics to Constantinople. What he does not tell us is how he came by this information.

## Book II: The Armenian Past—Trdat to Ašot I Bagratuni

The opening sentences of book II are surprisingly informative. Rather than outlining the future direction of the work, they comment on the structure of the previous book. As such, they articulate, in Step'anos' own words, what he considered its main characteristics to be.<sup>163</sup> He emphasizes that it is complete, since it begins with our forefather Adam. Although Adam's departure from the Garden is noted in I.1, this comment is in tension with the stated chronological starting-point, the seventy-fifth year of Abraham.<sup>164</sup> This feature has been noted by Malxaseanc' and other commentators, who argued for a lacuna at the start of I.1.<sup>165</sup> Secondly, Step'anos seems keen to stress that it is a succinct but complete summary, which is true, but also 'an abridgement of the divine Scriptures', which is only partially true, given the debt to Eusebius' *Chronicle* discussed earlier. Thirdly, Step'anos observes that he has noted the times and dates precisely, confirming that this is a defining feature of his work, one that has particular importance for him.

Step'anos then set out the contents of book II. Starting with Grigor the Illuminator, he refers to a sequence 'down to our own times', and this can only be the sequence of catholicoi or heads of the Armenian Church.<sup>166</sup> Step'anos then refers to the sequence of Aršakuni kings until their suppression; the princes down to the kingship of the Bagratunik'; the Sasanian kings of Persia down to their extinction, and the *Amir al-Mumnik'*, the Armenian transliteration of *amīr al-mu'minīm*, the title 'Commander of the Faithful' accorded to caliphs.<sup>167</sup> This is an accurate description of the first four chapters of book II,

<sup>161</sup> Leo the Deacon, *Leonis diaconi Caloënsis Historiae libri decem*, ed. C. B. Hase (Bonn, 1828), IV.10 [70–1].

<sup>162</sup> Guscin, *Image of Edessa*, 46, ll. 9–12.

<sup>163</sup> ST I, 59.8–14; ST II, 673.1.

<sup>164</sup> ST I, 7.24–8.2; ST II, 641.16–17.

<sup>165</sup> ST I, 295 and n. 10.

<sup>166</sup> ST I, 60.1; ST II, 673.2: *i žamanaks mer*.

<sup>167</sup> ST I, 60.1–6; ST 673.2–4.

in the correct sequence, but it omits the final two chapters: II.5 comprises a second, variant list of caliphs, while II.6 preserves a sequence of Roman emperors from Diocletian to Basil I. As II.4 advances the caliphal sequence only to the accession of Hārūn al-Rashīd, one could suggest that the following chapter was needed to extend the sequence into the second half of the ninth century, but even this is not wholly satisfactory, because the latest figure in the second list, Ahmad, appears to be Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb, the *wazīr* appointed by the caliph al-Muntaṣir following his accession in late 861, rather than the caliph himself.<sup>168</sup> The absence of any reference in this opening to the imperial sequence in II.6 is also surprising, and we cannot discount the possibility that Stepʿanos was relying upon an earlier composition at this point. On the other hand, the final notice of II.2 finds Stepʿanos informing the reader that he is now turning to ‘the sequence of kings of Persia, and *Amir al-Mumnikʿ* of the Arabs and then the emperors of the Greeks so that the scope of the discourse shall be symmetrical’.<sup>169</sup> This notice indicates that these sequences were, or became, integral to Stepʿanos’ conception of the *Universal History*. Their inclusion was planned.

Two further aspects of this introductory passage merit comment. In the first place, Stepʿanos stresses that he is interested in how long each of the figures in the sequences held office.<sup>170</sup> This confirms once again his chronological imperative. Indeed, choosing to structure the events around the sequences of Armenian patriarchs and kings (II.1), Armenian patriarchs and princes (II.2), Sasanian *šahanšahs* (II.3), caliphs (II.4 and II.5), and emperors of the Greeks (II.6) reveals an organizing principle derived ultimately from Eusebius’ *Chronicle*. Arguably, Stepʿanos himself was responsible for the implicit connections between books I and II. Chapter II.1 picks up from where I.5 ends and extends through II.2; II.3 continues from where I.4 left off, with the accession of Artašir Stahracʿi, the son of Sasan; II.4 and 5 are new sequences, but II.6 opens with the actions of Trdat during the reign of Diocletian, and so develops the imperial sequence which terminated at the end of I.3 with the twentieth year of Constantine I. The second element of note occurs in the next phrases. Stepʿanos indicates that the narrative to come will include ‘whatever valiant deeds were accomplished by brave men in their days, all the ascetics, those who were glorified through God, and which *vardapets* appeared in which times, as famous orators or poets...’.<sup>171</sup> The selection of prominent ascetics, martyrs, theologians, and scholars for inclusion in his composition is striking. Not only does it reflect the character of many of the marginal comments of Eusebius’ *Chronological Canons*; it also expresses something of Stepʿanos’ deeper purposes for his composition, to establish a history of Armenia which traced both the achievements of Armenian clerical and lay leaders

<sup>168</sup> ST I, 136.4; ST II, 729.10.

<sup>169</sup> ST I, 111.11–14; ST II, 710.266.

<sup>170</sup> ST I, 60.6; ST II, 673.4: *orĉʿapʿ tewecʿin*.

<sup>171</sup> ST I, 60.7–10; ST II, 673.4.

and the saints and intellectuals who flourished during their years in power together with the monastic communities from which they came or which they inspired. Although this aspect of the *Universal History* has often been noted in respect of book III, it is in fact present throughout book II as well, connecting the two parts.<sup>172</sup> This will be developed later.

Chapter II.1 is constructed predominantly from extracts drawn from the final chapters of book II and the whole of book III of the *History* of Movsēs Xorenac'i.<sup>173</sup> It records the sequence of Armenian kings and patriarchs down to the deposition of king Artasir and the deaths of St Sahak, the deposed head of the Armenian Church, and Mesrop Maštoc', 'the great *vardapet*' who invented the Armenian alphabet. As in the previous chapter, particular attention is paid to chronological precision, although the years accorded to several figures do not always correspond between the texts. By way of illustration, Vram-Šapuh is accorded a reign of twenty-one years by Movsēs but only fifteen years by Step'anos.<sup>174</sup> Moreover, on several occasions Step'anos reveals that he has undertaken his own chronological research. He tells us that 'in investigating the first year of Trdat, we have discovered that he became king in the third year of Diocletian and the second year of Šapuh, king of Persia'.<sup>175</sup> Although Movsēs Xorenac'i correlates Trdat's accession with the third year of Diocletian (287/8 CE), he does not refer to Šapuh, who succeeded Hormizd II in 309.<sup>176</sup> This seems to be a mistake on the part of Step'anos, correlating the date of Trdat's accession with the reign of Diocletian but then conflating this with the date of his conversion, correlated with the reign of Šapuh. Elsewhere it was surely Step'anos who tried to work out the years without a king after the death of Šapuh, son of Yazkert, preferring his own calculation of eleven years to the three-year period proposed by Movsēs.<sup>177</sup> And the chronological summary found at the end of the chapter, that the Armenian kingdom of the Aršakuni family lasted for 559 years, from the twelfth year of Ptolemy Euergetēs II, king of Egypt, until the twenty-fourth year of Theodosios, king of the Greeks, is entirely Step'anos' own work.<sup>178</sup> It derives from, and depends upon, chronological data supplied in book I.

Chapter II.1, however, comprises more than an abridgement of the *History* of Movsēs Xorenac'i mounted on a chronological framework. Step'anos consulted other works and grafted on his findings. The account of the conversion of Armenia has been supplemented with details of the martyrdoms of the holy

<sup>172</sup> K. H. Maksoudian, 'A Note on the Monasteries Founded during the Reign of King Abas I Bagratuni', *REArm* 22 (1990–1), 203–15; see also an annotated translation of III.7 in Mahé and Mahé, *Grégoire de Narek, Tragédie*, 9–13.

<sup>173</sup> MX II.82–91 [224.1–245.6] and III.2–67 [258.5–358.6].

<sup>174</sup> MX III.55 [329.16]; ST 74.3–4; ST II, 683.109.

<sup>175</sup> ST I, 60.12–14; ST II, 674.5. <sup>176</sup> MX II.82 [224.4–5].

<sup>177</sup> ST I, 75.1–6; ST II, 684.114–16: eleven years; MX III.56 [332.19]: three years.

<sup>178</sup> ST I, 77.19–23; ST II, 686.136.

women, Hrip'simē and her companions and Gayianē and her companions, which are found in the A recension of the *History* of Agat'angelos.<sup>179</sup> Eight short notices appear to derive from the *Epic Histories/Buzandaran*. Although only one of these is specifically attributed to that sources, 'as Biwzand describes', this is significant, for while Movsēs Xorenac'i also exploited this work repeatedly, he did so without acknowledgement.<sup>180</sup> This makes it less likely that Step'anos was exploiting a different redaction of Movsēs' *History* and more likely that he was responsible for making the additions. Two of the eight notices address the issue of consecration in Caesarea, with the first reporting Yusik's journey to the 'city of Cappadocia' for that purpose and the second recording the ending of that tradition, allegedly by Basil, the great patriarch of Caesarea.<sup>181</sup> The reintroduction of this association with Caesarea is striking, given that Movsēs had chosen to exclude it. Four short notices appear to have been lifted from Łazar's *History*, including a highly abbreviated summary of the *Vision of St Sahak* which came to be incorporated into Łazar's composition but was not originally part of that work.<sup>182</sup> Once more, Step'anos identifies Łazar's *History* as one of his sources. Having noted the invention of the Armenian script, Step'anos adds, 'as Koriwn and Łazar describe'.<sup>183</sup>

Three other features of II.1 merit brief comment. Firstly, the narrative seems to incline towards commenting on the affairs pertaining to western regions of Armenia, with the district of Ekeleac' featuring five times and Tarōn four times. Tarōn is associated with the Mamikonean house, as well as being the district in which the patriarch Vrt'anēs was situated when king Trdat died, and the birthplace of both catholicos P'ārnerseh and Maštoč'. These notices, therefore, connect significant figures from the Armenian past with these regions, and while it should be stressed that Step'anos has not invented these associations, his decision to include them appears to reveal his own sympathies. Secondly, the chapter contains a long description of the foundation of Theodosiopolis.<sup>184</sup> This is derived entirely from the *History* of Movsēs Xorenac'i, but is notable for the minimal abridgement or alteration of the original, unlike almost every other extract from that work. Its inclusion in this near-verbatim form is hard to fathom, given the lack of comment on the origins of Dvin or Ani. Possession of Theodosiopolis was contested throughout the tenth century, falling to Byzantine control in 949 before being granted by Basil II to David of Tayk' in 979, in recognition of his role in defeating Bardas Skleros, and then recovered again by

<sup>179</sup> ST I, 61.5–17; ST II, 674.12–13. See also II.1 and n. 10.

<sup>180</sup> ST I, 69.20; ST II, 680.73: *orpēs patmē Biwzand*.

<sup>181</sup> ST I, 68.22–5; ST II, 680.67 for the consecration of Yusik; and ST I, 72.25–73.3; ST II, 682.97 for the ending of the practice. See also II.1 and nn. 34 and 51. Step'anos also refers to the consecration of Rstakēs in Caesarea, although this does not appear in the *Buzandaran*.

<sup>182</sup> For the vision, see ST I, 75.21–76.3; ST II, 685.122; II.1 and n. 74.

<sup>183</sup> ST I, 74.16–17; ST II, 684.111: *orpēs patmen Koriwn ew Łazar*.

<sup>184</sup> ST I, 71.9–72.19; ST II, 681.87–682.94. MX III.59 [338.8–339.14].

Basil II at his death in 1000.<sup>185</sup> Possession of the city held contemporary significance therefore, but it remains unclear why Step'anos included this passage. Lastly, when describing the controversial succession to the office of catholicos after the death of Sahak the Great, Step'anos records that one Abdišoy was appointed, a Syrian *jakobik*, an evil-doer who did not last one year.<sup>186</sup> This is unexpected. Abdišoy is a corruption of Brk'išoy, who was indeed one of the Syrian clerics who succeeded Sahak, but it is his identification as a *jakobik* which is so surprising. Not only is the use of this term anachronistic, since Jacob Baradaeus is a sixth-century figure; it also identifies Abdišoy as a miaphysite, and so consonant with the confessional position of the Armenian Church in the tenth century, as espoused in the long theological letter preserved in book III. Quite why he should therefore be an evil-doer is therefore a mystery, but it could reflect a lack of knowledge on the part of someone, perhaps a later copyist, as to the meaning of *jakobik*.

Chapter 2 is the longest of the six chapters in book II. It extends across five and half centuries, from the deaths of Sahak and Mesrop Maštoc' in 438 CE to the era of catholicos Gēorg and the coronation of Ašot I Bagratuni as king of Armenia at the end of the ninth century. It continues the pattern of the previous chapter, tracing the sequence of catholicoi and secular princes of Armenia, with a particular focus on their years in power and noted scholars of the time. The opening notices are based on extracts from Łazar's *History*; indeed, the three brothers of Vahan Mamikonean—Vasak, Artašēs, and Vard *patrik*—are named, and this is followed by the comment, 'about whom Łazar P'arpec'i instructs you'.<sup>187</sup> Łazar's *History* was therefore exploited across the final notices of II.1 and the first notices of II.2. When his narrative ended, Step'anos switched to the *History* of Yovhannēs Draxanakertc'i, and that composition seems to have supplied the basic narrative framework for the remainder of the chapter. One substantial extract from the *History* of Sebēos has been inserted into this narrative.<sup>188</sup> It describes the context in which the draft letter addressed to Constans II defending Armenian orthodoxy was prepared and then cites the first quarter of that letter in full, with minor but significant revisions which shall be discussed later.

A complete assessment of each of the entries in this chapter lies outside the remit of this introduction. Nevertheless, it is instructive to study certain events to which Step'anos pays particular attention, because these reveal his own interests and purposes. Three passages illustrate this. Firstly, although the battle of Awarayr is reported, it is the precise date of the martyrdom of the

<sup>185</sup> For the capture of Theodosiopolis in 949, see III.7 and nn. 141–2; for its grant to David of Tayk', see III.15 and n. 233; for its recovery after David's death, see III.43 and n. 595.

<sup>186</sup> ST I, 76.20–1; ST II, 685.127.

<sup>187</sup> ST I, 79.27–80.2; ST II, 687.16: *zor usuc'anē k'ez Łazar P'arpec'i*.

<sup>188</sup> ST I, 89.23–98.14; ST II, 695.103–701.149.



holy Lewondeank' and the patriarch Yovsēp' which seems to have been the main focus of Step'anos' interest.<sup>189</sup> He establishes that this occurred on the twenty-sixth day of *hrotic'*, that is, July, a Sunday, thereby giving both an Armenian and a Julian month. He adds that 'we have examined thoroughly the years of the kings in relation to this date and we have found that it coincided with the 15th year of Yazkert (Yazdgird II) and the 3rd year of the cursed Marcian'—cursed because it was under his authority that the Council of Chalcedon was summoned. Although Łazar mentions the sixteenth year of Yazkert, the correlation with the Roman emperor seems to be Step'anos' own calculation. Secondly, the second Council of Dvin was convened, according to Step'anos, in the fourth year of the patriarchate of Nersēs, the tenth year of the dominion of Mžēž Gnuni, the fourteenth year of the emperor Justinian, and the twenty-fourth year of Xosrov (Khusro I), son of Kawat, king of Persia, the year in which the Armenian Era was instituted.<sup>190</sup> Step'anos then notes tersely and without further explanation that it was in that year that Armenia separated completely from communion with the Greeks, in 304 of the Greek era, the seventh year of Philip. The balance of this entry in favour of chronological computation over the precise circumstances of ecclesiastical separation again reveals Step'anos' own preferences. It is, however, the simultaneous assertion of both temporal and ecclesiological independence which is significant, the one supporting the other in Step'anos' reconstruction. Finally, the rebellion of Vardan Mamikonean in 572 was triggered by the killing of the Persian governor Surēn, in the forty-first year of Xosrov the Persian king, a date reported by Sebēos. This date is then equated with the seventh year of Justin and a precise date for the murder is proposed, the twenty-second day of the month of *areg*, which is February, a Tuesday.<sup>191</sup> Tempting though it has been to use this as an absolute dating for the rebellion, in light of its identical form to the date for the martyrdom of the Lewondeank', it seems far more likely that this is, once again, a date determined by Step'anos himself rather than a date recorded in late antiquity and unearthed by Step'anos from an otherwise unknown source.

Although II.2 is structured around notices extracted from the *History* of Yovhannēs Draxanakert'ci, as noted above, it contains one long extract from the *History* attributed to Sebēos. This describes the fraught relationship between Armenia and the emperor Constans II in the era of the Arab conquests, and the circumstances in which a letter to the emperor defending the Armenian confessional position was drafted; the first quarter of the letter is included. The extract appears to have been lifted from the original text without redaction or abridgement, suggesting that it had particular value for Step'anos. It has, however, been subjected to several small but highly significant adjustments.

<sup>189</sup> ST I, 78.18–79.4; ST II, 687.6–8.

<sup>190</sup> ST I, 82.22–83.9; ST II, 689.40–690.45.

<sup>191</sup> ST I, 84.15–85.2; ST II, 691.56–8. See II.2 and n. 132.

The emperor Constans II is described as advancing into Armenia in great anger, boasting that he would purge it thoroughly; in the original version, Constans II is presented in neutral terms.<sup>192</sup> At the same time, the treachery of T'ēodoros Rštuni, originally interpreted in the *History* attributed to Sebēos as a pact with death and an alliance with hell, has been recast as a pragmatic response to the Arab raids.<sup>193</sup> It is not criticized by Step'anos. The contentions that many were offended when the emperor and Nersēs III took communion together, and that the *azats* were treated with contempt on that occasion, are both revisions made, or at least accepted, by Step'anos.<sup>194</sup> The same is true of the observation that the emperor left some of his forces as 'guardians' of this country of Armenia; this does not feature in the original. Finally, the catholicos Nersēs III is presented by Step'anos as pious, Christ-loving, and truth-relating, leading the Armenian faithful in their opposition to Constans II and Chalcedonian doctrine.<sup>195</sup> In the *History* attributed to Sebēos, however, Nersēs is described as keeping the bitter poison (of endorsing Chalcedon) in his heart, of perverting the true faith of St Grigor, and muddying the pure waters of Armenian orthodoxy.<sup>196</sup> Although incapable of proof, it seems most likely that these revisions reflect the personal opinions of Step'anos. He was confronted with an emperor, Basil II, who had recently travelled into Armenia and intervened in Armenian affairs, as well as an expanding Imperial Church, with all the challenges and anxieties which this presented. The account of Armenia's relationship with Constans II and the Imperial Church in the seventh century presented in the *Universal History* may not offer any new information on the events themselves, but it does show how the past could be reimagined in order to comment upon the present.

Two features of II.2 merit further comment. As discussed earlier, the passage reporting the second Council of Dvin in 553 CE refers to the development of the Armenian Era. This is employed consistently thereafter by Step'anos, featuring in all four of the remaining chapters of book II and throughout book III, where it is the primary chronological mechanism. The earliest Armenian Era date in the *Universal History* is 68 AE, identified as the year when Muḥammad appeared; in the next sentence, 72 AE is identified as the year in which the kingdom of Ismael emerged and this does correlate with the date of the *hijra*.<sup>197</sup> It is not clear why Step'anos attributed a four-year ministry to Muḥammad, although it is striking that the same period is identified in book I as the duration of Jesus' ministry between his Baptism and Crucifixion, from the fifteenth to the nineteenth years of Tiberius. Thereafter

<sup>192</sup> ST I, 89.11–12; ST II, 694.99.

<sup>193</sup> Sebēos 164.15: *uxt ēnd mahu ew ēnd džoxac' dašins*; ST I, 89.8–11; ST II, 694.98.

<sup>194</sup> ST I, 89.17–20; ST II 695.101.

<sup>195</sup> ST I, 91.7–8; ST II, 696.108: *k'ristosasēr ew čšmartapatum kat'olikosn Hayoc' Nersēs*.

<sup>196</sup> Sebēos, *Patmut'iwn Sebēosi*, ed. G. V. Abgaryan (Erevan, 1979), 49 [167.1–22].

<sup>197</sup> ST I, 86.22–4; ST II, 692.73–694.74. 72 AE: 24.vi.623–23.vi.624; 1 AH: 16.vii.622–5.vii.623.

the Armenian Era chronology is used regularly to situate events in time, including the succession of catholicoi and princes of Armenia. With one exception, however, these dates do not feature in the *History* of Yovhannēs Draxanakerc’i, from which the majority of the passages derive, and it seems that these have been inserted by Step’anos himself. The solitary exception is provided by the date of the martyrdom of Atom and his six companions in the year 302; this is described by Yovhannēs as being the era of T’orgom, but has been altered to refer to the Armenian Era by Step’anos.<sup>198</sup> It was Step’anos, therefore, who imparted chronological precision to the Armenian past, using the Armenian Era chronology. This calibration of time is an impressive achievement, enabling Step’anos to situate key events in ‘Armenian time’, but it should always be remembered that these were calculated by Step’anos and should not be treated as either contemporary or infallible.

Chapter II.2 also maintains the focus on Armenian saints, martyrs, and intellectuals observed previously. Their achievements, including their feast days and monastic foundations, are woven into the narrative. As observed above, the narrative specifies the exact dates on which the holy Łewondeank’ were killed in the middle of the fifth century as well as Atom and his six companions in the middle of the ninth century. Step’anos notes that ‘the great Armenian philosopher Movsēs, who introduced the art of rhetoric into Armenia’, was active during the era of catholicos Giwt, as well as the holy ascetic Anton, also known as T’at’ul, who settled in the place now called Gazanacakk’ or T’at’loyvank’.<sup>199</sup> Reference is made to renowned scholars, such as Yovhan Mayrogomec’i, Anania Širakac’i, and P’ilon Tirakac’i, but there is also space for otherwise unknown figures.<sup>200</sup> Who was Ezras Angefac’i, for instance, and how did he expand the ranks of orators, apparently at the start of the sixth century?<sup>201</sup> Collectively, however, these passages supplement the sequences of lay and clerical leaders, enabling the Armenian past to be populated with spiritual and scholarly champions as well.

As noted previously, the final entry of II.2 introduces the remaining chapters in book II, demonstrating that they were indeed planned by Step’anos. Chapter II.3 contains a sequence of Sasanian kings of Persia from Artašir to Yazkert III. It therefore connects directly with the final notice in I.4, announcing the accession of Artašir.<sup>202</sup> It comprises two parts, a freestanding list of rulers and their years in office and then from Khusro I, a series of extracts from the *History* attributed to Sebēos.<sup>203</sup> Although the *Anonymous Chronicle* also contains such a list of rulers, the two are not related. The sequence included by

<sup>198</sup> ST I, 109.3–8; ST II, 709.244–5. See II.2 and n. 256.

<sup>199</sup> ST I, 79.16–23; ST II, 687.13–14.

<sup>200</sup> Yovhan Mayragomec’i: ST I, 87.4–10 and 87.15–88.19; ST II, 693.77–8 and 693.82–694.93. See also II.2 and n. 151. Anania Širakac’i and P’ilon Tirakac’i: ST I, 99.17–24; ST II, 702.159–61.

<sup>201</sup> ST I, 82.17–19; ST II, 689.38.

<sup>202</sup> ST I, 32.1–5; ST 657.46.

<sup>203</sup> List: ST I, 111.18–112.11; ST II, 711.1.

Step'anos is incomplete, omitting both short-lived and more established figures, and the regnal years allocated are also different. The extracts derived from the *History* attributed to Sebēos are frequently verbatim. Two features stand out. In the first place, there is a significant lacuna in this chapter, probably amounting to one folio, and common to all the manuscripts.<sup>204</sup> Malxaseanc' elected to fill the gap with his own reconstruction, made up of extracts from the *History* attributed to Sebēos and additional details derived from T'ovma Arcruni's *History*.<sup>205</sup> Manukyan, however, preferred to highlight the lacuna without attempting to remedy the loss, and this approach is preferable. Secondly, the synchronism at the end of the chapter, establishing the chronological parameters for the Sasanian royal dynasty, was determined by Step'anos.<sup>206</sup> Similar summaries feature in Eusebius' *Chronological Canons* at moments of chronological transition following the conclusion of a dynasty or kingdom, and Step'anos also included them in book I. In this instance, the duration of the Persian kingdom is orientated around the Roman imperial sequence. Its demise is also established by reference to the Armenian Era, a chronology whose application by Step'anos was identified earlier.

Chapters II.4 and 5 both advance historical outlines structured around the sequence of caliphs, but they do so in different ways, and the sequences are clearly unrelated to one another. Chapter II.4 opens with a series of extracts from the *History* attributed to Sebēos, but these have been fused with precisely dated notices derived from the *History* of Łewond.<sup>207</sup> Following a long account of the failed Arab siege of Constantinople in 654, the narrative derives exclusively from Łewond's *History*, with the exception of one short notice recording the martyrdom of Vahan Got'nac'i, derived from a separate hagiography.<sup>208</sup> It is clear that Step'anos had access to the complete texts of both these *Histories*; the final sentence of the chapter is based on the final sentence in Łewond's *History*.<sup>209</sup> Moreover, the extracts which make up II.4 do not appear to have undergone any revision or reinvention, beyond compression and combination. This chapter should therefore be distinguished from the editorial processes observed in respect of II.2, where multiple small but significant revisions to the original narrative were identified, specifically in relation to Constans II, whose actions were given a hostile spin. Although this is not easy to interpret, it could be that the anti-Byzantine tone expressed in Łewond's *History* did not require further amendment.<sup>210</sup>

<sup>204</sup> ST I, 113.21 and n. 87; ST II, 712.11. See II.3 and n. 282.

<sup>205</sup> ST I, 113 and n. 87, at 360–2; cf. ST II, 712.11 and n. 9.

<sup>206</sup> ST I, 117.15–19; ST II, 715.43. <sup>207</sup> ST I, 118.4–121.26; ST II, 715.1–718.32.

<sup>208</sup> ST I, 125.5–13; ST II, 721.65–6. See II.4 and n. 334, which identifies *Patmut'iwn Vahanay Got'nac'woy* as the *History* referred to by Step'anos.

<sup>209</sup> ST I, 135.4–5; ST II, 728.151; Łewond, *Lewondeay vardapeti Patmut'iwn*, ed. K. Ezean (St Petersburg, 1887), 42 [170.7–8].

<sup>210</sup> Greenwood, 'Reassessment of the *History* of Łewond', 137–40.

Chapter II.5 is introduced as deriving ‘from another historian’.<sup>211</sup> It comprises, for the most part, a bare list of caliphs and their years, occasionally correlated with an Armenian Era date, down the year 311.<sup>212</sup> The list is deficient, with several prominent Umayyad and ‘Abbasid caliphs being omitted, namely Sulaymān, ‘Umar II, and Hishām among the former and al-Hādī, al-Amīn, and al-Wāthiq among the latter. Yet it also identifies correctly ‘Uthmān as b. ‘Affān, as well as including the little-heralded and short-lived Mu‘āwiya b. Yazīd. Step‘anos reveals that he was aware of the deficiencies in his list of caliphs by acknowledging that, despite diligent research in previous historical compositions, he had found the names and dates of certain caliphs to be different. This unexpected admission is honest and endearing.<sup>213</sup> He concludes with another chronological summary, defining the time of the caliphs as running from the appearance of Muḥammad in Armenian Era 68 until the martyrdom of king Smbat I Bagratuni in Armenian Era 364, although he synchronizes this with the reign of the emperor Leo VI, which is incorrect. Chapters II.1 and II.3 also conclude with a chronological summary, confirming that Step‘anos was responsible for the arrangement of all three chapters. Evidently Step‘anos considered the sequence of caliphs had come to an end at the death of Smbat Bagratuni. He goes on to observe that ‘they themselves divided among themselves and opposed one another. For it was not only those who possessed cities who became tyrants but also those who were princes of minor cities and tyrants of fortresses, they too became bitterly antagonized against one another’.<sup>214</sup> This expresses an awareness on the part of Step‘anos of the general collapse of caliphal authority at the start of the tenth century. The specific association with the death of Smbat Bagratuni, however, appears to be a matter of Step‘anos’ own judgement.

The heading of II.6 states that it comprises ‘the emperors of the Greeks from Constantine to here’.<sup>215</sup> Since it covers the imperial sequence from Constantine until Basil I, ‘here’ for the author of the heading could be understood to mean the late ninth century rather than the early eleventh century and the reign of Basil II. The description of the reign of Constantine I includes three sentences which are proximate to sentences found in the *History* of Uxtanēs.<sup>216</sup> It also contains a brief summary of the transmission of the crown of king David via Nebuchadnezzar and Šapuh to Constantine, ‘as the *History* of Šapuh Bagratuni teaches us’.<sup>217</sup> Therefore the close correspondences with Uxtanēs’ *History* do not reflect a direct borrowing; rather, they

<sup>211</sup> ST I, 135.7; ST II, 728. Heading: *Yaylmē patmagrē*.

<sup>212</sup> ST I, 135.8–136.6; ST II, 728.1–729.10. AE 311: 25.iv.862–24.iv.863.

<sup>213</sup> ST I, 136.7–15; ST II, 729.11.

<sup>214</sup> ST I, 136.22–137.3; ST II, 729.12–13.

<sup>215</sup> ST I, 137.5–6; ST II, 729. Heading: *Kayserk’ Yunac’ i Kostandianosē ew aysr*.

<sup>216</sup> See II.6 and nn. 385–8.

<sup>217</sup> ST I, 138.1–6; ST II, 730.6: *orpēs usuc’anē k’ez Patmut’iwinn Šaphoy Bagratunwoy*; II.6 and n. 389.

evinced a mutual dependence on the *History* of Šapuh Bagratuni. This exploitation of Šapuh's *History* may also explain the multiple correspondences between the first half of this chapter and the synopsis of imperial history preserved in the *Anonymous Chronicle*, extending from Constantine down to the first year of Justinian II and the first Khazar raid into Armenia.<sup>218</sup> The correspondences are often close, but there are also minor differences, involving the revision, contraction, fusion, and occasionally amplification of original entries in the *Anonymous Chronicle*, which suggest, once again, an indirect relationship via one or more intermediate compositions. By way of illustration, the emperor Zeno's lack of self-restraint is mentioned by several authors, but the details reported by Step'anos in relation to his gluttony and lack of dental hygiene are unique to this chapter and do not appear in the *Anonymous Chronicle*.<sup>219</sup> The tradition that Maurice came from the village of Ošakan in the district of Aragac'otn, and the conflation of notices concerning Justinian II with Justinian I, are also both unique to the *Universal History*.<sup>220</sup> The content of this sequence down to the end of the seventh century is consistent with the wider aims of Step'anos observed previously: chronological precision through the imperial series, allied to interest in ecclesiastical history and the achievements of notable scholars in particular. The chapter also contains one key synchronism, establishing the period between the Crucifixion in the nineteenth year of Tiberius and the restoration of the True Cross in the eighteenth year of Heraclius and Armenian Era 77.<sup>221</sup> This is calculated as 595 years, giving a total span from Adam to this date of 5907 years. A similar calculation was made in I.3, stating that the span between the Crucifixion in the nineteenth year of Tiberius and the Council of Nicaea was 291 years. If we deduct 595 from 5907, we obtain a figure of 5312 years, which is close to the *annus mundi* (i.e. year from the Creation) year calculated in the final entry of I.2, 5310 years, and some distance away from the total proposed by Eusebius, 5232. In other words, Step'anos used his revised total rather than the Eusebian figure. These occasional synchronisms knit the individual sections of the *Universal History* into a single unified whole.

The second part of the sequence extends from the seven years of Justinian II's first reign through to the twenty-two years of Basil I.<sup>222</sup> Its source is unknown, but it contains two features which serve to distinguish it from the earlier entries and merit comment. In the first place, several of the entries focus on Balkan history, both in terms of conflict with the Bulgars and, more surprisingly, conflict with Thomas the Slav, or 'Thomas the corruptor' as he is

<sup>218</sup> P'ilon Tirakac'i, *Žamanakagrut'iw*n, 945.173–969.415.

<sup>219</sup> ST I, 140.12–18; ST II, 731.26.

<sup>220</sup> Maurice: ST I, 141.17–21; ST II, 732.36. Justinian I/Justinian II: ST I, 141.1–12; ST II, 732.32–3.

<sup>221</sup> ST I, 142.3–8; ST II, 732.40–41. See this Introduction, n.152.

<sup>222</sup> ST I, 142.18–145.8; ST II, 733.46–734.66.

called.<sup>223</sup> Although these notices are extremely brief, they are full of precise detail which is otherwise unattested. By way of example, Leo V is reported as building Vize, Arcadiopolis, and Kamařax, all of which were in Thrace, and two of which were associated with the last stand of Thomas the Slav and his supporters.<sup>224</sup> In light of the preceding narrative, this is an unexpected direction to take. It becomes less unexpected, however, when it is considered in the context of passages found in book III, especially those later chapters describing the campaigns undertaken against the Bulgars by Basil II and his forces.<sup>225</sup> The second feature is the remarkable attention given to the exploits of the emperor Theophilos in the east, as well as the violent actions of the *Horomider*, that is to say the Khurramiyya (Khurramites), in western Armenia.<sup>226</sup> None of these events are dated, and it seems highly likely that separate campaigns have become conflated. Nevertheless this account of the reign of Theophilos offers a mass of unique information. Most significant of all is the rendition of Khurramiyya as *Horomider*, for, following Bart'ikyan, this is a transliterated form of the Greek, with a medieval Armenian plural marker.<sup>227</sup> The combination of attention to early ninth-century Balkan history, precise knowledge of the military operations of the emperor Theophilos in the east, and the transliterated form of Khurramiyya support the contention that the underlying source for this sequence was a work of Byzantine imperial history.

The above analysis of the first two books of the *Universal History* therefore offers crucial insight into the working methods of Step'anos Tarōnec'i, insight which cannot be gleaned from studying book III. In terms of scope and ambition, Step'anos was influenced by the *Chronicle* of Eusebius, fusing together different chronological sequences to produce a world history which measured time precisely, from Creation to the present day. It seems less likely that he consulted this work directly and more likely that he did so via one or more intermediate compositions, including the lost *History* of Šapuh Bagratuni. The first two books display sustained, systematic chronological precision and coherence. Step'anos regularly pauses to offer short chronological

<sup>223</sup> The first reference to the Balkans occurs in the entry for Nikephoros I and his death on campaign against the Bulgars in 811: ST I, 143.13–14; ST II, 733.52. Thomas: ST I, 143.22; ST 733.55: *Tumayi molorec'uc'i*.

<sup>224</sup> ST I, 143.20–1; ST II, 733.54. See II.6 and n. 441.

<sup>225</sup> See III.8, which reports, briefly, the campaign of John Tzimiskes in 971 against the Rus in Bulgaria; III.20, reporting the intention of Basil II to transfer Armenian troops to Bulgaria; III.22 and 23, describing the outbreak of warfare in Bulgaria and the heavy defeat suffered by Basil II in August 986; and III.33 and 34, recording another campaign undertaken by Basil II against Bulgaria, probably in spring 991, and the capture of John Chaldos in c.996. This is the latest notice on the war in Bulgaria.

<sup>226</sup> ST I, 144.3–22; ST II, 734.57–61.

<sup>227</sup> H. Bart'ikyan, "Byuzanakan" Xuřamyannerë ev Hayastanë, *Lraber* (1989/12), 3–14; repr. with minor amendment as H. Bartikian, "Οἱ «Βυζαντινοὶ» Χουρραμίτες καὶ ἡ Ἀρμενία", *Symmeikta* 9 (1994), 115–32.

summaries of his own calculation which link back to an earlier sequence or calculation. He also seems to have been responsible for working out and then applying Armenian Era dates to a wide range of passages across book II. Secondly, the individual chapters appear to be structured around single sources, with works such as the *History* of Yovhannēs Draxanakertc‘i supplying the narrative framework or spine onto which additional notices could be grafted. This breaks down only in chapters 4 and 5 of book II, when Step‘anos admits that he was unable to supply a definitive list of caliphs. Thirdly, at the start of II.1 Step‘anos openly acknowledges his interest in both political and intellectual history, promising to trace ‘whatever valiant deeds were accomplished by brave men in their days, all the ascetics, those who were glorified through God, and which *vardapets* appeared in which times, as famous orators or poets’.<sup>228</sup> This informs the character of book II and prefigures book III. And lastly, Step‘anos was not averse to reshaping the historical record, adapting material as required to suit his purposes or express his opinions. The subtle revisions made to the account of Constans II’s engagement with Armenia in II.2 indicate that Step‘anos was in control of his material, using the past to express his antipathy towards Byzantine engagement with Armenia in the present.

### Book III: The Tenth Century—Ašot I Bagratuni to the Present

The table of contents to book III advertises a very different structure.<sup>229</sup> Books I and II contain eleven chapters between them. Book III is subdivided into forty-eight chapters together with a separate Conclusion. It also contains one very long theological letter (III.21), written to the metropolitan bishop of Sebasteia at the command of catholicos Xač‘ik in the late 980s.<sup>230</sup> This letter fills almost one-third of the book. Yet the difference in internal structure should not be allowed to mask the underlying similarities across the three books. For if we compare the structure, content and purposes of book III with those discerned above in relation to books I and II, we find a striking consistency.

Book III picks up from where II.2 and II.6, the only ‘open’ chapters in book II, conclude, at the accession of Ašot I Bagratuni as king. It extends the three chronological sequences which gave structure to those chapters: catholicoi of the Armenian Church, from Gēorg to Sargis; Bagratuni kings, from Ašot I to Gagik I; and Roman emperors, from Basil I to Basil II, although the period of the regency council during the minority of Constantine VII is missing. All three sequences preserve specific chronological information about

<sup>228</sup> ST I, 60.6–10; ST II, 673.4.

<sup>229</sup> ST I, 149.4–154.8; ST II, 735–8.

<sup>230</sup> ST I, 202.13–243.24; ST II, 770.1–800.233.



the number of years in office, stipulating the year in which the individual died in terms of the Armenian Era. The principal date is established in the opening sentences of III.2: ‘the second restoration of this kingdom of Armenia by Ašot Bagratuni, which occurred in the days of Basil I king of the Greeks and with his consent, in 336 of the Armenian Era and 888 from the coming of our Saviour Lord God, in the days of lord Gēorg, in the 12th year of his patriarchate.’<sup>231</sup> Thereafter all specific dates found in the forty-eight chapters, bar one significant exception highlighted later in this section, are expressed in terms of the Armenian Era. The Conclusion also contains an elaborate synchronism. From a chronological perspective therefore, it is clear that Step‘anos was aware of different systems but elected to employ a single chronology across the recent past. His preference for using the Armenian Era has already been noted previously in relation to book II. This editorial decision supplies chronological coherence and regularity, although we should not infer infallibility as well; Step‘anos took great care in his chronological undertaking but was not immune to error. His calculation that Ašot I Bagratuni’s coronation took place in 888 CE, for example, is erroneous, for as observed previously, a contemporary colophon indicates that this occurred on 26 August 884.<sup>232</sup> This is very much an exception, however, and where dates are capable of corroboration in book III, Step‘anos is found to be extremely precise. Finally, it is worth noting that III.2 comments on the scope of the previous two books, just as II.1 opens by reflecting on the scope of book I and advertising the structure of book II.<sup>233</sup> This too serves to bind the three books together into a single whole.

The underlying sources of book III have long been contested. It is clear that the opening paragraph of chapter 1 is related to the opening paragraph of the first book of Xorenac‘i’s *History*.<sup>234</sup> The musings on the Trinity and the threefold division of time—past, present, and future—however, do not derive from that work. This was probably written by Step‘anos himself, for while its philosophical character sets it apart from the two earlier prefaces, it is consistent with the opening phrases of the Conclusion. There is also evidence to show dependence on the *History* of Yovhannēs Draxanakertc‘i across III.2–6, although the correspondence is sometimes remote and it is clear that Step‘anos also had access to additional information from outside that text. This coincidence with Yovhannēs’ composition comes to an end midway through chapter 6. From that point on, and for the remainder of the text, apart from the long theological letter, Step‘anos does not reveal what source or sources he had at

<sup>231</sup> ST I, 157.18–22; ST II, 740.3.      <sup>232</sup> See this Introduction, n. 119.

<sup>233</sup> See this Introduction, n. 163. ST I, 157.9–18; ST II, 739.1–740.3. Step‘anos refers directly to the division into three parts, the first covering the period from the first-created being to the accession of Trdat and the illumination of Armenia (by St Grigor), and the second from then until the second restoration of this kingdom of Armenia by Ašot I Bagratuni.

<sup>234</sup> Specifically MX I.1 [5.7].

his disposal. This is an unexpected development, given the alacrity with which he acknowledged the contribution of earlier writers in books I and II. His reticence on this matter will be considered later.

In these circumstances, we are left with the challenge of recovering putative sources through the structure and contents of book III. It was argued earlier that Step'anos constructed individual chapters around extracts derived from single sources, creating a chronological and narrative framework into which additional material was then inserted. When we examine book III, we find that it displays a similar approach. Careful analysis reveals that Step'anos structured book III around extracts from a single text. The surprising aspect is that Step'anos did not exploit an Armenian composition for this purpose. Instead, he chose to use a work of imperial Byzantine history for his chronological and narrative spine, a work composed in Greek and organized around, and focused on, the deeds of individual emperors, but which has not survived, at least in its original form.<sup>235</sup> Although short, isolated notices from this work appear in chapters 3 and 6, two more substantial extracts appear at the end of III.7 and III.8, reporting the imperial sequence and Byzantine actions, first on the eastern frontier and then in Bulgaria.<sup>236</sup> From III.9 onwards the pattern changes, and extracts from this source appear at the start of chapters and even comprise whole chapters. Chapter III.10 is devoted to three episodes from the reign of John Tzimiskes; III.14 and 15 are focused on the first rebellion of Bardas Skleros and its aftermath; III.23–6 are dominated by the second rebellion headed by Bardas Phokas.<sup>237</sup> Moreover, they can connect to one another; III.42 picks up from where III.37 leaves off, reporting the death of Damian Dalassenos in July 998.<sup>238</sup> These extracts are characterized by their focus on imperial history, including contested successions and civil war, military campaigns in the east, and campaigns in the Balkans against the Bulgars. They provide the narrative and chronological structure for book III, around which other entries are arranged.

<sup>235</sup> For recent discussion of 'lost' histories, see N. M. Panagiotakes, 'Fragments of a Lost Eleventh-Century Byzantine Historical Work', in *Φιλέλληνη: Studies in Honour of Robert Brownling*, ed. C. Constantinides et al. (Venice, 1996), 321–57; and W. Treadgold, *The Middle Byzantine Historians* (Basingstoke, 2013), positing several lost historical compositions, including that of Nikephoros the Phrygian, at 226–36, and those of Theodore of Side and Theodore of Sebasteia, at 247–58, all preserved through the *Synopsis Historion* of Skylitzes. See also C. Holmes, *Basil II and the Governance of Empire* (Oxford, 2005), 272–89, arguing at 272 that Skylitzes 'used a pro-Skleros source in his composition or at least an intermediate history that drew on pro-Skleros material'.

<sup>236</sup> The short extracts in III.3 and III.6: ST I, 159.11–19 and 170.6–8; ST II, 741.1 and 748.5–6. The longer extracts at the end of III.7 and III.8: ST I, 179.8–180.3 and 182.23–184.17, ST II, 754.60–755.67 and 757.20–758.37.

<sup>237</sup> III.10: ST I, 186.9–187.6; ST II, 759.1–760.5. III.14–15: ST I, 190.18–194.4; ST II, 762.1–764.13. III.23–6: ST I, 245.6–249.17; ST II, 801.1–804.4.

<sup>238</sup> III.37: ST I, 265.18–22; ST II, 815.5–6. III.42: ST I, 274.7–9; ST II, 821.1.

Three specific characteristics support this proposition. In the first place, while the narrative contains many notices which can be corroborated, it also preserves several notices pertaining to Byzantine history which are rare or unique. Chapter III.8 records that Marianos Argyros played a prominent role in the struggle to succeed Romanos II in 963—which is attested by Leo the Deacon—and asserts that he was made emperor, a detail which is not recorded elsewhere.<sup>239</sup> Chapter III.25 reports that Basil II was able to capture the fortress of Chrysopolis and relieve the pressure on Constantinople thanks to the treachery of its harbour master, a unique detail.<sup>240</sup> And in III.26, the *Universal History* is alone in reporting that Basil II and his brother Constantine led the final assault against Bardas Phokas, with Basil taking the land route.<sup>241</sup> These incidental details do not add to the presentation of Armenian history, and it is hard to envisage how they might have been transmitted other than via a work of Byzantine imperial history. Secondly, there are specific linguistic features which point to a Greek original. Not only is the figure of Kalokyros Delphinas in III.25 identified as *Tlp'inas*; in III.44 the figure of Nikephoros Ouranos is called *Kanikln*, which makes no sense until one appreciates that he had held the office of keeper of the imperial inkstand, *ἐπί τοῦ κανικλείου*, since 982.<sup>242</sup> The confusion between personal name and office is striking. Finally, when recording the ancestry of the Bulgar leader Samuël in III.22, Step'anos observes that he and his brothers were called *Komsajagk'*; this is an Armenian calque of the Greek *Κομηγόπουλοι*, 'children of the count'.<sup>243</sup> These details, when taken collectively, confirm that this underlying imperial history was originally in Greek. Whether it was still in Greek when Step'anos consulted it, or whether he used an Armenian translation of the work, is much harder to determine.

We will never know for certain why Step'anos preferred to use such a work of imperial Byzantine history for this purpose. Nevertheless, three contentions may be advanced. In the first place, it has already been observed that books I and II contain imperial sequences, at I.3 and II.6. Indeed, all of the features noted above occur in the second imperial sequence exploited in II.6, suggesting either that these Byzantine notices were all drawn from the same work or that Step'anos used different sources in the same way and to the same purpose. Exploiting such a work for book III therefore afforded a degree of coherence across the whole composition. Secondly, for book III to function as a component part of a *Universal History*, it needed to present a supra-Armenian

<sup>239</sup> ST I, 183.3–7; ST II, 757.22–4; Leo the Deacon, *Historia*, III.2–7 [37–46]; see III.8 and n. 172.

<sup>240</sup> ST I, 248.3–14; ST II, 803.5–7; see III.25 and n. 473.

<sup>241</sup> ST I, 249.6–12; ST II, 803.1–804.3; see III.26 and n. 479.

<sup>242</sup> Delphinas in III.25: ST I, 248.20–1; ST II.803.6. Ouranos in III.44: ST I, 279.1–3; ST II, 825.3.

<sup>243</sup> ST I, 244.15; ST II, 800.6.

dimension, situating Armenian affairs in the context of world history. Again, such an imperial history satisfied that requirement. But thirdly, it may also have been the case that Step'anos had no other option. Evidently he had access to specific information on the sequence of catholicoi and brief details about their origins, years in office, and character. Nevertheless, there is no indication that these formed part of any longer Armenian historical composition. It may have been easier for Step'anos to fold these details into the framework provided by the Byzantine imperial history rather than the other way around. The same holds true in relation to the Bagratuni royal line. After the conclusion of Yovhannēs Draxanakertc'i's *History*, and prior to the accession of Smbat II in 977/8, Step'anos' knowledge of tenth-century Bagratuni royal history seems to have been limited to their names, years in office, and short anecdotes about them. Even the figure of Smbat II in III.29 was constructed in terms of three wicked deeds which he had committed.<sup>244</sup> This is an extraordinary way of presenting the brother of the present king, Gagik I, who is himself accused of committing a sin so heinous that Step'anos was prevented from including a eulogy to him in his history. These highly entertaining stories seem to reflect oral traditions about the Bagratuni kings which need not have been rooted in historical reality. Step'anos picked up on these tales and incorporated them into book III. Both their variety and their colourful character—Ašot III as the pious servant of the sick, Smbat II as the vindictive, treacherous monarch who had sexual intercourse with his niece—make it extremely improbable that these could have been lifted from any written work devoted to the Bagratuni house. Thus Step'anos may have been more limited in his choice of text to supply a narrative and chronological framework for book III than we might have imagined and, unable to find a suitable Armenian historical composition, had to look to the neighbouring Byzantine historical tradition instead.

The greatest challenge to the contention that Step'anos exploited a work of Byzantine historiography when compiling book III of the *Universal History* is that the original work does not survive in Greek. If one attempts to reconstruct the contents of this 'lost' Byzantine imperial history by comparing the details preserved in the *Universal History* with those preserved by Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd al-Anṭākī in his *History* and by Skylitzes in his *Synopsis Historion*, the results are inconclusive. The correspondences are not so close or so numerous as to prove dependence on the same text by any two of them. But given the complex and evolving character of the tenth- and eleventh-century Byzantine historiographical tradition, as well as the diverse contexts in which each of these extant works was created, it seems improbable that any two of them would have had

<sup>244</sup> ST I, 253.5–254.26; ST II, 806.1–807.14. The three crimes: burning to death a confused and mentally incapacitated man and refusing to permit him a Christian burial; breaking his oath with the emir of Goft'n; and having sexual intercourse with his niece.

access to the same original.<sup>245</sup> On the other hand, as Holmes has pointed out, the compositions of Stepʿanos and Yaḥyā attest the attraction and the availability of imperial Byzantine histories for authors writing on the margins of the Byzantine empire in the early eleventh century, even when their own compositions were not in Greek.<sup>246</sup> In comparison, Uxtanēs, writing twenty years before Stepʿanos, compiled the first two books of his *History* almost exclusively from Armenian texts. It is possible that short hagiographical excerpts relating to St Theodore Teron and the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia derive from underlying Greek works, but they could equally be attesting the intrusion of contemporary Greek terminology into the local Armenian lexicon.<sup>247</sup> Two decades later, however, Stepʿanos was able to exploit a recent work of Byzantine history, despite living and working predominantly outside the empire.

The use of this work demonstrates that the end of the tenth century was a moment of political, religious, and cultural transition. As the Byzantine Empire extended eastwards into Armenia through a combination of negotiated annexation and military threat, Armenian scholars began to reassess the historic and the contemporary relationship with Byzantium. We observed previously how the anonymous author of the *History of Tarōn* reimagined the process of conversion, maintaining that the Imperial Church had played a key role in the Christianization of fourth-century Tarōn and the mission of St Grigor. That narrative reflects a positive response to the changed circumstances. Uxtanēs adopted a different attitude, reacting to present conditions by portraying past relations as fraught and problematic. In formulating their responses, both of these authors turned to existing Armenian historical tradition and modified it in different ways. By contrast, Stepʿanos looked beyond this and was able to gain access to and engage with contemporary Byzantine literary culture. His response was not straightforward, however, and it seems that exploiting an imperial history engendered unease on the part of Stepʿanos. There can be no doubt that he was opposed to the teachings and the authority of the Imperial Church. The inclusion of the letter to the metropolitan of Sebasteia (III.21) demonstrates this. He also seems to have harboured a mistrust of Basil II, judging from his selection of passages from the postulated Byzantine history. Many of the extracts contemplate recent Byzantine military engagements across Armenia and the east more generally, as well as the participation of Armenians in operations against the Bulgars. It is striking how many of these passages record challenges to the authority of Basil II, in

<sup>245</sup> Treadgold, *Middle Byzantine Historians*, 457–89, identifying at least forty-three historians and fifty-nine histories. These results are represented in tabular form at 490–2.

<sup>246</sup> C. Holmes, 'Political Elites in the Reign of Basil II', in *Byzantium in the Year 1000*, ed. P. Magdalino, *MMED* 45 (Leiden, 2003), 39; id., 'Byzantine Historians at the Periphery', *Proceedings of the 21st International Congress of Byzantine Studies, London, 21st–26 August 2006*, ed. E. Jeffreys with J. Gilliland, 3 vols. (Aldershot, 2006), II, 156–7.

<sup>247</sup> See this Introduction, nn. 107 and 110.

terms of civil war, natural disaster, and military defeat. In III.15, III.24, and III.25 Bardas Skleros is identified unequivocally as ‘king’; in III.27 an earthquake causes the partial collapse of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople and its restoration by an Armenian architect (an event imbued with symbolic meaning); and Basil II is defeated on the battlefield in person (III.23) and by proxy (III.37).<sup>248</sup> Although Basil II is not criticized openly, nor is he eulogized, and it is hard not to see in the selection of these extracts something of Step‘anos’ own views. The revisions to the passages reporting the earlier actions of Constans II in Armenia (II.2), discussed earlier, support this contention. Yet his opposition was not enough to deter him from exploiting the Byzantine historical work. Step‘anos extracted materials from a work of Byzantine imperial history not because he wanted to impart a pro-Byzantine spin to the whole, but because he needed them to complete his *Universal History*. In other words, the demands of compiling such a history compelled Step‘anos to look beyond the Armenian historiographical tradition.

The passages which Step‘anos inserted into this narrative framework divide broadly into four categories. Book III maintains and develops the focus on prominent Armenian scholars, ascetics, and saints, a theme observed previously in book II. Particular attention is paid to a significant number of newly founded monastic communities scattered across the regions and districts of tenth-century Armenia, along with the names and personal characteristics of their leaders, sometimes in succession. Although the longest passage in III.7 is well known, similar entries feature elsewhere in book III.<sup>249</sup> A second cluster of passages record the activities of Bagratuni family members, covering not only the sequence of kings from Ašot I to Gagik I, but also successive kings of Kars as well as David, the nephew of Smbat II and Gagik I, who established himself in Lori-Tašir at the end of the century.<sup>250</sup> A third collection of notices

<sup>248</sup> In III.14 Bardas is titled usurper, *brnakal*: ST I, 191.11; ST II, 763.3, although his courage and military skills are also praised. Although he is again titled *brnakal* in III.15—ST I, 193.3, 9, 11, and 14; ST II, 764.2, 4, 5, and 6—he is also called king, *řagawor*: ST I, 194.1; ST II, 764.12. This royal title is applied consistently to him thereafter, in III.24 and III.25: ST I, 246.10, 13, and 19, 247.13–14; ST II, 802.2, 4 (III.24) and 802.3 (III.25). Holmes detected the presence of pro-Skleros material in Skylitzes’ *Synopsis Historion*, and it is possible that the history available to Step‘anos expressed a similar allegiance: Holmes, *Basil II*, 272–89. The earthquake in Constantinople involving the damage to Hagia Sophia and its restoration by an Armenian architect, in III.27: ST I, 250.12–251.7; ST II, 804.2–4. Basil II defeated in Bulgaria in 985 and rescued by an Armenian infantry contingent, in III.23: ST I, 245.10–21; ST II, 801. The death of Dalassenos in battle in July 998, in III.37: ST I 265.12–22, ST II, 815.3–6.

<sup>249</sup> A list of scholars in III.2: ST 158.23–159.4; ST II, 740.8–741.9. The monasteries of Halbat and Sanahin in III.8: ST I, 181.6–14; ST II, 755.78. A list of scholars and ascetics in III.9: 185.17–186.8; ST II, 759.4–8. The monasteries of Širimvank’ and T‘rinvank’ in III.17: ST I, 197.14–198.17; ST II, 767.8–15.

<sup>250</sup> Ašot I (III.2); Smbat I (III.2–4); Ašot II (III.6); Abas (III.7); Ašot III (III.8); Smbat II (III.11 and 29); and Gagik I (III.30 and references in III.32, 38, 41, 43, 45, and 47). Kings in Kars: Mušel (III.8, 11, and 12); Abas (III.17, 28, 38, and 41); and David (III.30 and 45).

report the actions of local Muslim *amirs* in Armenia and their interactions with one another and with local Armenian lords. These figures, all of whom are identified correctly by Step'anos, tend to appear suddenly and often vanish again just as quickly. These passages are also characterized by a range of literary forms. By way of illustration, III.12 offers a short lament on the demise of Abū al Ḥayjā b. Ibrāhīm b. Marzbān, the grandson of the powerful Sallārid ruler of Āzarbayjān, who lost all his territory and was eventually strangled; III.13 records a brutal campaign undertaken in Vaspurakan by the Shaybānī *amir* of Goł'n, Abū Dulaf; and III.16 presents a eulogy on the deeds and cleverness of 'Aḏud al-Dawla, the most powerful of the Buyids, likening him to none other than Alexander the Great!<sup>251</sup> And finally, a fourth group of notices look west and north, describing the actions of David of Tayk' as well as engagements in Iberia and Abkhazia.<sup>252</sup>

Yet in this instance, disentangling these different strands of material on the basis of content does not offer much help in discerning the potential sources available to Step'anos. Given the sharp and highly personal criticism of both Smbat II and Gagik I, it seems very unlikely that Step'anos exploited a work of family history for the Bagratuni-focused passages. Such a work almost certainly did exist by the middle of the eleventh century. The twelfth-century Armenian historian Matt'ēos Urhayec'i (Matthew of Edessa) seems to have had access to historical records of the Bagratuni royal line, including the transcript of a letter from the emperor John Tzimiskes to Ashot III composed in 974.<sup>253</sup> Quite how this letter, as well as knowledge of the last Bagratuni kings and the final demise of the kingdom, came to lodge in his *History* is unknown, but one could envisage that a family history of some kind, whether preserved directly or indirectly via an intermediate composition, would have incorporated such material. Nor does it seem likely that the material in the *Universal History* on the local Muslim *amirs* derives from a single work, given the diversity of figures and literary styles. We also have to face the challenge of how Step'anos might have encountered such a putative work. Mindful of his open admission in II.5 that he had been unable to resolve the caliphal sequence, it seems that he was unable to read Arabic or Persian, or that he was unable to access historical records in those languages.

We should remember, however, that Step'anos was not an isolated or a stationary scholar. It was argued earlier that he worked in the archives of the Catholicosate in Argina, and that he was charged by catholicos Xaç'ik I with improving its collection of scholarly resources. This required Step'anos to travel to different monastic communities to examine their archives. It was further

<sup>251</sup> See also III.24, 30, and 38–41.

<sup>252</sup> III.15, 25–6, 28, 38, 40–1, 43, and 44.

<sup>253</sup> Matt'ēos Urhayec'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, ed. M. Melik'-Adamean and N. Tēr-Mik'ayēlean (Valarshapat, 1898; repr. with parallel modern Armenian translation by H. Bart'ikyan, Erevan, 1991), I.19 [24.27–32.27].

proposed that Step'anos learned about these communities and their individual traditions during these visits, and that he later incorporated these details in the *Universal History*. In my view, a similar process lies behind the mass of notices preserved in book III which contemplate local affairs, both Armenian and non-Armenian in character. This information was collected by Step'anos in the course of his travels from conversations with the people he encountered. Subsequently it was inserted into the chronological outline supplied by the postulated Byzantine historical composition. In other words, it was Step'anos himself who was responsible for gathering this information from contemporaries and then incorporating it in the form in which it had been relayed to him. This accounts for the range of notices as well as the differences in tone, from lively but rather fanciful anecdotes about Abas I (III.7) or 'Aḡud al-Dawla (III.16), to terse comments on the recent activities of David Bagratuni (III.30 and 45) or Bādh b. Dustuk (III.14, 19, 24, and 38), carving out new lordships for themselves.<sup>254</sup>

For the most part, Step'anos does not further reveal where or from whom he picked up the information, other than from the monastic communities themselves. But it is striking that the first of the three tales about Smbat II Bagratuni in III.29 reveals a close knowledge of the city of Ani—that it contained royal granaries and hay barns, that the city gates were closed overnight and opened at dawn—as well as the actions of the hermits in trying to give the corpse of the accused man a Christian burial.<sup>255</sup> He may have heard it from an inhabitant of the city, or perhaps even from one of the hermits involved in the affair. With its rapid expansion in the second half of the tenth century as a commercial centre, Ani would have been full of news, stories, and anecdotes about prominent contemporary figures from across the Caucasus, including Muslim *amirs*, and Argina was only fifteen miles north of Ani. But Step'anos could also have gathered the latest news during his travels. If we plot the locations of the monasteries referred to by Step'anos, we find that he had connections radiating in different directions from Argina. By way of illustration, Sanahin and Hałbat were situated to the north-east; there were several communities to the west in districts under the control of David of Tayk', including those of Xlajor in Derjan and Hunjk' in Karin; and there were several communities to the south, including Kamrjajor in Aršarunik'.<sup>256</sup> Step'anos was therefore in a

<sup>254</sup> The only exception seems to be the extended narrative in III.41. This contains several elements which may indicate that it was derived from a written account. These include the prominent role afforded to clerics in the build-up to the battle, including an unnamed 'patriarch', the supplications of 'the Christians' to God and Christ, and the representations of the arrogant 'Persians'. These elements echo earlier accounts of conflicts with Persian forces, notably in the *History of Łazar P'arpec'i*; see III.41 and n. 580.

<sup>255</sup> ST I, 253.13–254.4; ST II, 806.3–807.12.

<sup>256</sup> Sanahin and Hałbat in III.8: ST I, 181.6–14; ST II, 755.78; Xlajor and Hunjk' in III.7: ST I, 174.22–175.18 and 176.3–8; ST II.751.28–31 and 752.34; Kamrjajor in III.7: 173.14–174.7; ST II, 750.19–22.



position to gather information from many different locations. The breadth of his knowledge of local and regional affairs in the recent past, and especially changes in the regional balance of power, suggests that he did not pass up on the opportunities presented, noting the actions of both Armenian and non-Armenian lords. This feature invites comparison with the *History of the Anonymous Story-Teller*, discussed earlier. Although the stories and anecdotes in that text are limited to the region of Vaspurakan and the territories immediately to the east of it, it too contains a large cast of characters, both Armenian and non-Armenian, engaging and interacting with one another. And whilst the passages in the *Universal History* tend to be short and informative rather than elaborate and discursive as in the *History of the Anonymous Story-Teller*, there are exceptions. By way of illustration, III.19 records how the son of the *amir* of Hēr tried to snatch some children from a village but was killed by a local Christian lord called Sargis; how his distraught father then promised to cede control of the city of Hēr to the *amir* of Atrpatakan, Abū al Ḥayjā al-Rawwādī, if he would take revenge against Vaspurakan; and how the latter died on the eve of the campaign.<sup>257</sup> The location of this action in Vaspurakan, the snatches of direct speech in the narrative, and the simple use of divine intervention to explain the sudden and timely death of Abū al Ḥayjā al-Rawwādī, all serve to align this story with material found in the *History of the Anonymous Story-Teller*. On the other hand, whereas the *History of the Anonymous Story-Teller* imagines ties of friendship and alliance between Christian and Muslim lords as well as instances of tension and conflict, the *Universal History* tends to portray only the latter. It is only in passing that we learn in III.29 that Smbat II Bagratuni broke his agreement with the *amir* of Goḥ'n, Abū Dulaf, and switched his support to 'Salar', the ill-fated Abū al Ḥayjā b. Ibrāhīm b. Marzbān, but that ultimately he was deterred from giving further support by the threat of treachery on the part of his brother Gagik, implying that Gagik had his own ties to Abū Dulaf.<sup>258</sup> Arguably the *Universal History* reflects a more conservative, traditional attitude towards Christian–Muslim interactions on the part of Step'anos—a clerical author working for the catholicos—and it may well be the case that, ironically, the *History of the Anonymous Story-Teller* is more realistic in its depiction of those encounters.

Within this mass of notices which reflect oral origins, there is one substantial document which almost certainly came from the archives of the Catholicosate, namely the long letter at III.21 composed in the name of catholicos Xaç'ik I, perhaps in 986/7, in response to a letter from the metropolitan of Sebasteia.<sup>259</sup> Although the metropolitan's letter does not survive, several features of it may be traced within the reply, including the intriguing possibility

<sup>257</sup> ST I, 199.8–201.3; ST II, 768.1–769.13.

<sup>258</sup> ST I, 254.18–24; ST II, 807.13.

<sup>259</sup> ST I, 202.16–243.24; ST II, 770.1–800.233.

that the metropolitan of Sebasteia was named Theophilus.<sup>260</sup> As noted previously, Step'anos records in the preceding chapter (III.20) that this metropolitan, and other metropolitans, had started to write very long letters to lord Xaç'ik.<sup>261</sup> Step'anos had therefore resolved to include one of the replies, implying that he was aware of several. He observed that these had been written by previously mentioned *vardapets*, although, frustratingly, he does not identify who was responsible for composing this response. We know, however, that one of these other letters, addressed to Theodore, metropolitan of Melitene, and preserved in the *Girk' T'it'oc'*, was written by Samuël Kamrjajorec'i, also at the command of Xaç'ik.<sup>262</sup> Samuël was also one of the previously mentioned *vardapets*, being referred to approvingly in III.7. But it seems unlikely that Samuël was also the author of this letter, because the two letters use different versions of the same quotation from the *Ancoratus* of Epiphanius, and indeed attribute it to different works by Epiphanius.<sup>263</sup>

The patristic citations employed within this letter have received careful attention from Thomson and de Durand, but there are several other features which merit brief comment.<sup>264</sup> In the first place, the letter is highly structured, moving from a profession of faith to a series of questions answered by citations first from the Gospels, then from the Epistles, and then from patristic authorities.<sup>265</sup> The letter concludes by discussing differences in practice, including several which had apparently been raised in the earlier letter.<sup>266</sup> Evidently, whoever composed this letter did so in a methodical, organized manner. But secondly it is also clear that the author exploited historic correspondence, to a much greater extent than can be traced in earlier letters. Whole paragraphs, comprising sequences of quotations, have been copied, apparently directly, from the letter of Step'anos Siwneç'i to Germanos, the eighth-century patriarch

<sup>260</sup> ST I, 241.18; ST II, 798.224: *Ard et'ē ic'es k'aj omn T'ēop'ilos...*

<sup>261</sup> ST I, 202.7–12; ST II, 770.8–9.

<sup>262</sup> *GT*<sup>c</sup> I, 302.1–322.29; *GT*<sup>c</sup> II, 550.1–579.16. See also MU i.34 [44.25–34], which refers to this same letter. See also III.7 and n. 107, for Samuël Kamrjajorec'i.

<sup>263</sup> For the quotation, see ST I, 214.2–6; ST II, 778.66. See also III. 21 and n. 325. For the version of this quotation in the letter to Theodore, the metropolitan of Melitene, see *GT*<sup>c</sup> I, 314.1–4; *GT*<sup>c</sup> II, 566.33–567.5. The differences are significant; indeed Samuël refers to this passage as deriving from Epiphanius' *Girn Hawatoy, Book of Faith*.

<sup>264</sup> R. W. Thomson, 'The Transformation of Athanasius in Armenian Theology (A Tendentious Version of the *Epistula ad Epictetum*)', *Le Muséon* 78 (1965): 47–69; M. de Durand, 'Citations patristiques chez Étienne de Taron', in *Armeniaca. Mélanges d'études arméniennes. Publiés à l'occasion de l'entrée des pères mekhitaristes dans l'île de Saint-Lazare (1717–1967)* (Venice, 1969), 116–24.

<sup>265</sup> Introduction and confession: ST I, 202.7–206.3; ST II, 770.1–772.13. Citations from Gospels and Epistles: ST I, 206.4–208.22; ST II, 772.14–774.30. Patristic citations: ST I, 208.23–233.26; ST II, 774.31–793.188. These sections are separated by short transitional paragraphs.

<sup>266</sup> Response to earlier letter, highlighting methodological and liturgical differences: ST I, 234.1–243.24; ST II, 793.189–800.233. This section includes several short quotations from the metropolitan's letter.

of Constantinople.<sup>267</sup> As that letter was preserved in the *Girk* 'T'it'oc', it appears that the author had access to that collection, presumably via the archives of the Catholicosate. Many of these citations also occur in the late seventh-century *Discourse* of Sahak III, but the relationship between this letter and that composition is more distant. There are, however, several shorter passages which do appear to depend directly on that text, although we cannot rule out the possibility of an intermediate composition between the two.<sup>268</sup> This direct exploitation also implies that the author did not anticipate the metropolitan of Sebasteia having access to the original correspondence. Thirdly, the letter offers several highly revealing insights into the attitude of the author towards the Imperial Church. He suggests that the metropolitan had defined faith in terms of numbers and wealth, noting caustically that 'if faith is defined in terms of numbers or wealth, the barbarian Persians and the savage Arabs, and those beyond at the end of the universe, are more numerous and wealthier than you'.<sup>269</sup> Evidently the writer recognized the size and material attractions of the Imperial Church for wavering Armenians, and so disparaged these characteristics. He also criticizes the appointment of eunuchs as leaders of the church, revealing his awareness that two recent patriarchs of Constantinople, Theophylact and Polyuktos, had both been eunuchs.<sup>270</sup> This knowledge is not otherwise attested in Armenian literature. It is highly significant that the author observed that the high dignity of the priesthood had been given to 'women', thus revealing how eunuchs were gendered by a late tenth-century Armenian author. And finally he observes that: 'Just as we do not debate with Jews using the teaching of the Evangelists and the Apostles, but we induce them to believe through their own Prophets, so we composed treatises using different and multiple citations from your own *vardapets* and those who glorified your country.'<sup>271</sup> This appears to be a novel argument, denying that the Church Fathers were of universal significance and stressing instead their 'otherness', as non-Armenians. It does not sit easily with the content of the letter, but seems to reflect the author's attitude that there was no common ground between the Roman and Armenian ecclesiastical traditions, even in the distant past.

<sup>267</sup> For the letter of Step'annos Siwnec'i to Germanos: *GT* I, 373.1–395.4; *GT* II, 435.1–466.7. See III.21 and nn. 332, 334, 336, 343, 345, 349, 350, 352, and 353.

<sup>268</sup> For the *Discourse* of Sahak III en 691 et quelques documents arméniens annexes au Quinisième, in *The Council in Trullo Revisited*, ed. G. Nedungatt and M. Featherstone, *Kanonika* 6 (Rome, 1995), 367–454. See III.21 and nn. 361, 366, and 396 for the relevant passages.

<sup>269</sup> ST I, 236.9–12; ST II, 794.200.

<sup>270</sup> ST I, 239.15–240.11; ST II, 797.214–217. It is also striking that the preceding chapter (III.20) refers to effeminate pastors, *kanac'i hoviwk'n*: ST I, 201.13; ST II, 769.3.

<sup>271</sup> ST I, 235.12–16; ST II, 794.197. There are also criticisms of how the Greeks handle Scripture, the worship of icons, and defences of how Armenians baptize and worship the cross, the use of wine alone in the Sacrament, the practice of open confession of sins, and the custom of clerics having long hair.

We should also pause to consider why Step'anos chose to include the letter in his *Universal History* in the first place. Evidently Step'anos himself thought it so important that he was prepared to disrupt the chronology of book III, a primary concern which, as we have seen, spans all three books of the *Universal History*. By incorporating a long theological treatise, it could be argued that Step'anos was merely following Armenian literary precedent, for the *Histories* attributed to Sebēos, Lewond, and Yovhannēs Draxanakerc'i all preserve long documents of this character.<sup>272</sup> Indeed, at II.2 Step'anos had himself incorporated the first part of the letter preserved by Sebēos, demonstrating that he was aware of this. But it seems likely that Step'anos was doing more than simply following tradition. Inserting the response to the metropolitan of Sebasteia in full enabled Step'anos to represent the Armenian Church as an institution which was equal to and independent from the Imperial Church. The letter demonstrates that scholarly resources and traditions still existed in Armenia and these could be deployed in robust defence of Armenian confessional beliefs and liturgical practices. At a time of great political, social, and cultural flux, this treatise therefore reinforces the notion of Armenian distinctiveness in both theological and ecclesiological terms. Nor is it a wholly dry, academic response. In several places it disparages the metropolitan, accusing him of stupidity, error, blasphemy, and ignorance.<sup>273</sup> Choosing to include this rhetorical and theological *tour de force*, therefore, was one of the ways in which Step'anos developed his conception of what it meant to be Armenian at the end of the tenth century.

One further reason for the letter's inclusion may be advanced. It demonstrates the active measures undertaken by catholicos Xaç'ik to defend the 'Armenian' position from accusations of heresy being levelled by senior figures within the Imperial Church, including the metropolitan of Sebasteia. In commending these actions, could it be that Step'anos was encouraging his sponsor Sargis to follow a similar course of action? The particular context of the letter also seems to be relevant. It follows a chapter (III.20) which reports the imprisonment of several Armenian priests in Sebasteia by the metropolitan of the city, and the subsequent death of one of them named Gabriēl in prison; the acceptance of Chalcedon by two bishops, Sion of Sebasteia and Yovhannēs of Larissa, and other unnamed priests, which should be interpreted as shorthand for switching allegiance to the Imperial Church; and the prohibition of the distinctive Armenian call to prayer in the city.<sup>274</sup> These imply a concerted effort by the metropolitan of Sebasteia to pressurize members of the

<sup>272</sup> Sebēos 46 [148.27–161.34]; Lewond 14 [45.9–98.24]; YD XXX.33–73 [148.26–157.5], XXXII.8–21 [163.11–166.8], LIV.2–15 [265.25–269.10], and LIV.26–69 [271.21–284.11].

<sup>273</sup> *Ov anbanut'eans... angiw t molorut'eans... hayhoyut'iwn*, O this stupidity... remarkable error... blasphemy: ST I, 208.23–26; ST II, 774.31; *ork' tgitabar ew sovorut'eamb molorin*, those who customarily stray out of ignorance: ST I, 240.10–11; ST II, 797.217.

<sup>274</sup> ST I, 201.13–202.6; ST II, 769.3–7.

Armenian Church settled in his diocese to conform to the authority and teachings of the Imperial Church. In this respect it worth recalling that Uxtanēs, bishop of Sebasteia, wrote his *History* reimagining Armenian historical and confessional traditions in the same decade, although we do not know whether he preceded or succeeded bishop Sion. I shall return to this issue of contemporary ecclesiastical tension in the conclusion.

Let us turn to consider the deeper purposes of the composition. On the basis of its structure and content, it is clear that the *Universal History* was inspired by Eusebius' *Chronicle*. From his first approving comment, identifying Eusebius as the 'true calculator of time', through his own chronological calculations scattered through the work which fuse Armenian historical time with world time, down to the elaborate synchronism in the Conclusion to book III, Step'anos was fascinated by the relationship between history and time. Through this composition, he sought to impart chronological precision to the Armenian past. This not only had the effect of situating that past securely in time; it also served to legitimize that past, associated with, but independent from, other strands of historical time which were devised primarily around sequences of kings, emperors, and caliphs. By integrating Armenian tradition with the span of human history, Step'anos was promoting the notion that Armenia had existed for centuries, alongside, but separate from, the Persian or Roman empires or the caliphate. In this way, Step'anos constructed his own vision of Armenian identity—one imagined primarily, but by no means exclusively, in terms of its kings, princes, and catholicoi—just at the very moment when this identity was coming under severe threat from a resurgent Byzantium. So whilst Step'anos was eager to impose chronological precision upon the Armenian past, he also assembled his own version of that past, a singular, simplified version in which rivalries within and between different princely families and confessional tensions within the Armenian Church did not feature.<sup>275</sup>

The influence of Eusebius' *Chronicle* begins to break down in book III. In the first place, whilst Step'anos remained true to the chronological prerogative established by Eusebius, we see a shift from the universal to the regional and the local. Armenian kings and princes are still depicted interacting with non-Armenians, but with the exception of the Byzantine emperors, these are now regional lords. In this respect, it is telling that contemporary ecclesiastical debates were represented as being conducted with metropolitans, not with the patriarch in Constantinople. Secondly, we see Step'anos grappling with the swirl of contemporary politics and his own opinions. He seems to have found it increasingly difficult to advance a sense of Armenian identity based around

<sup>275</sup> The dense, localized narrative of T'ovma Arcruni's *History* and the clear lines of the *Universal History*, with its supra-national dimension, represent two extremes.

the Bagratuni royal line. He could avoid the uncomfortable reality of the existence of other Armenian kings in Vaspurakan and in Siwnik' by limiting their exposure in the text, as in the case of the Arcruni kings, or omitting them altogether, as in the case of the various royal lines in Siwnik'.<sup>276</sup> But by the time he was writing, there were now two Bagratuni royal lines, one based in Ani and the other in Kars, with every prospect of a third emerging in Lori-Tašir. Furthermore, as we have seen, Step'anos had a strong antipathy towards the previous and the present occupants of the Bagratuni throne, Smbat II and Gagik I, subverting Armenian kingship as a primary constituent of Armenian identity. Indeed, although Step'anos never titles him king, it is clear that Step'anos viewed the *kouropalates* David of Tayk' as the dominant regional lord. Chapter III.11 reports that David marched against Smbat II at the start of his reign when he moved against his uncle Mušel and forced him to back down; III.28 records that in 988/9 David summoned Smbat II to go on campaign against Bagarat III king of Abkhazia; and III.41 records operations in and around Manzikert by the forces of Gagik, king of Armenia, and Gurgēn, king of Georgia (Iberia), undertaken at the behest of David *kouropalates*.<sup>277</sup> Step'anos' open admiration for David is expressed in III.43, where David is described as 'a mild and calm man, more than all the kings of this age', one responsible for the peace and prosperity of all the east, to whom 'all the kings voluntarily submitted'.<sup>278</sup> This undermines the notion of kingship as the apogee of Armenian political organization, and suggests that Step'anos was finding it hard to make sense of the times in which he was living and to fit them into his conception of the Armenian past.

Step'anos seems to have encountered similar challenges in his presentation of the contemporary Armenian Church. Although the *Universal History* traces an unbroken sequence of Armenian Church leaders from Grigor the Illuminator to the present, book III suggests that the established church was under threat. Step'anos records the problematic succession to Anania Mokac'i and the flight of catholicos Vahanik to Vaspurakan, as well as the actions of the metropolitan of Sebasteia against leading members of the Armenian Church. He also chose to include the letter composed in defence of Armenian orthodoxy which confronted confessional and liturgical differences. On the one hand, he reveals that catholicos Xaç'ik had consecrated new bishops for the Armenian faithful outside the boundaries of historic Armenia, in Antioch, Tarsus, and the enigmatic 'Sulind'; on the other, he acknowledges that the

<sup>276</sup> Gagik Arcruni appears fleetingly in III.5—ST I, 168.23–169.4; ST II, 747.19—and Hamazasp Apusahl Arcruni in III.8, offering refuge to the deposed Vahanik—ST I, 181.25–182.22; ST II, 756.13–757.19—but the only other relevant passage is the incomplete genealogy at III.46: ST I, 280.16–281.18; ST II, 826.1–828.7.

<sup>277</sup> III.11: ST I, 188.1–12; ST II, 760.4–6. III.28: ST I, 251.20–253.4; ST II, 805.1–806.11. III.41: ST I, 269.20–271.2; ST II, 818.1–819.7.

<sup>278</sup> ST I, 275.4–18; ST II, 822.1–5.

Armenian bishops of Sebasteia and Larissa and other members of the clergy had been induced to switch sides.<sup>279</sup>

In these circumstances, Stepʿanos introduced another dimension to his expression of Armenian identity. As noted previously, he highlighted the achievements of individual saints, martyrs, and scholars from different epochs who were commemorated in monastic communities. Such communities were scattered throughout the regions and districts of Armenia, and were permanent, autonomous features in an increasingly unstable political and religious landscape. They were also the principal repositories of Armenian historical memory and intellectual tradition. Armenian identity, as constructed by Stepʿanos, did not depend exclusively upon historic political or ecclesiastical institutions, institutions which he saw were crumbling in the face of an expanding Byzantium. It also included the faithful witnessing of individuals who together formed a single community of Armenian saints. This construction of Armenian identity, rooted in a simplified expression of the Armenian past onto which local traditions of sanctity and scholarship could be grafted, proved in the long term to be remarkably resilient, because identity, when expressed in terms of shared cultural memory, is able to transcend political and social upheaval. As will be discussed later, it is unlikely that the *Universal History* circulated widely. Nor did it shape the future course of Armenian historical writing to any great extent, judging from its reception. But it represents a new way of conceptualizing what it meant to be Armenian and what an ‘Armenian’ past might contain.

The prefaces to the three books, together with the Conclusion to book III, offer further insight into the ambitions of the author. In the opening sentences of I.1 Stepʿanos commends the poets and orators of the Armenians and other peoples, scholars honoured by God, who give testimonies for those that are to come of things that have taken place. As noted previously, this legitimized the Armenian historical and intellectual tradition, giving it divine sanction and equating it with all the non-Armenian traditions.<sup>280</sup> In II.1 Stepʿanos stresses the importance of tracing the sequence of Armenian kings and patriarchs and integrating these into the span of human history. But he goes on to observe that he would also be including ‘whatever valiant deeds were accomplished by brave men in their days, all the ascetics, those who were glorified by God, and which *vardapets* appeared in which times, as famous orators or poets’, thereby echoing the opening sentence in I.1.<sup>281</sup> This confirms that Stepʿanos incorporated Armenian traditions of individual sanctity and scholarly achievement knowingly and intentionally. And in III.1 Stepʿanos notes that ‘the forefathers and the righteous who were found praiseworthy across the centuries were honoured by

<sup>279</sup> New bishops, at III.31: ST I, 258.3–7; ST II, 810.1. See III.31 and n. 520.

<sup>280</sup> See this Introduction, nn. 123 and 124.

<sup>281</sup> See this Introduction, n. 171.

God and glorified through the written record'.<sup>282</sup> Again this encapsulates his understanding of the purposes of history, to search out and pass on examples of how to respond to the outpouring of divine grace. Thus the contents of III.7 and III.8, discussed previously, should not be construed as simply filling an inconvenient gap in the historical record, true though this may be. Rather, they are fully consistent with the express purposes set out in II.1 and III.1. Step'anos set out to include examples of Armenian achievement and sanctity in his *Universal History*, and in doing so fashioned a new sense of Armenian identity.

One other purpose behind the composition of the *Universal History* may be discerned. In III.1 Step'anos asserts that he conceptualized the future in the following terms: 'And through the same light of future hope, we see before our eyes the things that are to come with clear-sighted vision, the day of renewal of created things. This is the mystery of the Christians, through which we report the past and predict the future according to God the giver of grace.'<sup>283</sup> In other words, Step'anos anticipated that the course of human history would be brought to an end at the *Parousia*, the Second Coming, which he called 'the day of renewal of created things'.<sup>284</sup> This is a standard expression of Christian eschatology applied by Step'anos to justify the writing of history, that the past merits study because it contains examples of faithful conduct, to be emulated in the knowledge that the course of human history was finite.

A second insight into how Step'anos approached the future appears in the Conclusion. Having acknowledged the role of God in creating the sun, whose perpetual cycles determined the seasons and the passage of time, Step'anos observed that the calculation of the cycles in terms of days, months, and years was reserved for 'the wise, [those] filled to the brim in the knowledge of God'.<sup>285</sup> Despite protesting that he had written 'this chronological composition' with shallow understanding, and that it was 'an inconsiderable contribution', Step'anos clearly saw himself as one of the wise, one to whom God had given the ability to study and calculate the passage of time.<sup>286</sup> The *Universal History* represents the fruits of that research. Just as Eusebius had revised the earlier chronological calculations of Julius Africanus and established that Christ had been born in 5199 AM and his ministry had begun in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, 5228 AM, so Step'anos revised the calculations of Eusebius and proposed in I.2 that that the Crucifixion, in the nineteenth year of Tiberius, had occurred in 5310 AM.<sup>287</sup> Step'anos then used his revised figure in the elaborate synchronism

<sup>282</sup> ST I, 156.18–20; ST II, 739.3.

<sup>283</sup> ST I, 156.27–157.5; ST II, 739.5–6.

<sup>284</sup> ST I, 157.2; ST II, 739.5: *zzawr norogman araracoc'*.

<sup>285</sup> ST I, 284.10–14; ST II, 828.2.

<sup>286</sup> For his protestations of unworthiness and lack of ability, see ST I, 285.11–12; ST I, 828.5. For a study of the humility expected of an author, as reflected in the corpus of Armenian colophons, see A. Sirinian, 'On the Historical and Literary Value of the Colophons in Armenian Manuscripts', in *Armenian Philology in the Modern Era: From Manuscript to Digital Text*, ed. V. Calzolari, with the collaboration of M. E. Stone (Leiden and Boston, 2014), 76–89.

<sup>287</sup> See this Introduction, n. 151.



situated in the Conclusion, stating that ‘there are 6282 years from Adam until us’ and ‘972 years from the Crucifixion and the life-giving Passion of the Lord’ (6282 – 972 = 5310).<sup>288</sup>

Step’anos therefore held a conventional Christian expectation of the end of human history. He had also studied the passage of time and produced his own chronological calculations determining how long the world had been in existence since Creation. Time and chronological precision were central to his historical vision. This distinguishes him from previous Armenian historians—apart from the compiler of the *Anonymous Chronicle*—whose works were not structured in this way. It is less obvious, however, whether Step’anos also held millenarian convictions, that the thousand-year captivity of Satan described in Revelation 20, and associated variously with the Incarnation and the Crucifixion, was about to come to an end. Step’anos was the first Armenian writer to employ dates based on these key events in the life of Christ. In I.3 the date of the Council of Nicaea is reported as being 291 years from ‘the Crucifixion of our Saviour’;<sup>289</sup> in II.2 Step’anos asserts that ‘all the time from the Birth of the Saviour until the Council of Dvin and the Armenian Era adds up to 553 years’;<sup>290</sup> in II.6 the return of the True Cross to Jerusalem is described as taking place 595 years after the Crucifixion of the Saviour;<sup>291</sup> and the accession of Ašot I Bagratuni as king in III.2 is dated to the year ‘888 since the coming of our Saviour Lord God’.<sup>292</sup> Most significantly of all, in III.47 Step’anos reports that, ‘at the time when the year 1000 from the Incarnation of our Lord was finally reached,’ Gagik decided to found a church in Ani based on the design of the ruined church of Zuart’noc’.<sup>293</sup> This notice expresses an unequivocal awareness of the year 1000, but it is not connected to any commentary on the meaning or significance of this date, nor to any event which could be understood as revealing or marking contemporary anxiety. The inconsistency of these dates across the text is also puzzling. If Step’anos had been anticipating the end of time in the year 1000, one might have expect all of the dates to have been calibrated from the Incarnation. Intriguingly, the final synchronism in the Conclusion switches back to using the Crucifixion as the definitive event.<sup>294</sup> This revision could be a response to the non-appearance of Christ at the turn of the millennium, postponing the Second Coming until 1033. But one is left with the impression that if Step’anos was aware of millenarian speculation at the end of the tenth century, it had a limited impact on the *Universal History*, at least in the form in which it was presented to catholicos Sargis.<sup>295</sup>

<sup>288</sup> ST I, 285.1–3; ST II, 828.3.

<sup>290</sup> ST I, 83.10–14; ST II, 690.46.

<sup>292</sup> ST I, 157.18–22; ST II, 740.3.

<sup>294</sup> ST I, 285.1–3; ST II, 828.3.

<sup>289</sup> ST I, 22.12–14; ST II, 651.25.

<sup>291</sup> ST I, 142.3–8; ST II, 732.40–1.

<sup>293</sup> ST I, 282.4–16; ST II, 827.1.

<sup>295</sup> For western comparisons, although there is a vast literature, see S. MacLean, ‘Apocalypse and Revolution: Europe around the Year 1000’, *Early Medieval Europe* 15 (2007), 86–106; J. Palmer, *The Apocalypse in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2014); and C. Cubitt,

This subdued millenarianism sets the *Universal History* apart from the later eleventh- and twelfth-century writers. Aristakēs Lastivertc'i observed that a solar eclipse in the year 482 AE [13 March 1033–12 March 1034] was interpreted by many learned men as the date on which the Antichrist was born and the beginning of many misfortunes.<sup>296</sup> Aristakēs also records the simultaneous arrival of an unknown man from the east who passed through the districts of Apahunik', Hark', Mananali, and Ekeleac' proclaiming, day and night, 'Woe is me!'<sup>297</sup> He goes on to observe that foolish people considered him mad, but the wise said: 'This woe will come upon the whole land.' The twelfth-century historian Matthew of Edessa supplies several expressions of millenarian anxiety. He records that in the year 471 AE [16 March 1022–15 March 1023], the sky was split in two from east to west, with a brilliant light in the north. There was also an earthquake and a terrible roaring and crashing, the sun darkened, and the stars appeared as if it were night.<sup>298</sup> Before an assembly of nobles, a prominent scholar, Yovhannēs Kozern, then lamented: 'Behold, today is one thousand years of the imprisonment of Satan, whom our Lord Jesus Christ bound with his holy Cross, and especially through his holy baptism in the river Jordan.'<sup>299</sup> It appears that it was Matthew who pinned these events to this date, rather than Yovhannēs.<sup>300</sup> Confusingly, the narrative then records Yovhannēs repeating this statement in slightly different terms and attributing it to a different date, the year 478 AE [14 March 1029–13 March 1030]: 'And behold, today Satan has been freed from his thousand-year imprisonment, which is the year 478 of the Armenian Era and adding the first 552, it produces 1030 years; then subtract the thirty years before the Baptism and it makes one thousand years up to today.'<sup>301</sup> This repetition may indicate the presence of two separate prophecies which have become conflated, one undated and misattributed to the end of the reign of Basil II by Matthew, the other dated by Yovhannēs. But the repetition may simply be for emphasis. Matthew also includes another, divergent prophecy attributed to Kozern under the year 485 AE [12 March 1036–11 March 1037]: 'Today the thousand years of the torments of the Crucifixion of Christ have been completed and also the release

'Apocalyptic and Eschatological Thought in England around the Year 1000', *TRHS*, 6th ser., 25 (2015), 27–52, examining millennial anxieties in the writings of Wulfstan, bishop of London (996–1002) and archbishop of York (1002–23), and Ælfric of Eynsham.

<sup>296</sup> Aristakēs, *Patmut'iwñ*, 49.9–13. *cnundn Nerinn*, the birth of the Antichrist.

<sup>297</sup> Aristakēs, *Patmut'iwñ*, 49.25–50.4. <sup>298</sup> MU i.52 [58.33–60.7].

<sup>299</sup> MU i.52 [60.8–20], with the direct quotation at ll. 17–20. For a recent study, see J. Russell, 'Revelations of Darkness: Medieval Armenian Apocalyptic in the *Epic of Sasun* and the Visions of Yovhannes Kozern', *JAS* VI/1 (Winter/Spring) (1998/9), 3–15; repr. in J. Russell, *Armenian and Iranian Studies*, HATS 9 (Cambridge, Mass., 2004), 876–87.

<sup>300</sup> The Armenian Era date occurs in the opening sentence of the narrative. This is characteristic of all the entries in Matthew of Edessa's *History*.

<sup>301</sup> MU i.52 [60.22–6].

of Beliar, whom the Saviour had bound in the Jordan river.<sup>302</sup> As Pogossian has observed, the *Histories* of Aristakēs and Matthew were both infused with apocalyptic and millenarian expectation that the end was imminent, and both contain multiple examples of military defeat and moral decay as well as sequences of natural portents to prove this analysis.<sup>303</sup> But we should remember that both authors were writing in very different circumstances, from beyond the disaster at Manzikert and the political and social transformation which followed.

Book III displays several features which could be interpreted as illustrating the need for moral and religious reform before the End of Time. The criticism of the conduct of past and present Bagratuni kings; the importance of defending the Armenian Church against an expanding Byzantine church; the inclusion of natural portents—the earthquake in 989, accompanied by a tsunami, which brought down part of Hagia Sophia (III.27), the earthquake of 995 which devastated Fourth Armenia (III.36) and which Stepʿanos describes in detail; even the characterization in the Conclusion of ‘our hard-hearted and stiff-necked people’—all could be treated as expressions of apocalyptic anxiety on the part of Stepʿanos.<sup>304</sup> But such an interpretation has to be inferred from the *Universal History*; it is not explicit. We should remember that Stepʿanos completed his composition four or five years after the passing of the year 1000, when it was clear that the Second Coming had not taken place. The apparent recalibration in the final synchronism, from the Incarnation to the Crucifixion, enabled the millennium to be deferred by twenty-eight years. Furthermore, Stepʿanos comes close to offering an apology for the late completion of the composition, blaming the ‘always-agitated vicissitudes and daily travails of the church’ for denying the opportunity for the proper arrangement of the work.<sup>305</sup> It could be that Stepʿanos adopted an apocalyptic mode of expression in the *Universal History* in the expectation that the year 1000 would usher in the Last Times. But the passing of this year without incident, coupled with the delay in completion, may have compelled Stepʿanos to reconsider this dimension to the *Universal History* and to dampen down its anticipation of the Second Coming. This contention, however, of a late revision, is incapable of proof.

<sup>302</sup> MU i.64 [76.23–5]. This is also preceded by natural portents, the sun darkening, the stars appearing, mountains crashing, and the vast Ocean, *hamatarac mec covn Ovkianos*, surging and heaving [74.20–37].

<sup>303</sup> Z. Pogossian, ‘The Last Emperor or the Last Armenian King? Some Considerations on Armenian Apocalyptic Literature from the Cilician period’, in *The Armenian Apocalyptic Tradition*, ed. K. B. Bardakjian and S. La Porta (Leiden, 2014), 459–65.

<sup>304</sup> III.36: ST I, 264.20–265.22; ST II, 813.1–814.8. III.Conclusion: ST I, 285.22–23; ST II, 829.6: *i canrasirt ew i xstaparanocʿ azgēs mermē*.

<sup>305</sup> ST I, 285.18–21; ST II, 828.6.

## RECEPTION

There is no record of how catholicos Sargis responded to the *Universal History*, but this is hardly surprising, given that so little is known about his twenty-four years in office. One encyclical letter purportedly written by him in 455 AE [20 March 1006–19 March 1007] has survived by virtue of its inclusion in the much later historical compilation of Step'annos Ōrbēlean.<sup>306</sup> This was addressed to the kings and princes of Siwnik', and confirmed his consecration of Yovhannēs as metropolitan of Siwnik', as well as defining, with remarkable precision, the districts and regions under the latter's jurisdiction. Step'anos himself seems to have envisaged a clerical audience for his scholarly composition. In the Conclusion to book III he refers to 'your paternal concern and your brotherly love, readers', imagining future relationships through the *Universal History* with both superiors and equals.<sup>307</sup> He invited all of them to remember him 'at the time of prayer through righteous-entreating supplications'.<sup>308</sup> Given the circumstances of its composition and Step'anos' own responsibilities, it seems likely that the *Universal History* was lodged in the archives of the Catholicosate at Argina.

The impact of the *Universal History* in the decades after its composition is obscure. The oldest manuscript, M2865, dates from the thirteenth century, and we cannot know the number of times the autograph was copied in the intervening two centuries. Nor is it certain whether or not Yovhannēs Kozeṛn, active a generation after Step'anos, was influenced by the latter's chronological calculations, because the evidence is inconclusive. As demonstrated above, Step'anos worked out time from both the Incarnation and the Crucifixion.<sup>309</sup> The first of Kozeṛn's predictions took a different approach, calculating the thousand-year period from Christ's Baptism in the Jordan.<sup>310</sup> Extrapolating from the synchronism in the Conclusion, Step'anos expected the year 1000 from the Crucifixion to fall in 481 AE [13 March 1032–12 March 1033].<sup>311</sup> Kozeṛn expected the year 1000 from the Baptism of Christ to fall in the year 478 AE [14 March 1029–13 March 1030].<sup>312</sup> Accepting a three-year period for Christ's ministry between his Baptism and Passion, these figures do correlate. Kozeṛn's second prophecy refers to the period of a thousand years since the Crucifixion, but does not contain a specific date.<sup>313</sup> Associating this prophecy with the year 485 AE [12 March 1036–11 March 1037] serves to distance it from Step'anos' calculation of 481 AE, but we cannot be

<sup>306</sup> SŌ I, c. 57 [308.8–311.22]; SŌ II, c. 56 [226.1–228.20].

<sup>307</sup> ST I, 286.1–2; ST II, 829.7, *ēst hayreni xnamoc'n jeroc'...ew ēst elbayrakan siroy yēnt'erc'ōlac'd.*

<sup>308</sup> ST I, 286.3; ST II, 829.7, *i žam alawt'ic' ardarahayc' malt'anawk' jer.*

<sup>309</sup> See this Introduction, nn. 288–94. <sup>310</sup> MU i.52 [60.17–20].

<sup>311</sup> ST I, 285.1–3; ST II, 828.3. <sup>312</sup> MU i.52 [60.22–6].

<sup>313</sup> MU i.64 [76.21–80.20].

sure if this date reflects the original calculation of Kozeṛn or the later judgement of Matthew of Edessa.

Towards the end of the eleventh century, however, there can be little doubt that Aristakēs had access to the *Universal History*. Not only does he commend Stepʿanos Tarōnecʿi for composing books of world history from Creation with an excellent structure; he also seems to have exploited III.43 for his opening passage describing the advance of Basil II into Armenia in the year 1000 following the death of David of Taykʿ.<sup>314</sup> The brief report of Basil's encounter with Bagarat, king of Abkhazia, and his father Gurgēn at Hawčičʿ is linguistically proximate to that in the *Universal History*.<sup>315</sup> But the accounts also diverge. Aristakēs gives a different sequence to Basil's movements and includes details missing from III.43, noting, for example, that thirty men were killed in the violent confrontation between Russian and Iberian soldiers.<sup>316</sup> Furthermore, Aristakēs employs extensive biblical imagery and includes a confessional dimension. Thus, while the passages are related, it seems that Basil II's advance has been reimagined by Aristakēs for his own purposes, possibly to provide an analogue to that later, disastrous advance of Romanos IV Diogenes into Armenia in 1071, with which his *History* ends. One puzzling feature of Aristakēs' account is his statement that Stepʿanos finished his history with the death of Gagik.<sup>317</sup> None of the manuscripts preserve such a continuation, so it may be the case that Aristakēs had access to an expanded version which has not been preserved. It seems more likely, however, that Gagik is a simple scribal slip for David.

In a recent study, Andrews has proposed that Matthew of Edessa exploited the *Universal History* for his own *History* in the first half of the twelfth century.<sup>318</sup> Her argument depends upon an overlap in content—specifically, the account of the warfare between Mamlān b. Abu'l Hayjā' al-Rawwādī and David of Taykʿ—and an ingenious derivation for one of the chronological errors in Matthew's narrative.<sup>319</sup> Closer inspection reveals that the two narratives of the conflict display no linguistic connections to one another and

<sup>314</sup> Aristakēs, *Patmut'awn*, 26.12–14, for the commendation; 22.25–24.11 for Basil II's progress eastwards.

<sup>315</sup> ST I, 276.15–21; ST II, 823.11–12; cf. Aristakēs, *Patmut'awn*, 23.8–10 and 24.1–4, separated by the account of the violent confrontation between Rus and Iberian soldiers, which follows this single passage in the *Universal History*.

<sup>316</sup> Aristakēs, *Patmut'awn*, 23.12.

<sup>317</sup> Aristakēs, *Patmut'awn*, 26.14, *i vaxčan Gagkay*.

<sup>318</sup> T. Andrews, 'An Explanation of the Dating Errors within Book I of the Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa', *REArm* 32 (2010), 150–1.

<sup>319</sup> III.41: ST I, 269.17–274.3; ST II, 818.1–821.31. MU i.30–2 [40.23–44.3]. The accounts are clearly describing the same event, since Mamlān's previous advance into Apahunik', reported in III.38, culminated in a hasty withdrawal rather than a battle. The literary elements in III.41 were noted above, n. 254; the account preserved in Matthew's *History* also displays literary qualities. Mamlān's letter and the response of David are modelled on Sennacherib and Hezekiah in Isaiah 37.

diverge in several key elements, not least the presence or absence of David himself in the campaign. Moreover, whilst the chronological connection is attractive, it relies on a very particular approach to the *Universal History* which admits chronological but not narrative borrowings. It seems unlikely, therefore, that Matthew had access to the *Universal History*, even indirectly.

The relationship between the *Chronicle* of Samuēl Anec'i, completed in 1163, and the *Universal History* is both intriguing and problematic. It is clear that Samuēl—described by Kirakos as a priest from the cathedral church of Ani—was similarly fired with a passion for chronology and universal history. He was also inspired by Eusebius, commenting that among those who wrote about the present and the future, 'the blessed Eusebius was more celebrated than the others, those before or since'.<sup>320</sup> Unlike Step'anos, however, who had no qualms about citing several different computations, and even included his own chronological calculations, Samuēl preferred to retain the original figures supplied by Eusebius.<sup>321</sup> Indeed, his study of world time from Creation to the Incarnation has been deemed to be modelled so closely upon the Armenian adaptation of Eusebius' *Chronicle* that it has been used as a witness to that text.<sup>322</sup> Moreover, for the period from the Incarnation, Samuēl retained the tabular representation of time first devised by Eusebius, with several columns flanked by substantial margins on either side, into which individual notices could be written and aligned with specific dates.<sup>323</sup> He maintained the sequence of Olympiads as the outer column on the left-hand side, placing next to this a column listing years from the Incarnation, then synchronic columns presenting sequences of kings, emperors, patriarchs, and catholicoi, before using the outer right-hand column (from 554 onwards) to express the Armenian Era date.<sup>324</sup> His faithfulness to the Eusebian model, therefore,

<sup>320</sup> Samuēl Anec'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 79.10–12. Brosset's French translation begins with the Incarnation: Samuēl Anec'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 115.1. The first part of Samuēl's *Chronicle*, including the informative preface, at 1.1–5.8, has been translated only into Latin; see this Introduction, n. 322.

<sup>321</sup> Samuēl Anec'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 113.24–35, citing Eusebius' calculation of 5198 years from Adam to the Birth of Christ, including the calculations; and Samuēl Anec'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 116–17, *s.a.* 30, correlating the beginning of Christ's ministry with the fifteenth year of Tiberius, 5228 years from Adam. Mosshammer has described Samuēl as writing a continuation of the *Chronicle* of Eusebius, observing that he dated the Birth of Christ to Olympiad 194.4, exactly as Eusebius had done: A. A. Mosshammer, *The Easter Computus and the Origins of the Christian Era* (Oxford, 2008), 17, 247, and 428. Samuēl Anec'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 113.22–3: *crundn K'ristosi... ē 4 am 194 olompiadin*.

<sup>322</sup> Mai's Latin translation of the whole text was included as an appendix to the collected works of Eusebius, published first in 1818, and later republished in 1857, in PG XIX, at 601–742.

<sup>323</sup> PG XIX, 644; Samuēl Anec'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 115.1. The layout is projected in the Latin and French translations but not in either edition of the Armenian text; for the earlier edition, see Samuēl Anec'i, *Hawak'munk' i groc' patmagrac'*, ed. A. Tēr-Mik'elean (Vaġaršapat, 1893).

<sup>324</sup> For recent discussion of year 1 of the Armenian Era, see Samuēl Anec'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 23–4. It is correlated with 554 CE in the text, but Mat'evosyan prefers 552 and offers a corrected chronology in the left-hand margin of his edition alongside that supplied by Samuēl.

constitutes a different response to that of Step'anos, whose esteem for Eusebius did not extend to slavish imitation and whose work therefore reveals much more about himself and his own opinions than Samuēl's.

The opening passage of his *Chronicle* suggests that Samuēl was aware of the *Universal History* of Step'anos. He listed the works upon which his own composition was based, in the same sequence as that found in I.1, but added: 'and in more recent times, Step'annos *vardapet*, surnamed Asłnik.'<sup>325</sup> Furthermore, a second notice, under the year 660 and Armenian Era 107, has been judged by Mat'evosyan to be part of Samuēl's original composition. It reads: 'The strife in Erevan which you may find out about in previous histories; Šapuh and Asłnik record.'<sup>326</sup> The association of an episode with two Armenian historians is unique within the work, and seems to hint at uncertainty on his part. In fact the *Universal History* does not record such an episode. Brosset suggested that Samuēl was referring to a seventh-century insurrection reported by Step'anos in II.2, which cost the lives of 1775 hostages (and which derived ultimately from the *History* attributed to Sebēos).<sup>327</sup> This could be the case, although Step'anos dates that insurrection to 104 AE and does not mention Erevan at all. It is also possible that this detail derives from the lost *History* of Šapuh and that Samuēl merged the two notices. Nevertheless, it is surprising that the one citation connected to the *Universal History* should be so problematic.

Three other specific references to Step'anos have been identified. Both the Latin and French translations include a short notice under the year 1000 and Armenian Era 447, commenting that 'Step'annos Asłnik, *vardapet* and historian was known'.<sup>328</sup> There is no trace, however, of this entry in any of the manuscripts consulted by Mat'evosyan, who simply notes its inclusion in Mai's Latin translation. The source of this marginal comment is therefore unknown. A second entry under the year 1004 and Armenian Era 451 notes the conclusion of the *History* of Step'anos Tarōnec'i and the start of the *History* of Aristakēs. This appears in two of the seventy-one manuscripts carrying the text, M7261 and M10202, and is treated by Mat'evosyan as a later interpolation rather than an entry in the original composition.<sup>329</sup> The third entry is of exactly the same character as the second. An entry under the year 530 states that 'Step'anos Tarōnac'i says here that the

<sup>325</sup> Samuēl Anec'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 79,37–8.

<sup>326</sup> Samuēl Anec'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 152, s.a. 660 CE/107 AE: *Erewanu křiwn, yorum zziardn gtc'ēs, ar patmagrut'iwns arajnoc'n. Šapuh ew Asłnik yišēn*. The date is corrected to 658 CE by Mat'evosyan.

<sup>327</sup> Brosset, 'Tables Chronologiques', 406 and n.1; see ST I, 99.1–4; ST II, 701.153–4. For this, see II.2 and n. 194.

<sup>328</sup> PG XIX, 722; Brosset, 'Tables Chronologiques', 441; Samuēl Anec'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 180, s.a. 1000 and n. 203.

<sup>329</sup> Samuēl Anec'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 181, s.a. 1004/451 and n. 211.

Armenian Era was established'.<sup>330</sup> Since, however, it is preserved through the same two seventeenth-century manuscripts, M7261 and M10202, it too may be judged a later interpolation.

Of the five notices referring directly to Step'anos, therefore, one occurs in the introductory list of works consulted, one appears to be associated with both Step'anos and Šapuh, and the other three have been viewed as later interpolations. This is not to argue that there is no relationship between the two compositions. Several passages in the *Universal History* have left an impression on the *Chronicle* of Samuēl Anec'i. If we limit our comparative analysis to the marginal comments between 924 and 1005—on the grounds that the coverage of these years in the *Universal History* did not depend on an earlier Armenian composition—there are two important correspondences. Firstly, the reign of Abas is configured in similar terms to the notices found in III.7, in respect of his regnal years, his building activity at Kars, and the blinding of Bēr. Moreover, the foundation of communities at Kamrjajor and Kaputak'ar in Aršarunik', and Hořomos and Dprēvank' in Širak, are specifically associated with his reign; again, all four feature in III.7.<sup>331</sup> As argued above, it was Step'anos himself who assembled the information about monastic communities, increasing the likelihood that the *Universal History* was the ultimate source. Their grouping by district, however, is not found in that chapter. Secondly, Samuēl's description of the building of the church of St Grigor by Gagik I Bagratuni in Ani in the year 1000 echoes that found in III.47.<sup>332</sup> In my view these are sufficient to demonstrate relationship to book III. And it is possible that many earlier corresponding notices were also derived from the *Universal History*. By way of illustration, the account of the arrival in Armenia of the Hřip'simeank' and the record of the eastern campaigns of the emperor Theophilos are proximate to notices in book II of the *Universal History*.<sup>333</sup>

<sup>330</sup> Samuēl Anec'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 141, s.a. 530.

<sup>331</sup> Samuēl Anec'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 172–3, s.a. 930/377 and 932/379. These dates have been corrected to 928 and 930 by Mat'evosyan.

<sup>332</sup> Samuēl Anec'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 179–80, s.a. 994/441 and 995/442 (corrected to 992 and 993). Following Mat'evosyan's meticulous examination of the manuscript tradition, it is clear that the precisely dated Byzantine military successes during the reigns of Constantine VII, Romanos II, and Nikephoros II which featured in Tēr-Mik'elean's edition—Samuēl Anec'i, *Hawak'munk'*, 100.2–11—occur only in M1899, a manuscript copied in 1676/7 in the monastery of Amrdolu in Bitlis. This was used by Tēr-Mik'elean as his base manuscript. For discussion of this, see Samuēl Anec'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 67–8. These passages are not considered by Mat'evosyan to have been part of Samuēl's original composition: Samuēl Anec'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 174–5, s.a. 950/397–967/414. If this is the case, one is left wondering how and why these notices were incorporated later.

<sup>333</sup> Hřip'simeank', recorded in II.1: Samuēl Anec'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 128, s.a. 304. The campaigns of Theophilos, reported in II.6: Samuēl Anec'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 163, s.a. 826/273 and 828/275 (corrected to 824 and 826). According to Mat'evosyan, both passages were



Yet in spite of the number and range of corresponding passages, as well as an abundance of broad similarities, these are not sufficient, in my judgement, to prove a direct relationship between the two texts. There is no single correspondence which could be termed decisive. Of course, it may be the case that the compression of the original notices to fit into the margins so transformed them that those features which would indicate direct borrowing have been lost. As it is, the distance between the parallel passages, in terms of content, sequence, and language, is such that a direct relationship between the works remains unproven and it remains just as likely that these traces of the *Universal History* were transmitted via one or more intermediate works.

By the time Kirakos Ganjakec'i compiled his *History* in the middle of the thirteenth century—he began writing in 1241 and seems to have finished in 1266—Step'anos Tarōnec'i was firmly established in the canon of earlier Armenian historians. He is listed in the sequence in the opening chapter, between Uxtanēs (wrongly identified as bishop of Urha) and Aristakēs Lastivertc'i.<sup>334</sup> The direct impact of the *Universal History* on the *History* of Kirakos Ganjakec'i, however, is much harder to discern. There is no structural coincidence between the two works. Kirakos supplies few specific dates and does not situate his narrative within a synchronic framework. His work, divided into sixty-five unequal chapters, opens with the activities of Grigor and Trdat following the conversion of Armenia at the start of the fourth century. Furthermore, no passage is associated by Kirakos with Step'anos Tarōnec'i or the *Universal History*. If we turn to the version of tenth-century history presented by Kirakos, it is clear that he exploited the *Chronicle* of Samuēl Anec'i directly and repeatedly. Both longer narratives and shorter notices were copied with only minor changes.<sup>335</sup> Although several of these passages derive ultimately from the *Universal History*, they were all accessed via Samuēl's intermediate composition. Looking at the composition as a whole, Kirakos only acknowledges his debt to Samuēl on one occasion, commenting that the wise *vardapet* Sarkawag had written about the reasons for the rise of the Seljuks up to the time of sultan Melik'shah, and that Samuēl the priest had copied him.<sup>336</sup> In fact, the influence of Samuēl's work can be detected throughout, as

incorporated into Samuēl's original composition. It is striking that a subsequent notice, *s.a.* 835/282 (corrected to 833), recording Theophilos travelling to Trebizond, is found only in M1899 and therefore is deemed an interpolation.

<sup>334</sup> Kirakos, *Patmut'iwn*, 7.13–15.

<sup>335</sup> The entry on the deposition, exile, and replacement of catholicos Vahan: Kirakos, *Patmut'iwn*, 87.4–88.3, repeating Samuēl Anec'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 175–6, *s.a.* 969/416. The entries on Smbat II Bagratuni, the building of Marmašēn and Gagik I Bagratuni: Kirakos, *Patmut'iwn* 88.5–89.1, repeating Samuēl Anec'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 178, *s.a.* 981/428; 179, *s.a.* 989/436; and 179–80, *s.a.* 994/441 and 992/442.

<sup>336</sup> Kirakos, *Patmut'iwn*, 84.1–3.

Melik'Öhanjanean demonstrated in his introduction to the critical edition of the *History* of Kirakos.<sup>337</sup> But for our purposes, the key observation is that Kirakos did not lift passages from the *Universal History* for inclusion in his compilation. Those passages which do seem to correspond have been transmitted through at least one intermediate work.

In comparison with the above, the *Historical Compilation* of Vardan Arewelc'i reveals a very different relationship with the *Universal History*. Thomson noted that 'Asolik's work was important to Vardan both as a source of information and as a model', and even a brief comparison of the two is enough to demonstrate their direct relationship.<sup>338</sup> Unlike Samuël or Kirakos, Vardan did not supply a list of previous historians in an introduction to his composition. We can, however, be certain that he had access to a copy of the *Universal History* when assembling his *Historical Compilation*. He includes one direct citation from II.2 which is linguistically proximate: 'Asolik says "We have verified the sixteenth [year] of Yazkert [was] the third year of Marcian".'<sup>339</sup> But more importantly, textual analysis confirms that he derived a significant proportion of his material from that text. Four passages in his own work can be traced back to I.5; fourteen passages to II.1; eleven to II.2; six to II.4; and twenty to chapters in book III, ranging from III.2 to III.46.<sup>340</sup> These figures represent the minimum number of borrowings, for it is clear that he also incorporated incidental details from the *Universal History* in passages derived from other texts. Collectively, these prove that he had access to a copy of the whole work. If, however, there is one extract which is compelling, it is that in his discussion of Abgar and Edessa Vardan reports that the image of Jesus was brought back to Edessa, 'where it remained until the time of Nikephoros the king of the Greeks who had it conveyed to Constantinople under the control of Abraham the metropolitan'.<sup>341</sup> As discussed above, this comment was added by Step'anos to update his version of the story in I.5, which he had lifted from the *History* of Movsēs Xorenac'i.<sup>342</sup> As a cast

<sup>337</sup> Kirakos, *Patmut'iwñ*, xlvi–xlvi.

<sup>338</sup> R. W. Thomson, "The Historical Compilation of Vardan Arewelc'i", *DOP* 43 (1989), 130.

<sup>339</sup> Vardan Arewelc'i, *Hawak'umn patmut'ean*, 54.23–4: *Asolikhñ asē t'ē stugec'ak' zveštasanerordñ Yazkerti errorđ am Markianosì*. ST I, 79.3–4; ST II, 687.8.

<sup>340</sup> I.5: Vardan Arewelc'i, *Hawak'umn patmut'ean*, 34.13–31; 35.1, 11; 36.1–10; and 37.16–17. II.1: 38.4–5, 5–8 and 8–11; 40.25–34; 43.6–12; 43.13–18; 43.18–44.4; 45.8–18; 45.21–3; 45.24–46.10; 48.4–9; 48.22–32; 48.33–49.2; and 51.12–15. II.2: 53.16–19; 54.23–4; 55.34–56.3; 57.8–10; 57.31–2; 57.34–58.2; 61.3–9; 62.6–8; 68.29–30; 72.26–73.3; and 80.14. II.4: 69.24–5; 70.29–71.2; 71.3–10; 71.15–21; 72.2–11; and 72.13–17. III.2: 86.6–9. III.3: 86.10–17 and 86.17–19. III.4: 87.5–9. III.5: 87.10–11 and 87.14–19. III.6: 87.12–14; 87.26–34 and 88.23–89.3. III.7: 88.5–9; 88.9–22; and 89.7–11. III.8: 89.24–30 and 90.1. III.11: 90.5–9. III.29: 90.16–17. III.30: 90.17–22; III.9 and III.31: 90.26–8; III.46: 92.4–9.

<sup>341</sup> Vardan Arewelc'i, *Hawak'umn patmut'ean*, 34.28–31: *ew darjan mecarel zna ew berin zpatkern ew ekac' yUrha, minc' i Nikip'or t'agaworn Yunac' or taraw i Kostandnupõlis i jern Abrahamu metrapõli*.

<sup>342</sup> ST I, 45.25–46.2; ST II, 667.111, and this Introduction, at n. 158.

forward, it disrupts the chronology of Vardan's *Historical Compilation* just as it disrupts the chronology of Step'anos' *Universal History*. But its inclusion proves that Vardan had unmediated access to the whole work. Therefore, although in his youth Vardan had studied alongside Kirakos under the renowned *vardapet* Yovhannēs Vanakan, and although their historical compositions were written at exactly the same time, their historical compositions represent totally different reactions to the *Universal History* of Step'anos Tarōnec'i. Kirakos named Step'anos in his introduction, but his *History* shows no knowledge of the *Universal History*; conversely, Vardan did not identify any previous historians, yet consulted and exploited a wide range of sources, including the *Universal History*.

In summary, therefore, subsequent Armenian historians responded to the *Universal History* of Step'anos Tarōnec'i in different ways. For Aristakēs, it was the single work of Armenian history which he invoked and which he wished to continue, although his own composition was of a different character. Quite why Samuēl resolved to emulate the *Chronological Canons* of Eusebius will remain a mystery, but it seems unlikely that it represents some direct rejection of the chronological scholarship undertaken by Step'anos in his *Universal History*. Although there are echoes of this work in his own composition, there is for the moment no firm evidence to prove that Samuēl had direct access to the *Universal History*, and indirect borrowing via an intermediate composition remain just as probable. Like Samuēl, Kirakos knew of Step'anos Tarōnec'i, but there is no trace of the *Universal History* in his own work. Conversely, his fellow scholar Vardan Arewel'ci evidently did have unfettered access to a complete copy of the *Universal History* and made full use of this, as a source of Armenian tradition rather than as a study of chronology or world history. Although we do not know where Vardan found a copy of the text, it is significant that in 1243 he took an encyclical letter from catholicos Constantine in Sis back to Greater Armenia and presented it to a large number of bishops, abbots, and princes for signature.<sup>343</sup> This would have given him the opportunity to develop a network of scholarly contacts in different institutions. Furthermore, his other scholarly works confirm that he spent time at the monasteries of Xor-Virap, Hałbat, and Glajor, and it is therefore possible that a copy of the *Universal History* was preserved in one of these collections. Evidently Vardan had access to a wide range of scholarly resources, just as Step'anos had had almost three centuries before him. Both took advantage of their respective networks and were in a position to consult a wide range of earlier historical texts in their original forms.

<sup>343</sup> Thomson, 'Historical Compilation', 127–8.

EDITIONS, TRANSLATIONS, AND  
THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION

Over the course of the last 150 years three editions of the *Universal History* have been published. The first to appear was prepared by Šahnazareanc' on the basis of two manuscripts and was published in Paris in 1859. As he observed in his introduction, both of the manuscripts were deficient, lacking the end of book II, chapter 3.<sup>344</sup> He did not appreciate that his edition was also lacking a much longer section, comprising the end of II.4 as well as II.5 and II.6 in their entirety. He attempted to obtain the missing part of II.3 from the collection in the monastery of San Lazzaro in Venice, but was informed that its manuscript was equally deficient.<sup>345</sup> As Manukyan has pointed out, in fact this lacuna is common to all the manuscripts.<sup>346</sup> In the event, Šahnazareanc' published his edition, deeming the missing section of II.3 to be unimportant, partly because it covered non-Armenian history and partly because he believed it could be reconstructed from the *Histories* of T'ovma Arcruni and Sebēos. If he had realized that his manuscripts were also deficient in respect of II.4, II.5, and II.6, one suspects that he would have sought to remedy this prior to publication.

In 1864 Emin published a Russian translation in which he included an appendix containing the missing sections from II.4, II.5, and II.6.<sup>347</sup> He had found these in Brosset's copy of a much older manuscript which had been in the possession of archbishop Karapet of Tiflis.<sup>348</sup> It was clear that a second edition was needed, and this was prepared by Malxaseanc' on the basis of nine manuscripts, including the two used by Šahnazareanc', and published in St Petersburg in 1885.<sup>349</sup> Although Malxaseanc' was unable to locate the missing passage from II.3, he was able to obtain a complete copy of II.4, II.5, and II.6 from the manuscript in Venice (previously V869, now renumbered V908) through the careful research of Zarbaneli, to whom he paid grateful thanks in his introduction.<sup>350</sup> He was also able to obtain copies of these same chapters from a second manuscript (now M2865) which was preserved in a box in Ējmiacin and which he was not otherwise able to consult.<sup>351</sup> He did, however, determine that a third manuscript (now M4584) which he had obtained from his sponsor, assistant, and fellow scholar Ezeanc', was closely related to the Ējmiacin manuscript.

<sup>344</sup> K. Šahnazareanc', *Tiezerakan patmut' iwn Step'annos vardapeti Tarōnec'woy* (Paris, 1859), 10–11.

<sup>345</sup> ST II, 623. <sup>346</sup> ST II, 631.

<sup>347</sup> Emin, *Vseobščaja istorija Stepanosa Taronkogo*, 323–35.

<sup>348</sup> This is reported by Malxaseanc' in ST I, xxvii.

<sup>349</sup> *Step'anosi Tarōnec'woy Asolkan Patmut' iwn tiezerakan*, ed. with intro. by S. Malxaseanc' (St Petersburg, 1885) (= ST I), xxxi–xli.

<sup>350</sup> ST I, xxxiii.

<sup>351</sup> ST I, xxxiii.

An outstanding philologist and linguist, Malxaseanc' appreciated the importance of identifying and representing variant readings in the critical apparatus supporting the published text, and criticized the first edition for failing to do so.<sup>352</sup> For those scholars interested in the history and development of the Armenian language, these alternative readings were of vital importance and so are represented in his edition. But Malxaseanc' was also aiming to produce an edition which was as close as possible to the original text prepared by Step'anos. He therefore made choices which were consistent with the style, language, and lexicon of the historian as he determined rather than simply preferring the reading from the oldest version then in his possession. Malxaseanc' was well aware that it was highly likely that other manuscripts would come to light in the future and would need to be scrutinized carefully.

The second edition has proved to be an excellent resource for scholars. It was, however, never reprinted, even in facsimile, and so became a rare book, accessible for most scholars only through microfiche.<sup>353</sup> The publication of classical and medieval texts in the series *Matenagirk' Hayoc'* has provided an opportunity for the preparation of a third edition, and this was published in volume 15 of that series in 2012; a digital copy of this volume is also available online.<sup>354</sup> This critical edition has been prepared on the basis of meticulous analysis of eight manuscripts, together with a photocopy of M2865, a microfilm of V869 (now V908), and the two previous editions.<sup>355</sup> It is accompanied by a full study of the manuscript tradition and explanation of the principles adopted in the creation of a single text, with full supporting apparatus. M2865, which was unavailable to Malxaseanc' for full consultation, has been selected as the base text, but close comparison has been made with M3502, M4584, and V908, along with the two earlier editions.<sup>356</sup> In my view, this edition will quickly become established as the preferred choice.

Four key propositions emerge from studying the manuscript tradition. In the first place, M2865 is clearly the oldest witness to the text. It dates from the middle of the thirteenth century, on the basis of its dimension, script, and the inclusion of a colophon at fol. 242w identifying one Yohan as the scribe.<sup>357</sup> In a recent article, Mat'evosyan argued that six marginal comments in the manuscript, four of which now appear within the text of the *Universal History*, were inserted by Yohan.<sup>358</sup>

<sup>352</sup> ST I, xxvi, for criticism; and xxxix–xli, for his own approach.

<sup>353</sup> AR-113, in *Armenia Selected Sources*, through Inter Documentation Company, bv.

<sup>354</sup> Step'anos Tarōnec'i, *Patmut'iwn Tiezerakan*, ed. with introduction G. Manukyan, *Matenagirk' Hayoc' 10th Century Book 2*, vol. 15 (Ant'lias, 2012), 617–829 (= ST II), including Manukyan's extremely helpful introduction at 619–38. Digital copy, through the Matenadaran website: <<http://www.matenadaran.am/ftp/MH/MH-hator-15.pdf>>.

<sup>355</sup> ST II, 629–35. There is also a very useful table listing the manuscripts at 637.

<sup>356</sup> ST II, 630. <sup>357</sup> ST II, 630–1.

<sup>358</sup> K. Mat'evosyan, 'Yohan grč'i ěndōrinakac patmakan žolovacun ew katarac hovelumnerč', *Ĕjmiacin* 6–7 (2008), 102–12.

Since one of the additions states: ‘In 685 [1236 CE] the T‘at‘ar took Ani and all the world’, Mat‘evosyan argued that this established a *terminus post quem* for the copying of the manuscript.<sup>359</sup> It also implied that one of the monasteries in Ani or Širak was the most likely place of production. The other marginal comments support this contention, referring to churches or religious communities at Mren, Marmašēn, Bagnayr, and Ani. It may be no more than coincidence, but Vardan Arewelc‘i would be active in this part of Armenia some thirty years later, and, as determined previously, he too had access to a complete manuscript of the *Universal History*. Secondly, M2865 contains three complete texts: the *History* of Movsēs Xorenac‘i, the *Universal History* of Step‘anos Tarōnec‘i, and the *History* of Aristakēs Lastivertc‘i, in that sequence.<sup>360</sup> We cannot know whether or not it was Yohan who brought these three works together, but it is striking that this same combination is so prominently represented in the cluster of seven manuscripts from the second half of the seventeenth century. M3502 (1663, copied in Erevan) and M3160 (1646–81, Lori) comprise the same three texts in the same sequence; M4854 (1168, Tigranakert) and M1482 (1678, Alip‘ular) open with these three texts in the same sequence, before appending other texts; V1156/897 (1653, the Araratean land) comprises just Xorenac‘i and Step‘anos Tarōnec‘i, whilst V869/908 (1683/4, Bitlis) contains the *Histories* of Xorenac‘i and Step‘anos Tarōnec‘i, an anonymous almanac, and the *Chronicle* of Samuēl Anec‘i;<sup>361</sup> and M3070 (1669–74, at an unknown location but commissioned by Vard Bašsec‘i) lists Step‘anos Tarōnec‘i and Aristakēs second and third in its sequence. These can also be grouped according their lacunae. M4854 and M1482 are both missing the final part of II.6, representing the loss of one folio. M3502 and M3070 are both missing the end of II.4, II.5, and II.6. This indicates that there were at least two deficient copies of the text which no longer survive, from which these two groups were copied. However, the above analysis strongly suggests that these intermediate manuscripts would have contained the same three texts in the same sequence and that it is highly likely they too derived ultimately from M2865. It is only at the end of the eighteenth century that manuscripts containing only the *Universal History* begin to appear, and these were copied from existing manuscripts. Thirdly, the numerous lexical and grammatical differences reflect the preferences of the scribes who were tasked with copying them. Just as M2865 represents a thirteenth-century reworking by Yohan of an older version, so the later copies

<sup>359</sup> See also ST II, 630, who cites this same marginal comment, at M2865, fol. 306w.

<sup>360</sup> *C‘uc‘ak jeḡagrac‘ Maštoc‘i anvan Matenadarani*, ed. Ō. Eganyan, A. Zeyt‘unyan, and P‘. Ant‘abyan, 2 vols. (Erevan, 1965, 1970), I, 891. This contains brief descriptions of Matenadaran manuscripts 1–5000. The latest volume of the new catalogue has reached M2700: *Mayr c‘uc‘ak hayerēn jeḡagrac‘ Maštoc‘i anvan Matenadarani Volume 8 Manuscripts 2401–2700*, ed. G. Tēr-Vardanean with indices by V. Devrikan (Erevan, 2013).

<sup>361</sup> For V1156/897 (the first is the old number, the second is the current number) and V869/908, see S. Čemčemean, *Mayr c‘uc‘ak hayerēn jeḡagrac‘ Matenadaranin Mxit‘areanc‘ i Venetik*, vol. 6 (Venice, 1996).

reflect versions of versions, expressing the same text in slightly different ways which move away from one another in the process. The extent to which a manuscript reflects the language of the copyist or the language of the institution or region is capable of being determined only through extensive comparative linguistic analysis across large numbers of securely dated and provenanced manuscripts. Whilst the study of the manuscript tradition of the *Universal History* has great potential value for scholars of Armenian philology and historical linguistics, interested in development and change over time, the content of the text has remained remarkably stable. With the exception of the lacuna in II.3, which is common to all the manuscripts, including M2865, the text appears to be complete. And finally, it does not seem that the *Universal History* was either a much-copied or much-travelled work. Although it is always dangerous to advance arguments on the basis of lack of evidence, it is striking that both the single thirteenth-century manuscript and the cluster of seventeenth-century manuscripts are all associated with Greater Armenia. This suggests a modest circulation, but also a limited potential for significant rewriting or interpolation, thereby investing it with particular historical value.

Four translations of the *Universal History* have been published. The first translation, into Russian, was made by Emin and published in Moscow in 1864. It was based on the newly published first edition of the text, prepared by Šahnazareanc', and the manuscript copied in 1843 for Brosset, and therefore offered a more complete witness to the text than the first edition. Emin provided copious notes, many of which were commended by Malxaseanc' in his second edition, published in 1885.<sup>362</sup> Dulaurier began to prepare a second translation into French from the edition by Šahnazareanc', but this was left unfinished at his death on 21 December 1881. The first two books were published in 1883 under the subheading of *Première Partie*.<sup>363</sup> Dulaurier had been aware of the lacunae across book II in the first edition and had managed to recover the missing passages from a manuscript in Venice and had translated them.<sup>364</sup> Judging by the paucity of notes accompanying book II, chapters 3–6, however, he had not completed his annotations at the time of his death.<sup>365</sup> Carrière was charged with finishing the translation and adding an introduction to the whole work, but other projects intervened and this task

<sup>362</sup> ST I, xxvii–xxviii.

<sup>363</sup> E. Dulaurier, *Histoire universelle par Etienne Açogh'ig de Daron Première Partie* (Paris, 1883). Malxaseanc', in ST I, xxviii–xxix, did not hold back in his criticism.

<sup>364</sup> Dulaurier, *Histoire universelle*, 204.

<sup>365</sup> Dulaurier's commentary on II.3 was limited to a study of Sasanian chronology: *Histoire universelle*, 194–202. His notes on II.4 comprised two comparative caliphal sequences, one from Lewond's *History* and the other from T'ovma Arcruni's *History*, without further analysis: *Histoire universelle*, 202–4. In the final paragraph, at *Histoire universelle*, 204, Dulaurier proposed that II.5 was an abridged version of II.4; this is incorrect. There are no notes on II.6.

was never fulfilled.<sup>366</sup> When Macler published book III under the subheading *Deuxième Partie* in 1917, he commented in the preface that he had found a notebook containing a translation of III.2 and III.3 and suggested that this was as far as Dulaurier and Carrière had reached.<sup>367</sup> Understandably, Macler utilized the second edition of Malxaseanc' for his annotated translation of book III. Therefore, although the French translation has been exploited by successive generations of scholars, its composite character has not, perhaps, been fully appreciated. The two parts were translated by different scholars using different editions. Four of the six chapters of book II lack sufficient—and often any—commentary. Macler's long introduction is focused on the history of the era covered by book III, with little assessment of books I and II, nor how all three books fit together. Finally, the whole work is now almost a century old.

The two other translations may be covered more briefly. In the interval between the publishing of the two parts of the French translation, a third translation, into German, appeared in print. This was prepared by Gelzer and Burckhardt and was published in Leipzig in 1907.<sup>368</sup> It lacks any introduction, commentary, or annotation. Nor does it identify the edition from which the translation was made, although, given its full presentation of II.4–6, it was evidently based on that of Malxaseanc'. The only paratextual guidance to the reader is provided in the short individual headers on each page. These reflect the layout of the publication, and are unable to cope with more than one significant passage per page. Although the translation is crisp, the scholarly value of this publication today is limited principally to the index of names and places, which covers all three books. The fourth and most recent translation into modern Eastern Armenian was prepared by Vardanyan and published in Erevan in 2000.<sup>369</sup> Unfortunately this has not been available to me, although Manukyan confirms that it has both an introduction and annotations.

## CONCLUSION

Step'anos Tarōnec'i compiled his *Universal History* in an era of political, social, and cultural transformation, when the districts of western and central Armenia were annexed and absorbed by an expanding Byzantine Empire under Basil II. In III.8 he notes that his own district of Tarōn had come

<sup>366</sup> For the intention, see Dulaurier, *Histoire universelle*, Avertissement.

<sup>367</sup> F. Macler, *Histoire universelle par Étienne Asolik de Tarōn Deuxième Partie Livre III* (Paris, 1917), I–III.

<sup>368</sup> H. Gelzer and A. Burckhardt, *Des Stephanos von Taron, Armenische Geschichte* (Leipzig, 1907).

<sup>369</sup> V. H. Vardanyan, *Step'anos Asolik Tarōnec'i, Tiezerakan patmut'wn* (Erevan, 2000).



under the control of the Romans in 966/7, following the death of prince Ašot.<sup>370</sup> In III.43 he observes that the death of David of Tayk' prompted Basil II to travel to the east, both to secure possession of those territorial interests which had reverted to him and to confirm his network of clients.<sup>371</sup> The manner in which Step'anos represents this extension of Byzantine authority in his *Universal History* indicates that he was opposed to it. In III.14 he comments that the two sons of the prince of Tarōn, Grigor and Bagarat, and Zap'ranik prince of Mokk', fought bravely with the Armenian forces under the command of Bardas Skleros in the first civil war, and had terrified the opposing forces of the Greeks in one of the battles, 'confusing them like a whirling tempest'.<sup>372</sup> That Bardas Skleros is repeatedly titled king by Step'anos indicates his own sympathies in that conflict.<sup>373</sup> Step'anos also notes the ruthlessness with which Basil II pursued supporters of Bardas Phokas after the second civil war, as well as reporting the fates of leading Armenians in the warfare in Bulgaria and northern Syria.<sup>374</sup> Again, it is hard not to read these as critiques of the regime of Basil II. Arguably, however, the narrative which reveals most about Step'anos' political opinions is his disparaging description in II.2 of the activities of Constans II in Armenia.<sup>375</sup> As outlined above, the original account in the *History* attributed to Sebēos was refashioned to tell a very different story, of an angry Constans II determined to impose the confession of Chalcedon and of a Christ-loving and truth-relating catholicos Nersēs III and a pious lord T'ēodoros R̄štunik' who were equally committed to resisting him. Step'anos was responsible for this substantial reworking. He used an earlier episode of Byzantine expansion to articulate his own opinions about the present.

Step'anos was equally aware that this political restructuring threatened the survival of the Armenian Church as a separate institution with its own episcopate, dogmatic position, and liturgical practices. It is clear from other sources that the Byzantine annexation of Tarōn in 966/7 was accompanied by ecclesiastical turmoil. A colophon dated 973/4 reports that Grigor, bishop of the Mamikoneank', had fled from the district, and that after his death there was much disorder and opposition in connection with the ordination of a bishop.<sup>376</sup> The circumstances of his flight are unknown, but it is tempting to

<sup>370</sup> ST I, 183.10–12; ST II, 757.26. <sup>371</sup> ST I, 275.20–278.12; ST 822.5–824.23.

<sup>372</sup> ST I, 191.13–16; ST 763.A: *zōrēn p'ot'orkeal mrrki šp'ot'ēin*.

<sup>373</sup> See this Introduction, n. 248.

<sup>374</sup> See e.g. III.28 reporting the military action undertaken by John Chaldos against Chordvanel, called one of the rebels who had been with Bardas Phokas, who was defeated and killed on the plain of Bagarič in the district of Derjan in 990/1: ST I, 251.8–16; ST II, 805.5–8. III.33 records the death of the *magistros* Grigor Tarōnites in Bulgaria and the capture of his son Ašot: ST I, 260.14–261.7; ST II, 811.1–812.4.

<sup>375</sup> See this Introduction, nn. 192–6.

<sup>376</sup> Mat'evosyan, *Hišatakaraner*, no. 76 (M2684). For a study of this colophon and the contemporary ecclesiastical landscape in Tarōn, see T. W. Greenwood, 'Social Change in

connect his departure with that of the princely house of Tarōn. Furthermore, one wonders if those left behind were unsure who to appoint as his successor in the absence of the princely house, since bishops were often related to the leading family. In any event, the Imperial Church was quick to extend its episcopal structure into Tarōn, with the creation of four new sees.<sup>377</sup> Step'anos does not address the issue of episcopal oversight, either in Tarōn or more generally. Nevertheless, it is striking that when catholicos Step'anos Sewanc'i set out for Vaspurakan in c.970 CE to confront his predecessor, the recently deposed Vahan, Step'anos Tarōnec'i records in III.8 that he was accompanied by 'a multitude of monks from Tarōn, from Haštēank', from Cop'k', and from Xorjean', rather than by the bishops of those districts.<sup>378</sup> Moreover, the brief description of the deposition of Vahan and the appointment of Step'anos in III.8 stresses the decisive role of 'the monks of Armenia' in the proceedings, three of whom are named alongside a solitary bishop (and future catholicos) Xaç'ik of Aršarunik'.<sup>379</sup> And having taken office, Step'anos is described as 'pastoring the western region of Armenia', which could be interpreted 'acting as bishop for' these districts.<sup>380</sup> With the exception of bishops of Aršarunik', the episcopate of the Armenian Church in western Armenia is extremely hard to trace at the end of the tenth century.<sup>381</sup> In this respect, it may well be significant that Step'anos Tarōnec'i reports the threat to Armenian bishops and clerics elsewhere in the Byzantine Empire. In III.20 he observes that two Armenian bishops, Sion of Sebasteia and Yovhannēs of Larissa, had been induced to accept the confession of Chalcedon, that other clerics had been imprisoned, and the distinctive Armenian call to prayer in the city had been banned.<sup>382</sup> It seems unlikely that these measures were limited to Sebasteia.

The *Universal History* represents one response to these new ecclesiastical circumstances. Step'anos was opposed to any compromise with the Imperial Church. This is expressed openly through the incorporation at III.21 of the long letter addressed to the metropolitan of Sebasteia, which defends the confession, beliefs, and practices of the Armenian Church as well as advancing some sharp criticisms of the Imperial Church. But it may also be discerned in the structure of the work, promoting the single line of leaders of the Armenian Church from the era of Grigor the Illuminator, the company of Armenian saints and martyrs, and the piety and scholarly achievements of Armenian monastic communities.

Eleventh-Century Armenia: The Evidence from Tarōn', in *Social Change in Town and Country in the Eleventh Century*, ed. J. D. Howard-Johnston (Oxford, forthcoming).

<sup>377</sup> See this Introduction, n. 76. <sup>378</sup> ST I, 182.6–13; ST II, 756.16.

<sup>379</sup> ST I, 181.20–4; ST II, 756.12.

<sup>380</sup> ST I, 182.7–8; ST II, 756.16: *hovuēr zarewmteay kołmn Hayoc'.*

<sup>381</sup> A single late tenth-century inscription at Mren refers to *astuacapatiw tearn Sahaka Ašaruneac' episkoposi*: L. Ališan, *Širak. Telagrut'iw n patkerac'oyc'* (Venice, 1881), 138.

<sup>382</sup> ST I, 201.13–202.6; ST II, 769.3–7.

It is striking that this construction of the Armenian Church no longer included a network of Armenian bishops. Although the Armenian Church had previously comprised a loose confederation of sees under the headship of the catholicos, the *Universal History* suggests that the bishops had been largely replaced by monasteries in the religious landscape of the late tenth century, a landscape which, one assumes, was recognized by his sponsor, catholicos Sargis.

The reconfiguration of the Armenian Church in these terms was only one of the deeper purposes underpinning the *Universal History*. As discussed earlier, Step'anos also wanted to demonstrate that Armenia had existed for centuries, in relationship with, but entirely separate from, the great powers of the past. Incorporating Armenian historical tradition within such a work of world history therefore gave legitimacy to that tradition, equating it with the other historical traditions being traced through time. Synchronizing events in Armenian history with other chronologies had the same effect, giving these events chronological corroboration, even when it is clear that they had been calculated by Step'anos. The development of the Armenian Era was also significant in establishing equivalence, demonstrating that there was a system of Armenian time which operated alongside the other chronologies, whether imperial regnal years, years from the Incarnation (or Crucifixion), or the *hijra* of the Prophet Muḥammad. The Armenia which Step'anos projected through the *Universal History* was rooted in antiquity, was involved with, but independent from, its powerful neighbours, and had a continuous historical tradition, expressed and preserved in its own language, with its own script, down to the present. These markers of identity proved to be remarkably resilient.

The version of the Armenian past which Step'anos employed in his *Universal History* was his own. Much was derived from existing works of history; some was the product of his own research, the stories and news he collected in the course of his travels. Three particular features stand out. In the first place, as noted previously, Step'anos constructed a concise and simplified version of Armenian history, from which accounts of the bitter rivalries within and between the noble families and expressions of the different confessional positions espoused by Armenian clerics over the centuries had been almost completely expunged. Given the reception of the work by later writers, and the slim manuscript tradition, it seems unlikely that the *Universal History* exerted much direct influence on subsequent works or conceptions of Armenian identity. But its approach to the past was certainly echoed by later writers, who either compressed and simplified the Armenian past themselves or relied on the works of others who had already done this. Secondly, Step'anos conceptualized 'Armenia' as comprising those districts of historic Armenia which contained communities which recognized the leadership of the catholicos. It was centred on the Bagratuni kingdoms of Ani and Kars, but evidently extended westwards to include districts which were under direct

Byzantine control and administration. It even stretched as far as Sebasteia. It did not, however, include Vaspurakan and Siwnik', important regions of historic Armenia situated to the south and east of the Bagratuni lands, with their own political, ecclesiastical, and literary traditions. It is by no means clear that Step'anos' immediate predecessors or contemporaries would have accepted his limited vision of Armenia. Catholicos Anania Mokac'i, writing in the middle of the tenth century, referred to 'the days of the two brave and noble-lineaged kings of Armenia, powerful and independent, the crowned-by-Christ lord Gagik Arcruni, king of Armenia, and lord Abas Bagratuni, peace-loving and sweet-tempered, powerful king of Great Armenia', implying his recognition of both.<sup>383</sup> Therefore, despite its title and impressive chronological sweep, the *Universal History* also attests a shrinking of Armenian identity, at least in the opinion of Step'anos. Thirdly, and finally, we should bear in mind that while the *Universal History* of Step'anos Tarōnec'i represents a response to the Byzantine expansion, it was by no means the only response. As discussed earlier, the *History of Tarōn* stressed cooperation and mutual assistance between Roman and Armenian clerics in the time of Grigor the Illuminator and the conversion of Armenia, in order to justify a similar relationship at the end of the tenth century. For one religious community at least, the upheaval in Tarōn after the Byzantine annexation represented an opportunity to reshape the religious landscape and advertise its own claims to antiquity and the miraculous powers of its relics. Grigor Narekac'i seems to have taken a different approach to the fluid conditions, advocating a regime of intense private spiritual meditation and devotion which could be performed without recourse to or reliance upon any institution. His cycle of profound personal reflections constitutes an implicit rejection of all other forms of collective Christian organization, enabling him to stand outside the contemporary confessional and ecclesiological tensions. Operating on the southern shore of lake Van, in Vaspurakan, Grigor's omission from the company of prominent Armenian saints and scholars assembled by Step'anos provides a striking reminder of the plurality of Armenian traditions, and our responsibilities as historians to pay attention to the different voices of the past.

The *Universal History*, therefore, emerges as a complex composition assembled at a time of political, religious, and cultural upheaval, when Armenian identity was in the process of being renegotiated. There is much that Step'anos does not tell us. This is not a dense work of social history, unravelling a web of local lordships and family connections, in the manner of T'ovma Arcruni's *History*. Nor is it a work of exclusively Armenian history, as are those of Movsēs Xorenac'i or Yovhannēs Draxanakertc'i. Rather, Step'anos situates Armenian tradition firmly and deliberately in the context

<sup>383</sup> Anania Mokac'i, 'Yalags apstambut'ean tann Ałuanic', *Ararat* (1897), 129; repr. *Matenagirk' Hayoc'*, 10, 256.6; repr. and tr. Boisson, in *Mélanges Jean-Pierre Mahé*, 789.6.

of world history, giving his actors a much wider framework within which to operate, recognizing the interplay of local and imperial ambitions. It is not a complete picture of Armenia in the later tenth century, nor an infallible one. But it does offer a fascinating glimpse into the anxieties of late tenth-century Armenia and its evolving relationships with Byzantium.

## Note on Translation

The following translation was made in two stages. A first version was prepared from the edition of the text prepared by Malxaseanc', entitled *Step'anosi Tarōnec'woy Asolkan Patmut'iwn tiezerakan* (St Petersburg, 1885). This was revised following the publication of Manukyan's new critical edition of the text under the title *Step'anos Tarōnec'i Asolik Patmut'iwn Tiezerakan*, in volume 15 of the series *Matenagirk' Hayoc'* (Ant'īlias, 2012), 671–829. The Malxaseanc' edition is identified throughout as ST I; the Manukyan edition is identified throughout as ST II. Within the translation, the numbers in square brackets in standard type represent the pages of the Malxaseanc' edition; the numbers in square brackets in bold type represent the pages of the Manukyan edition. In the footnotes, references to ST I cite page and line; references to ST II cite page and section.

At the start of book I, the title of the work and the heading is missing from the oldest manuscript M2865 and the majority of the pre-nineteenth-century exemplars. All the manuscripts, however, including M2865, preserve a table of contents for book I as well as the chapter divisions advertised in the table. The manuscripts preserve the title, heading, and table of contents for books II and III, as well as the chapter divisions advertised in the tables, and it seems likely that these were devised by Step'anos himself. If this structure was not devised by Step'anos, M2865 confirms that it was in place by the thirteenth century; it has therefore been retained. It has also been used for references within this study, with the Roman numeral identifying the book and the Arabic numeral the chapter. Those sentences contained in curly brackets, { }, comprise marginal interpolations identified by Mat'evosyan in M2865; they do not form part of the original composition.

The translation has been prepared on the basis of two principles which sometimes come into conflict: a desire to reflect the original text as exactly as possible on the one hand, and the need for clarity of expression on the other, which in turns requires an element of interpretation. I have tried to remain mindful of both, preferring the former at the expense of the latter in some instances. On rare occasions, additional words or phrases have been inserted to convey meaning; these have been contained in square brackets [ ].

The representation of proper names in a translation is a perennial challenge. In general, I have transliterated the form as it appears in the text, even when this generates some inconsistency. The district of Goł'tn, for example, is represented as Goł'tan in book III. To assist identification, however, well-known individuals and places have been given their more usual names, so Basil rather than Vasil, Constantinople rather than Kostandnupōlis, Bughā rather than Buła.

Two other features of the translation merit brief comment. In the first place, a number of Armenian titles—including, but not limited to, *azatagund*, *bdeašx*, and *sparapet*—have been transliterated but left untranslated. This is to allow readers to see the distribution and context of these technical social terms. Secondly the translation reproduces the forms in which numbers are represented in the text, whether Armenian numerals or words. Again this is intended to give readers a precise impression of the underlying text.

References to Armenian, Greek, and Arabic texts are to the editions of those texts which I have consulted, variously by book, chapter, section, page, paragraph, or line. These divisions are usually represented in the published translations of those texts, which have been identified in the Bibliography. Although I have consulted the volumes of *Matenagirk' Hayoc'* with profit, some of the research and the attendant referencing was completed before they were published and/or before I had access to them. To avoid further delay, I have retained the original citations, except in those circumstances where the published edition was rare and had not been reprinted, when I redid the citations, using the relevant volume of *Matenagirk' Hayoc'*. The *Patmut'iwn Hayoc'* of Uxtanēs, bishop of Sebasteia, is one such text. Finally, it is worth noting that some Armenian works remain untranslated. All the translations out of Armenian which occur in the footnotes are my own.

Step'anos Tarōnec'i  
Universal History





[3] [639] HISTORY OF STEP‘ANOS TARŌNEC‘I  
[COMPILED] FROM HISTORICAL BOOKS

**First Book**

*List of Chapters of the First Book*<sup>1</sup>

1. Historians from other peoples and introduction.<sup>2</sup>
2. The Ptolemies, kings of Egypt.
3. The princes of the Hebrews, those of priestly rank who led the people after the return.
4. The kings of Assyria, Media, and Persia.
5. The Aršakuni<sup>3</sup> kings of Armenia.

[5] HISTORY OF STEP‘ANOS TARŌNEC‘I

**First Book**

*Chapter 1*

*Historians from other peoples and introduction*

Those honoured by divine grace, the poets and orators of the Armenians<sup>4</sup> and of other peoples, who rivalled the Spirit-inspired tongues of the prophets, began like them from the very start of Creation, to give testimonies for those that are to come of things that have taken place, adopting a scholarly approach, in infallible imitation, from the first-created being until the ages of their own times.

<sup>1</sup> Manukyan confirms that these titles are missing from the oldest manuscript, M2865, dated to the thirteenth century, and the majority of the extant pre-nineteenth-century exemplars; the earliest to preserve a title is M1482, dated 1678 CE: ‘History of bishop Step‘anos Tarōnec‘i from the beginning’; see ST II, 619 and 639, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> This title, in V869, dated 1683/4 CE, was followed by Malxaseanc‘ and Manukyan. The heading found in M2865 and others reads: ‘The stock of Sem and the whole line of righteous kings and their times.’

<sup>3</sup> The Armenian Aršakuni (Arsacid) kings were directly related to the Parthian Arsacids. The exact circumstances under which they were first established are disputed, although it is likely that Trdat I was installed as king of Armenia by his older brother Vałaršak as early as 53 CE. The royal dynasty survived the Sasanian takeover of Parthian Iran in 224 CE but was finally abolished in 428 CE.

<sup>4</sup> *Hayastaneayc‘* rather than the more usual *Hayoc‘*. This positive assessment of Armenian scholars from earliest times may be compared with the disparaging comments of Movsēs Xorenac‘i; MX I.3 [9.15–11.14].

[6] So Moses, man of God, [recorded] in the Pentateuch<sup>5</sup> the creations of God and the piety of the first ones down to his own time; and the books of Joshua; and Jehu, son of Anania, two books of Kings;<sup>6</sup> and Jeremiah, the two [640] others; and the books of Chronicles; and Ezra and Nehemiah, the account of the exiles from Babylon, the second building of the Temple, and the restoration of Jerusalem; and after their times, the history of the Maccabees, close to the coming of Christ, as told by Josephus.<sup>7</sup>

Likewise after the coming of the Word incarnate to the world, those blessed with intelligence recorded through written compositions the names and times of kings and all the contemporary matters which were worthy of recollection. Thus for example, the true calculator of time, Eusebius Pamphili, who began from when the first man left the garden of delight<sup>8</sup> and concluded in the Twentieth [year] of Constantine the Great,<sup>9</sup> and after him, Socrates.<sup>10</sup> There are numerous other historians amongst the Greeks, but these two, like luminaries greater than stars, shine forth brilliantly.

Now among us Armenians, first and foremost, the noble Agat'angelos, who is the narrator of the astonishing miracles and sufferings of St [7] Grigor and

<sup>5</sup> *Hngaglxean grovk'*, a calque on the Greek Πεντάτευχος, Pentateuch.

<sup>6</sup> Samuel, son of Anna is traditionally identified as the author of I and II Samuel (I and II Kingdoms in Armenian tradition). *Contra* Dulaurier, *Histoire universelle*, 3, it seems likely that Anna was corrupted to Anania, thereby prompting the alteration to Jehu, who may have been involved in the composition of I Kings.

<sup>7</sup> The only surviving Armenian version of Josephus' *Jewish Wars* was made in 1660 by Stephen of Lvov/Stepanus of Lemberg and printed in Constantinople in 1787. Conybeare argued that this was a revision of a much earlier translation, one that was made before the *History* of Movsēs Xorenac'i was completed: F. C. Conybeare, 'An Old Armenian Version of Josephus', *JTS* 9 (1908), 577–83. No Armenian version of his *Antiquities* is attested. Step'anos is citing Josephus via the Armenian version of Eusebius' *Chronicle* or an intermediate chronography rather than directly.

<sup>8</sup> *i vayrēn vayelč'ut'ean*, garden of delight. 'Eden' has a Semitic origin meaning delight. The phrase is not from the Armenian Bible.

<sup>9</sup> Both parts of Eusebius' *Chronicle*—the *Chronographia*, comprising an ancillary collection of raw chronological data, and the *Chronological Canons*, setting out in tabular form the results of Eusebius' computations—survive in Armenian: see Eusebius, *Chronicum Bipartitum*, ed. J. Aucher/Y. Awgarean 2 vols. (Venice, 1818); commentary and translation by J. Karst, *Die Chronik aus dem armenischen übersetzt mit textkritischem Commentar, Eusebius Werke, GCS*, Bd. 5 (Leipzig, 1911). The *Chronological Canons* extend from the birth of Abraham to the *Vicennalia* of Constantine the Great in Nicomedia on 25 July 325 CE. The Armenian recension, however, now lacks the opening and closing sections, beginning at year 344 of Abraham and extending to the sixteenth year of Diocletian, i.e. 301 CE. Step'anos was apparently aware of the original conclusion but believed that Eusebius began with Adam rather than Abraham. This suggests that he accessed Eusebius' *Chronological Canons* indirectly via an intermediate chronological composition which reached back to Adam.

<sup>10</sup> The *Ecclesiastical History* of Socrates Scholasticus continued the story of the church from where Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* left off and continued down to 439 CE. It was translated twice into Armenian—a first, faithful translation, perhaps undertaken at the end of the fifth century or beginning of the sixth century, and a second, revised version, completed in 695/6 CE, which reworked the earlier version: see R. W. Thomson, *Armenian Adaptation of the Ecclesiastical History of Socrates Scholasticus*, HUAS 3 (Leuven, 2001), 6–40.

the one who instigated our recognition of God;<sup>11</sup> and after [him], the great Movsēs, equal to Eusebius, who is named the father of literature;<sup>12</sup> and then *vardapet* Elišē, who considered the torments and the killing of Vardan and his companions and the holy priests;<sup>13</sup> and after, the history of Łazar P'arpec'i, the orator;<sup>14</sup> and P'awstos, who [was] also [known as] Biwzand;<sup>15</sup> and the history of Heraclius, which was said to be by bishop Sebēos;<sup>16</sup> and the history of Lewond the priest, who [recorded] the emergence of the Arabs and the travails

<sup>11</sup> The *History* attributed to Agat'angelos records the conversion of the Aršakuni king Trdat of Armenia by Grigor 'the Illuminator' at the start of the fourth century. The different versions which survive in several languages, including Armenian, Greek, Arabic, Syriac, and Karshuni, are divided between two cycles or recensions, the *A* cycle and the *V* cycle. It is likely that these traditions were first set down in writing towards the end of the fifth century, although they were adapted and developed repeatedly. For a full discussion, see Thomson, *Agathangelos*, 7–24.

<sup>12</sup> *k'ert'otac'n hayr*, father of literature (literally, of grammarians). This refers to Movsēs Xorenac'i, the date of whose *History* continues to be fiercely debated. His claims to be writing at the end of the fifth century are at odds with numerous elements within the text which point to a much later date, perhaps in the eighth century. His composition extends from Adam down to 439 CE. T'ovma Arcruni was the first Armenian author to name Movsēs as *tiezerahř'akeal k'ert'otm*, the world-famous orator, in his *History of the House of Arcrunik'*, completed c.904 CE; see T'A I.11 [75.34]. The anonymous compiler of the *History of Atuank'*, commonly attributed to Movsēs Daxuranc'i or Movsēs Kařankatuac'i, completed his work at the start of the tenth century and called him *mez k'ert'olahayrn*, our literary father; MD, I.8 [12.15]. Neither of these texts was exploited by Step'anos, suggesting that it was common practice to identify him as such.

<sup>13</sup> Writing in the late sixth century, Elišē described the Armenian uprising in 450/1 CE against Sasanian Iran led by Vardan Mamikonean which ended on the battlefield of Awaray and the subsequent martyrdoms of numerous Armenian clerics, known collectively as the *Lewondeank'*. Thomson has stressed the powerful influence of Maccabees upon Elišē's version: see R. W. Thomson, *Elišē History of Vardan and the Armenian War* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), 11–16.

<sup>14</sup> Łazar P'arpec'i recorded the events of 450/1 CE but placed them in a much broader historical context. The coverage of his *History* extends from c.387 CE down to 485 CE; indeed the text may not have been written until c.500 CE. Łazar's *History* pre-dates that of Elišē; see Thomson, *History of Łazar P'arpec'i*, 12–14 and Thomson, *Elišē*, 3–9 and 26–9. The list is devised primarily according to chronological reach forwards in time, not date of composition.

<sup>15</sup> The *History* attributed to P'awstos, also known as the *Buzandaran*, narrates fourth-century Armenian history from the death of Trdat in c.330 CE until c.387 CE. It therefore links Agat'angelos and Łazar; see N. G. Garsořian, *The Epic Histories (Buzandaran Patmut'iwnk')*, HATS 8 (Cambridge, Mass., 1989), 3–5, noting its anachronistic position in several later mediaeval Armenian works.

<sup>16</sup> The *History Attributed to Sebēos* offers a wide-ranging overview of Middle Eastern history between 572 and 661 CE, including the warfare between the emperor Heraclius and the Sasanian king of kings Khosrov II. The final third of the text records the emergence and expansion of a new and dynamic Islamic polity. Although Step'anos is evidently drawing upon the extant text attributed to Sebēos, both Mahé and Howard-Johnston queried this attribution, with the latter arguing forcefully that it should be retitled the *History of Khosrov*: see J.-P. Mahé, 'Critical Remarks on the Newly-Edited Excerpts from Sebēos', in *Medieval Armenian Culture*, ed. T. J. Samuelian and M. E. Stone (Chico, Calif., 1984), 218–39; J. D. Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses to a World Crisis* (Oxford, 2010), 70–102. Even if this is the case, the misidentification goes back to the early eleventh century.

of Armenians in their tyranny;<sup>17</sup> last of all, in more recent days, the histories of Šapuh Bagratuni<sup>18</sup> and lord Yovhannēs, catholicos of Armenia,<sup>19</sup> those who were around in the time of Ašot and Smbat, the first kings of the Bagratunik'.<sup>20</sup>

Now having selected from all of these, like [picking] delightful flowers, pleasing to the eye with very beautiful colours and sweetly scented, from far-stretched plains and mountain valleys, I have brought and offer [this] as a present to your God-loving person and [641] your inquisitive intellect, being obliged by your compelling order, O most learned one among scholars, with a divinely adorned and virtue-covered brilliance, honoured above all, lord Sargis.<sup>21</sup>

Now let us begin at the beginning, when our forefather left the garden and inherited a land full of thorns. They calculate this in the following manner.

[8] In the seventy-fifth year of the life of Abraham, God appeared to him and promised to give to his descent the Promised Land.<sup>22</sup> And now there are from the first year of Abraham 75 years and from the 75th year of Abraham until the Exodus from Egypt, 430 years; about this, the Apostle says: 'The covenant which God had confirmed previously, the Law which was established

<sup>17</sup> The *History of Lewond* covers the period from the Arab conquests down to 789 CE. There is persuasive, if not conclusive, evidence to show that it was composed in the late ninth century rather than the late eighth century; see Greenwood, 'Reassessment of the *History of Lewond*', 104–21; B. Martin-Hisard, *Lewond Vardapet Discours historique*, Centre de recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance Monographies 49 (Paris, 2015), 237–60, prefers the original, late eighth-century date.

<sup>18</sup> The *History* of Šapuh Bagratuni is lost, save for fragments preserved in the historical work of Uxtanēs, I.75 [508–9]; and in the commentary to the 1893 edition of the *Chronicle* of Samuel Aneč'i: *Samuēli k'ahanayi Aneč'woy Hawak'munk' i groc' patmakan*, ed. A. Tēr-Mik'ēlean (Vaġaršapat, 1893), 247–50. It seems probable that it concluded with the coronation of Ašot Bagratuni on 26 August 884 CE. Šapuh's work is the only Armenian historical composition listed by Step'anos which has not survived.

<sup>19</sup> The *History* of Yovhannēs Drasxanakerc'i (John Catholicos) extends from Noah to 923/4 CE, and is generally thought to have been completed very shortly afterwards; for a discussion, see K. H. Maksoudian, *Yovhannēs Drasxanakerc'i History of Armenia* (Atlanta, Ga., 1987), 17–23.

<sup>20</sup> Ašot I Bagratuni was crowned on 26 August 884. The date is established in a colophon in M3711: Mat'evosyan, *Hišatakaraner*, no. 47. He died in 890. His son Smbat I succeeded him and ruled until his execution, perhaps in 913, probably in early 914. The title accorded by Step'anos implies that they were not universally recognized, or remembered, as kings of Armenia. Gagik Arcruni ruled Vaspurakan as king from c.908 CE. Anania Mokac'i titled Gagik and Abas as 'the brave, powerful and independent kings of Armenia, the crowned by Christ lord Gagik Arcruni, king of Armenia (*Hayoc' t'agawor*) and lord Abas Bagratuni, the peace-loving and equally powerful king of Greater Armenia (*Meci Hayoc' ark'ay'i*): *Ararat* (1897), 129; repr. *Matenagirk' Hayoc'*, 10, 256.6; repr. and tr. Boisson, in *Mélanges Jean-Pierre Mahé*, 789.6; see also C. Zuckerman, 'Catholicos Anania of Molk' on Himself and on Armenia's Rulers', in *Mélanges Jean-Pierre Mahé*, TM 18 (2014), 847–9.

<sup>21</sup> Step'anos was commissioned to compile his *Universal History* by Sargis I Sewanc'i, catholicos from 992 CE; see also III.Conclusion. Step'anos provides a brief biography of Sargis, at III.32 below, stressing his monastic background and personal probity rather than his erudition.

<sup>22</sup> Although this sentence appeared in Eusebius' *Chronological Canons*, it originated in his preliminary *Chronographia*: Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 1:152; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 45.36–46.1.

four hundred and thirty years later was not able to displace.<sup>23</sup> Therefore it is clear from the first year of Abraham until Moses and the exodus from Egypt is 505 years. They calculate this in the following manner:<sup>24</sup>

Abraham having lived 100 years produces Isaac.

Isaac, at 60 years produces Jacob.

Jacob, at 86 years produces Levi.

Levi, at 46 years, produced Kohath.

Kohath, at 63 years produced Amram.

Amram, at 70 years, produced Moses from his wife Jochebed.<sup>25</sup>

Moses, 80 years, leads the people from Egypt.<sup>26</sup>

Altogether from the first year of Abraham until the Exodus, 505 years and from Adam, 3809.<sup>27</sup>

The chronological cycles of this worthy man of faith mesh perfectly with one another because that year 3809 coincides exactly with thirteen Nisan [9] of the Exodus from Egypt.<sup>28</sup> Then from the Exodus from Egypt until the construction of the Temple, according to Origen<sup>29</sup> and Anania Širakac'i,<sup>30</sup> totals 490 years, excluding the period of servitude of the Hebrews when they submitted to the Philistines.<sup>31</sup> Rather, if we calculate the whole period, [combining] the total [number of years] of freedom [642] and servitude, and if we calculate the period of Judges in particular, it equates to the figure [reached by] all the historians.

Therefore it should be calculated as follows:<sup>32</sup>

Moses after the Exodus, 40 years;

Joshua, 27 years;

<sup>23</sup> Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 1:152–3; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 46.2–6. Biblical reference: Gal. 3:17.

<sup>24</sup> Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 1:154–5; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 46.23–6.

<sup>25</sup> The name of Moses' mother, in Armenian Yak'abet', does not occur in Eusebius' *Chronographia*; see Exod. 6:20.

<sup>26</sup> This genealogy originates in Eusebius' *Chronographia*: see Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 1:155; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 46.27–33. It cannot be recovered through the *Chronological Canons*, which prefer the descent through Joseph rather than Levi.

<sup>27</sup> Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 1:155; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 46.34–6. The *Chronographia* offers three totals from the first year of Adam to the Exodus, respectively 3689, 2453, and 2753, but Step'anos prefers 3809 (3689 + 120).

<sup>28</sup> Nisan: the first month of the Hebrew year, with the Passover celebrated on the 15th. This conjunction between year 3809 and the 13th day of Nisan is not made by Eusebius.

<sup>29</sup> The implication is that Step'anos is drawing upon a work associated with Origen. Whilst it is possible that his six-columned *Hexapla* may have inspired Eusebius' columned treatment of world chronology, no chronological work by Origen survives.

<sup>30</sup> The *Anonymous Chronicle* reads Ն, 400, but this is followed by a gap; Hakopyan has inserted ԽԵ, 45: P'ilon Tirakac'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 925.92 and n.16. Evidently Step'anos considered this treatise to have been composed by Anania Širakac'i.

<sup>31</sup> *aylazgeac'n*, Philistines.

<sup>32</sup> The following list derives from one found in Eusebius' *Chronographia*, even down to the inclusion of the reference to the fall of Ilion (Troy); Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 1:168–9; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 52.11–29.

The Philistines and Godoniël the judge, 40 years;<sup>33</sup>  
 The Philistines and Ehud and Shamgar, 80 years;<sup>34</sup>  
 The Philistines and Deborah and Barak, 40 years;  
 Gideon, 40 years;  
 Abimelech, 3 years;  
 Tola, 22 years;  
 Jair, 22 years;  
 The Philistines and Jephthah the judge, 6 years;<sup>35</sup>  
 Esebon, 7 years;<sup>36</sup>  
 Elon, 10 years;<sup>37</sup>  
 Abdon, 8 years;  
 The city of Ilion was taken.  
 The Philistines and Samson, 20 years;  
 [10] Eli, 40 years;<sup>38</sup>  
 Samuel and Saul, 40 years;  
 David, 40 years;  
 Solomon, 40 years.<sup>39</sup>

Altogether from Moses and the exodus from Egypt until the furnishing of the Temple, 490 years.<sup>40</sup>

In relation to the successor of Moses, Joshua, the book of the same name does not declare anything except that at his death, according to all they say, he had lived 110 years. Now the Hebrews say the period of his oversight was 27 years; there was from him as far as the Exodus of Moses from Egypt, 44 years.<sup>41</sup> Now in connection with Samuel, because Scripture does not express his time clearly, I refer to whatever was said [643] concerning Saul and Samuel in the [Acts] of the divine Apostles. For it appears that Samuel was the leader of the people for many years and the text attests only a two-year period for Saul. Because it was written in [the first book of] Kingdoms as

<sup>33</sup> For Godoniël, read Othniel: Judges 3:9.

<sup>34</sup> Awovd and Samēgar This entry is missing from the parallel list in the *Chronographia*, although their 80-year period of office has been transferred to Godoniël. Ehud and Shamgar both feature in a separate list of judges in the *Chronographia*: Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 1:161; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 49.1.

<sup>35</sup> In the text rendered respectively T'ovla, Jayir, and Yep't'ayē: Judges 11:1–12:7.

<sup>36</sup> Izban, Elon, and Łabdon: Judges 12:8–15.

<sup>37</sup> Elon appears in the *Chronographia* under the name Eglon: Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 1:161; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 49.12. Elon, however, is mentioned in the margin of the *Chronological Canons*: Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 2:134; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 171. 'After Ešēbon, Elon became the next judge of the Hebrews, for 10 years, who is missing from the Septuagint.'

<sup>38</sup> Heleay, Eli.

<sup>39</sup> This is the length of Solomon's reign. The construction of the Temple began in his fourth year.

<sup>40</sup> This list of figures totals 525 years.

<sup>41</sup> Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 1:170; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 52.30–4.

follows: ‘Saul had a one-year-old son when he became king.’<sup>42</sup> That is to say, it characterized him as a sincere man<sup>43</sup> and unsullied by evil at the beginning of his reign, that he lived in this state of mind for a two-year period, and then, being corrupted, he became [11] separated from God, up until the devil strangled him. For this reason, the other years are allocated to Samuel. Consequently we have reckoned 40 years for Samuel and Saul. But such a length of time is measured as the period of Saul not only from Apostolic testimony but also from an accurate, minute examination of Scripture. For after the death of Saul, the narrative says that ‘Ish-Bosheth the son of Saul was forty years old when he became king over Israel. And he reigned for two years, but not over those of the house of Judah who followed David.’<sup>44</sup> Because the Scriptures recall at the beginning of the reign of Saul his three sons Jonathan, Ishvi, and Malki-Shua,<sup>45</sup> and they do not mention Ish-Boseth at all, indicating to us that he was born afterwards, and the reign of Saul is found to be a measure of years equal to the years of his sons after his death. But in addition to this, know what is said in the second book of Kingdoms,<sup>46</sup> that ‘when it was about 440 years after the Exodus from Egypt, Solomon began to build the house of God’.<sup>47</sup>

Now the *vardapets* of the Jews and [644] the *Chronicle* of Eusebius stipulate 480 years from the Exodus from Egypt until the building [12] of the Temple.<sup>48</sup> Now Origen and Anania say 490 years, including the 10 years of Elon the judge.<sup>49</sup> And in connection with the record in the books of Kings of 440 years,<sup>50</sup> he says as follows, that ‘When the people crossed the Jordan and settled in the Promised Land, he calls that the Exodus; moreover as the kings negotiated with one another, the People left from Egypt’. From this was calculated 40 years in the desert and 4 years of Solomon until the building of the Temple, there is 430 years.<sup>51</sup> And from the first year of Abraham, 997 years and from Adam, 4299 years.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 1:170; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 53.2–3. The verse is 1 Sam. 13:1.

<sup>43</sup> Malxaseanc’ suggested *miamit*, sincere, although the manuscripts, followed by Manukyan, all read *mi ami*, one year.

<sup>44</sup> 2 Sam. 2:10. Ish-Bosheth is rendered Ep’ustē.

<sup>45</sup> The three sons of Saul—here Yovnat’am, Esavē, and Mēlk’isavē—are not named by Eusebius in either the *Chronographia* or *Chronological Canons* but do appear in 1 Sam. 14:50.

<sup>46</sup> Eusebius correctly identifies the third book of Kings: 1 Kings 6:1. ST II, 643, n. 45 confirms that all the manuscripts have *yerkrord*, second, rather than *yerrord*, third.

<sup>47</sup> This paragraph repeats the study in Eusebius’ *Chronographia* with minor omissions: Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 1:170–2; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 52.35–53.27, except that Eusebius concludes with 480, not 440. For discussion of 440: Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 1:164; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 50.3–9.

<sup>48</sup> Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 1:170; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 52.28–30.

<sup>49</sup> For this pairing, see nn. 29 and 30.

<sup>50</sup> Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 1:162; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 50.24–6.

<sup>51</sup> Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 1:166; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 51.9–11.

<sup>52</sup> These figures do not appear in Eusebius’ *Chronographia*. Separate totals for the period from Exodus to the Building of the Temple (480) and from Abraham to the Exodus (505) are included,



And the Temple was built in 7 years with the assistance of Hiram, the king of Tyre. After 144 years, Physmanon was king of Tyre. In his 7th year his sister migrated to the country of Libya and built Carthage.<sup>53</sup>

But going back, this chronology counts from the third year of Solomon and the building of the Temple until the destruction of the Temple by the Babylonians, 441 years.<sup>54</sup> And they calculate as follows:<sup>55</sup>

Solomon, another 36 years;  
 Rehoboam, 17 years;  
 Abijah, 3 years;  
 Asa, 41 years;  
 Jehoshaphat, 25 years;  
 Jehoram, 8 years;<sup>56</sup>  
 [13] Ahaziah, 1 year;<sup>57</sup>  
 Godolia his mother, 7 years;<sup>58</sup>  
 Joash, 40 years;<sup>59</sup>  
 Amaziah, 49 years;<sup>60</sup>  
 Ozia, who also Azaria, 52 years;  
 Jothan, 16 years;  
 The first Olympiad.<sup>61</sup>  
 Ahaz, 16 years;  
 Hezekiah, 29 years;<sup>62</sup>  
 Manasē, 55 years;  
 Amon, 12 years;<sup>63</sup>  
 Josiah, 31 years;

giving a total of 985 years, and this is followed by a total from Adam to the building of the Temple, of 4150 years: Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 1:172; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 53.26–31.

<sup>53</sup> This correlation between Solomon's building of the Temple and the foundation of Carthage is from the *Chronographia*: Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 1:181; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 56.7–13. P'ismanun/Physmanon, Pygmalion, whose sister Dido was the traditional founder of Carthage.

<sup>54</sup> This is clearly derived from the *Chronographia*, although the figure has been changed from 432 to 441 years: Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 1:182; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 56.20–3.

<sup>55</sup> The following list of the kings of Judah is modelled very closely on that in Eusebius' *Chronographia*: Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 1:182–3; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 56.22–57.

<sup>56</sup> Rōbovam, Abia, Asa, Yovsap'at, and Yovram respectively.

<sup>57</sup> Ok'ozia: 2 Kings 8:25–6.

<sup>58</sup> A loose rendering of Athaliah: 2 Kings 8:26 and 11:1–16.

<sup>59</sup> Jovas, hidden by his aunt from his mother Athaliah: 2 Kings 11:2.

<sup>60</sup> Eusebius gives Amasia 28 years: Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 1:183; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 57.5.

<sup>61</sup> Yovat'am, in fact Jothan. The correlation with the first Olympiad confirms that Eusebius *Chronographia* was used here: Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 1:183; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 57.7–8.

<sup>62</sup> Rendered Ezekia, son of Ak'az: 2 Kings 18:1.

<sup>63</sup> Eusebius accords Amovs 2 years: Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 1:183; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 57.13.

Jehoahaz, 3 years;<sup>64</sup>

[645] Eliakim, who [was] also Jehoiakim, 12 years;<sup>65</sup>

Jehoiakim, who [was] also Yek'onia, 3 months;

Mattaniah, who [was] also Zedekiah, 11 years;<sup>66</sup>

Altogether 441 years. After this, the captivity of the Jews in Babylon, 70 years. Which having been added, they conclude at the second year of Darius the king of Persia.<sup>67</sup>

And at this point, being attentive, you may say: 'How can it say at the beginning of the book of Ezra, "In the first year of Cyrus the king of Persia, the Lord stirred up the soul of Cyrus the king and he ordered the freedom of the Jews in all his kingdom by a letter,"<sup>68</sup> and why did Cyrus give an order to rebuild the Temple? Can you calculate from these that the seventy-year period of the captivity came to an end in the time of Cyrus, and not in the time of Darius?'<sup>69</sup>

[14] To this, I say that the prophetic words envisage two seventy-year periods, one from the destruction of the Temple, which is seen to conclude in the second year of Darius; and the other, from the thirteenth year of Josiah, which was the start of Jeremiah's prophecy, until the taking of Babylon and the fall of the kingdom of Chaldeans in the time of Cyrus.<sup>70</sup> Now from the thirteenth year of Josiah,<sup>71</sup> which was the start of Jeremiah's prophecy, until the destruction of the Temple by fire, 40 years, and until the first year of Cyrus, 70 years.<sup>72</sup> Now from the second year of Jehoiakim, king of the Jews, in whose time Nebuchadnezzar—who was the son of Nabopolassar—precipitated the first captivity until the first year of Cyrus, totals 50 years which is called a Jubilee.<sup>73</sup>

It was necessary and right for the return from captivity to occur in that year, in which God had commanded the freedom of the slaves. But from the burning of the Temple to the time of Cyrus, it was 30 years; and in the second

<sup>64</sup> Eusebius gives months, not years, for Yovak'az son of Yovsia but the confusion of *ams* (years) and *amiss* (months) is very common in Armenian.

<sup>65</sup> For Eliakim's name change to Yovakim, see 2 Kings 23:34.

<sup>66</sup> Matt'ani was made king by Nebuchadnezzar and his name was changed to Sedekia: 2 Kings 24:17.

<sup>67</sup> Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 1:183; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 57.20–2.

<sup>68</sup> Ezra 2:2.

<sup>69</sup> Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 1:185; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 58.2–11.

<sup>70</sup> Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 1:185–6; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 58.12–19.

<sup>71</sup> This phrase is not found in the *Chronographia* but is found in the *Chronological Canons*: Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 2:196; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 188.

<sup>72</sup> Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 1:187; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 58.32–5.

<sup>73</sup> Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 1:187; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 58.28–32. Nebuchadnezzar: rendered Nabugodonosor, son of Nabupawlisar.

year of Darius, the seventieth year was fulfilled.<sup>74</sup> And [646] from that time, the Jews lived and remained without a king from their kings and their chief priests conducted themselves as prelates and princes and all this time they were in submission to the kingdom of the Persians. And after these, they submitted to the Macedonians, those who were after Alexander, until Antiochus Epiphanes, who was king [15] of Syria and forced the nation of the Jews to convert to heathen belief.<sup>75</sup>

In whose time, Mattathias, priest of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, son of Amon, and his own son Judah, who was called Maccabee, and their successors restored once again the Jewish leadership and extended and retained it until Augustus.<sup>76</sup> In whose time, Herod from the Gentiles, at the command of the Romans, seized the kingdom of the Jews, when Christ, Son of God, was born. And the statement by Moses was fulfilled, that 'A prince of Judah shall not be lacking nor a leader from his loins until he shall come, the one for whom the place is being kept. And he is the hope of the Gentiles.'<sup>77</sup> Another is as follows.<sup>78</sup>

But the whole period from Solomon and the first building of the Temple until the second year of Darius king of Persia, until the restoration of the Temple, totals 511 years.<sup>79</sup> And from the second year of Darius until the Crucifixion of the Saviour in the nineteenth year of Tiberius totals 501 years,<sup>80</sup> they calculate precisely as follows:

After Cyrus, who reigned 30 years, Cambyses took the crown, 8 years;<sup>81</sup>  
then Mogk', 7 months;  
then Darius, who was king 36 years.

<sup>74</sup> This sentence is not derived from the *Chronographia* but from a combination of two sentences in the *Chronological Canons*: Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 2:192, 196; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 187, 188.

<sup>75</sup> Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 1:187–8; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 59.1–10. This is Antiochus IV Epiphanes (c.215–164 BCE).

<sup>76</sup> The text reads Matat'ia and Yuda Makabēos. *išxanut'iwn*, leadership or dominion.

<sup>77</sup> Gen. 49:10. This entire paragraph is modelled closely upon Eusebius' *Chronographia*: Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 1:188–9; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 59.10–19. *Het'anosac'*, Gentiles.

<sup>78</sup> This seems to be a short connecting phrase advertising a transition to a different chronology.

<sup>79</sup> Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 1:189; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 59.20–2, except that Eusebius gives 502 years.

<sup>80</sup> This is a projection forwards rather than a summary of previous calculations. Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 1:195; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 62.1–2 offers a slightly different projection, calculating the period from the second year of Darius to the fifteenth of Tiberius as 548 years. A different total appears in the *Chronological Canons*, namely 542 years: Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 2:264; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 213.

<sup>81</sup> This first sentence is based upon Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 1:190; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 59.34–5. Thereafter this sequence finds its closest analogue in the *Anonymous Chronicle*: P'ilon Tirakac'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 920.9–921.28. It is closely modelled upon the sequence in the *Chronological Canons*, fused with several isolated marginal notices: *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 2:188–98; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 197–204.

In the time of Darius, Zerubbabel became overseer of the Hebrews; together with Jeshua the chief priest and he completed [16] the rebuilding of the Temple. And Haggai and Zachariah prophesied.<sup>82</sup>

Xerxes [son] of Darius, 21 years;<sup>83</sup>

Artavan, 7 months;

Artašēs *Erkaynajern*, 40 years.<sup>84</sup>

In his time, Ezra having gone to Jerusalem taught the Law. And in the twentieth year of his reign, [647] Nehemiah the chief cup-bearer of the king, having sought permission from the king, went to Jerusalem and built the circuit wall and arranged its public places.

Xerxes the Second, 2 months;

Sugdianos, 2 months;

Darius *Xort'*, 19 years;<sup>85</sup>

Artašēs *Ušel'*, 40 years;<sup>86</sup>

Artašēs who [was] also Ovgos, 26 years;<sup>87</sup>

Artašēs [son] of Ovk'ay, 4 years;

Darius [son] of Arsama, 6 years.<sup>88</sup>

Alexander killed him in the sixth year of his reign and destroyed the kingdom of the Persians which had lasted 230 years. And he was king a further 6 years and 7 months after the seizing of Babylon. And having lived in total 32 years, he died.<sup>89</sup>

## [17] Chapter 2

*The Ptolemies, kings of Egypt*

After him, Ptolemy Lagides ruled Alexandria and Egypt, 23 years.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>82</sup> Ezra 3:2 for Zerubbabel and Jeshua; Ezra 5:1 and 6:14 for the preaching of Angē and Zak'aria, Haggai and Zachariah. This additional information is found in the margin of the *Chronological Canons: Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 2:202; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 190.

<sup>83</sup> K'serk'sēs, Xerxes.

<sup>84</sup> *Erkaynajern*, longhand. This is Artaxerxes I Makrocheir, μακρόχειρ (Latin: *Longimanus*). Intriguingly, the Armenian version of Eusebius' *Chronological Canons* employs a different calque: *erkaynabazuk*, long-arm: *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 2:208. See also I.4 and n. 152.

<sup>85</sup> *Xort'*, illegitimate. This is Darius II Nothus, from *vóthos*, bastard.

<sup>86</sup> *Ušel'*, of good memory. This is Artaxerxes II Mnemon. <sup>87</sup> Artaxerxes III Ochus.

<sup>88</sup> Darius III, son of Arsames and the last of the Achaemenids.

<sup>89</sup> Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 2:224; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 197–8. This is transmitted indirectly through the *Anonymous Chronicle*: P'ilon Tirakac'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 921.27–8.

<sup>90</sup> Although a Ptolemaic sequence, with similar interpolations, appears in Eusebius' *Chronographia*: Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 1:191–3; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 60.19–31, it is incomplete. A second sequence is complete, with many of the same figures, but lacks the interpolations: Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 1:251–2; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 79.21–80.2. It seems more likely therefore that this passage was lifted from the *Chronological Canons*, the sequence of Ptolemies, and their regnal years, being fused with marginal notices: Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 2:224–64; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 198–213. Comparison with the *Anonymous Chronicle* reveals

Ptolemy Philadelphus, 38 years.

During his time, the holy Scriptures of the Hebrews were translated into the Greek language and were deposited in the city of Alexandria, in the house of manuscripts.<sup>91</sup> During his time, the Parthian Aršak the Brave was king.<sup>92</sup>

After this one, Ptolemy Euergetes, 26 years;

Ptolemy Philopator, 12 years.<sup>93</sup>

In his time, Antiochus was king, who was called Epiphanes, in whose time the events in the books of Maccabees occurred; he forced the people of the Jews to convert to paganism. In the time of this Antiochus, Mattathias, son of Amon, zealous for his ancestral religion, became the commander of the people; and after him, his son Judah, who was called Maccabee.<sup>94</sup>

[648] Then after Ptolemy Philometor, Ptolemy Euergetes the second ruled Egypt, 29 years;<sup>95</sup>

Ptolemy Physcon, 17 years;<sup>96</sup>

Ptolemy Alexander, 10 years;

Ptolemy who was deposed, 8 years;

Ptolemy Dionysius, 30 years;

[18] [His] daughter Ptlomēa Cleopatra reigned 2 years before Gaius became king and the Romans took control of Egypt; and for 20 years she ruled under the command of the Romans. But it is necessary for us to include the two [periods of her reign] in the canon, and from here to calculate the dominion of the Romans.

After the two [years] of Cleopatra, Gaius Julius [Caesar] reigned as the first absolute emperor of the Romans, 4 years.

only a proximate relationship. There are discrepancies between the two in terms of chronology and specific detail. Moreover, this sequence employs Greek epithets, in transliterated form, as in the Armenian Eusebius; by contrast the *Anonymous Chronicle* translates these into Armenian: P'ilon Tirakac'i, *Zamanakagrut'iwñ*, 921.30–922.44. Ptolemēos Łagios, Ptolemy Lagides, better-known as Ptolemy Soter.

<sup>91</sup> This notice is found in both parts of Eusebius' *Chronicle*: Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 1:191 and 2:230; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 60.21–3 and 200.

<sup>92</sup> This notice is found only in Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 2:232; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 201.

<sup>93</sup> Ptolemēos Ewergetēs and Ptolemēos P'ilopatovr respectively.

<sup>94</sup> The text is confused. Following Eusebius, Ptolemy Philopator was coterminous with the Seleucid Antiochus the Great; the marginal reference to the books of Maccabees is linked to them: Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 2:234–6; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 202. Ptolemy Philopator was succeeded by Ptolemy Epiphanes, 24 years and then Ptolemy Philometor, 35 years. The latter ruled at the same time as the Seleucid Antiochus IV Epiphanes: Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 2: 238; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 203. It is this Antiochus who forced the Jews to convert and in whose time Mattathias and Judah Maccabee led the Jewish uprising: Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 2:240; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 203–4. This text omits Ptolemy Epiphanes and has seemingly confused Antiochus the Great with Antiochus Epiphanes. It is also striking that this has already been referred to in the previous chapter, see n. 76.

<sup>95</sup> This reference to Ptolemy Philometor without indicating the length of his reign suggests that a short passage may have dropped out here.

<sup>96</sup> Ptlomēos P'iwsgon: *φύσκιον*, literally 'pot-belly'. This was the nickname given to Ptolemy Euergetes II, referred to in the previous entry and treated as a separate figure.

After him, Sebastos Octavius who [was] also Augustus, 56 years.<sup>97</sup>

After him, Tiberius, 24 years to the Crucifixion of the Saviour.<sup>98</sup>

Now all the time from the second year of Darius in which the second building of the Temple occurred, until the nineteenth of Tiberius, until the Crucifixion of the Saviour, totals 501 years. Now from Solomon and the first building of the Temple [totals] 1012 years; and from Moses and the Exodus from Egypt, 1501 years; and from the first year of Abraham, 2006 years; and from the Flood, 3068 years; and from Adam, 5310 years.<sup>99</sup> Now according to Eusebius, from Adam until the nineteenth year of Tiberius, in which the Saviour was crucified, [totals] 5232 years.<sup>100</sup>

### [19] Chapter 3

*The princes of the Hebrews, those of priestly rank who led the people after the return from Babylon*

Joshua, son of Jozadak, with Zerubbabel was in the time of Cyrus, king of Persia.<sup>101</sup>

Joiakim son of Joshua.

[649] Ełaros, son of Joiakim.<sup>102</sup>

Joiada, son of Eliashib.<sup>103</sup>

Johanán, son of Joiada.<sup>104</sup>

Jaddua, son of Yovhannēs,<sup>105</sup> in whose time Alexander built Alexandria and having come to Jerusalem, worshipped God.

Onias, son of Jaddua.<sup>106</sup>

Eliazaros, in whose time the Seventy translated the divine Scriptures.

Onia, son of Simon, brother of Eliazar.

Simon, in whose time Joshua of Sirak<sup>c</sup> was known.

<sup>97</sup> Hogtawios, Octavian. Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 2:252; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 208–9. The transliteration of *σεβαστός* is striking.

<sup>98</sup> Tiberius, 23 years: Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 2:262; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 212. His reign lasted 23 years. The Crucifixion occurred in his nineteenth year.

<sup>99</sup> This chronological summary borrows the template devised by Eusebius: Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 2:264; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 213. The numerical values are different, however.

<sup>100</sup> This figure reflects Eusebius' calculation, except that he calculated to the fifteenth year of Tiberius, giving a total of 5228 years: Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 2:264; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 213. The figure of 5232 years is obtained by recalibrating to the Crucifixion in the nineteenth year of Tiberius.

<sup>101</sup> Rendered Yesu, son of Yovsedekey.

<sup>102</sup> Ełaros: this appears to be a reference to Ezra, but Eliashib was the son of Joiakim, not Ezra. Arguably two entries have been conflated.

<sup>103</sup> Rendered Yovdayē, son of Yasebē.

<sup>104</sup> Rendered Yovhannēs, son of Yovdayē.

<sup>105</sup> Yeayudos, son of Yovhannēs.

<sup>106</sup> Onia, son of Yadda. It is striking to find different transliterations of the same name; see previous note.

Onias, in whose time Antiochus blockaded the Jews and compelled to convert to paganism.<sup>107</sup>

Judah son of Mattathiah, 3 years. This man purged the country of the impious peoples.<sup>108</sup>

[20] Jonathan, the brother of the same, 19 years.

Simon, the brother of Jonathan, 8 years.

Yovhannēs Hyrcanus, 26 years.

Aristabulos, 1 year, who first set the royal crown beside the office of chief priest which he held.

Yanēs who also Alexander, 27 years.<sup>109</sup> This man was king and chief priest at the same time. Until this one, the anointed ones from Cyrus were princes, having lasted 483 years, which was the 69 weeks of years, those which in the time of Daniel, had been reported in the following way: 'And know', he said, 'and understand from the issuing of the decree in reply, that from the rebuilding of Jerusalem until the anointed leader [will be] 7 weeks and 62 weeks.'<sup>110</sup> The first seven are counted from Cyrus to Darius, in whose time the building of the Temple was completed. But the other 62 weeks stretch to this point here. And the vision of the weeks was revealed to Daniel in the first year of Darius, son of Aršavir. And [650] it was fulfilled here at Yanēs, who [was] also Alexander, the anointed prelate, who was both chief priest and king. In whose time, those who according to the succession of the priests were called the leaders and anointed in accordance with the prophecy came to an end.<sup>111</sup>

After whom, Saīn reigned, the wife of Alexander.<sup>112</sup>

After her, there was hostility between her sons, Aristabulos and Hyrcanus.<sup>113</sup> Pompey, [21] the commander of the Romans, besieged the city of Jerusalem, took it, and entered the Temple. At that time all the peoples came under the

<sup>107</sup> The sequence from Joshua, son of Jozadak, high priest under Zōrababēl/Zerubbabel [Neh. 7:7], to Onia resembles the list of Jewish high priests in the *Anonymous Chronicle*, although there are minor discrepancies: P'ilon Tirakac'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 922.46–56. Both lists derive ultimately from marginal entries in the *Chronological Canons* of Eusebius, which lack chronological precision: Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 2:198–242; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 188–203.

<sup>108</sup> The *Anonymous Chronicle* calls Judas 'Makabēos', and omits his years in office as well as those of his four successors: P'ilon Tirakac'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 922.57–61. By comparison, the *Chronological Canons* supply this chronological information, giving the same figures: Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 2:242–8; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 204–7.

<sup>109</sup> Alexander Janneus, Hasmonean king of Judah, 103–76 BCE and also, perhaps, the high priest Jonathan as well.

<sup>110</sup> Daniel 9:25. This prophecy is cited by Eusebius in the *Chronological Canons*, but is cited at the first year of Herod rather than the accession of Janneus: Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 2:254; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 209. This paragraph is almost identical to a passage in the *Anonymous Chronicle*: P'ilon Tirakac'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 922.62–923.66.

<sup>111</sup> This is identical to the passage in the *Anonymous Chronicle*: P'ilon Tirakac'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 923.67.

<sup>112</sup> Salome Alexandra, who ruled 76–67 BCE.

<sup>113</sup> Their names are omitted in the *Anonymous Chronicle* but preserved in Eusebius: Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 2:252; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 208.

subjugation of the Romans. And Pompey gave the office of chief priest to Hyrcanus, and he appointed Antipatros of Askalon over Palestine. In whose time the first autocrator of the Romans, Gaius Julius Caesar, ruled 4 years and 7 months. Augustus 56 years and 6 months.<sup>114</sup>

For one of the Gentiles, Herod, the son of Antipatros of Askalon who killed Hyrcanus, took the kingdom of the Hebrews in the eighth year of Augustus;<sup>115</sup> he allocated the headship not according to the succession but to certain vile ones.<sup>116</sup>

In whose time, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ was born; he fulfilled the prophecy of Jacob: 'A prince of Judah shall not fail, nor a head from his line, until that one shall come whose kingdom it is. And he is the hope of the Gentiles.'<sup>117</sup> The Saviour our Lord Christ was born in the forty-second year of the reign of Augustus and in the thirty-second year of the reign of Herod, son of Antipatros, who reigned 37 years, a Gentile.<sup>118</sup>

And after this one, Archelaus, his son, 9 years.

Herod Tetrarch, brother of Archelaus, 24 years.<sup>119</sup>

In the fifteenth year of Tiberius and in the fifteenth year [22] of Herod, Jesus [651] came to the Jordan, to John, to be baptized by him. And from there he began his gospel-teaching, in deeds and words. And in the nineteenth of Herod and in the nineteenth of the emperor Tiberius, Jesus, the anointed of God, according to the prophecies which were concerning him, underwent the Passion.<sup>120</sup>

And after Herod Tetrarch, Agrippa was king, 7 years.

And Agrippa, son of the same, 26 years.<sup>121</sup>

<sup>114</sup> This paragraph is almost identical to that in the *Anonymous Chronicle*: P'ilon Tirakac'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 923.68–75. This in turn was modelled upon Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 2:250–2; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 208–9.

<sup>115</sup> The *Anonymous Chronicle* stipulates his eleventh year: P'ilon Tirakac'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 923.74.

<sup>116</sup> *zvardapetut'iwnn*, headship. The *Anonymous Chronicle* has *zk'ahanayapetut'iwnn*, office of chief priest, which makes more sense. The relationship between the two texts in this paragraph is close: P'ilon Tirakac'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 923.74. The underlying source is again Eusebius' *Chronological Canons*: Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 2:254; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 208.

<sup>117</sup> Gen. 49:10.

<sup>118</sup> This is very close to the equivalent passage in the *Anonymous Chronicle*, with minor differences: P'ilon Tirakac'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 924.75–7. Again the *Chronological Canons* of Eusebius are the ultimate source: Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 2:254, 260; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 209, 211. Gentile: *aylazgi* rather than *het'anos*.

<sup>119</sup> *Herovdēs Ć'orrordapet*, an Armenian calque of *τετράρχης*. Eusebius stipulates 24 years for Herod Tetrarch: Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 2:262; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 212. The *Anonymous Chronicle* gives 28 years: P'ilon Tirakac'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 924.79.

<sup>120</sup> This condenses a longer passage in the *Anonymous Chronicle* which in turn was based upon the *Chronological Canons* of Eusebius: P'ilon Tirakac'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 924.80–82; Eusebius *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 2:262, 264; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 213. Eusebius refers to John's preaching beside the Jordan but not to Jesus' baptism.

<sup>121</sup> The *Anonymous Chronicle* gives 6 and 20 years respectively: P'ilon Tirakac'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 925.89–90. Cf. the *Chronological Canons*, which have the same figures: Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 2:268, 274; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 214, 216.



In his time, the final destruction of Jerusalem, by Vespasian and by Titus [took place].

From the Crucifixion of our Saviour and from the nineteenth year of Tiberius until the Council of Constantine,<sup>122</sup> 291 years, which are calculated in the following way.

After the Crucifixion of the Saviour, the same Tiberius, in addition to the 19 years, another 4 years.<sup>123</sup>

Gaius, 4 years.<sup>124</sup>

Claudius, 13 years.

Nero, 14 years.<sup>125</sup>

Vespasian, 10 years.

Titus, 2 years.

Domitian, 16 years.

Nerva, 1 year.

Trajan, 19 years.

Hadrian, 21 years.

Titus Antoninus, 23 years.<sup>126</sup>

[23] Aurelius, 19 years.<sup>127</sup>

Commodus, 13 years.

Elios Pertinax 1 year.<sup>128</sup>

Severus, 18 years.

Antoninus the First, 4 years.<sup>129</sup>

Alexander Mareay, 14 years.<sup>130</sup>

Maximianus, 3 years.

Gordian, 6 years.<sup>131</sup>

<sup>122</sup> The Council of Constantine: Nicaea in 325 CE. The Armenian version of Eusebius ends at the sixteenth year of Diocletian and therefore lacks the original ending, the twentieth year of Constantine. The chronological correlation with the Council of Nicaea is striking.

<sup>123</sup> Although the *Anonymous Chronicle* preserves two sequences of Roman emperors—P'ilon Tirakac'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 925.98–931.220 and 935.1–969.415—the closest analogue is to be found within the *Chronological Canons* of Eusebius: Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 2:262–304; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 209–27.

<sup>124</sup> Gayios in the text, better-known as Caligula.

<sup>125</sup> The sequence omits the short-lived emperors Galba, Otho, and Vitellius.

<sup>126</sup> He is better-known as Antoninus Pius, although his full title was Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius.

<sup>127</sup> The joint reign of Awrelios, Marcus Aurelius, with Lucius Verus is not identified.

<sup>128</sup> Elios Pertinax's, whose full title was Caesar Publius Helvius Pertinax Augustus. Elios is therefore a corruption of Helvius. His short-lived successor Didius Julianus is missing.

<sup>129</sup> The sequence omits Caracalla, Macrinus, and Elagabalus. It seems to conflate Caracalla, also known as Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus, with Elagabalus, also known as Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, who reigned for 4 years.

<sup>130</sup> Alexander Severus. Severos has transformed into Mareay; U (*sē*) and U (*men*) in uncial characters are very close in form. He was succeeded by Maximinus Thrax.

<sup>131</sup> The brief reigns of Gordian I, Gordian II, Pupienus, and Balbinus have all been omitted; instead the figure of Gordian III, whose reign of 6 years virtually encompassed all four, is included. This sequence provides chronological rather than political coherence.

Philip, 7 years.  
 Decius, 1 year.  
 Gallus, 2 years.<sup>132</sup>  
 Valerian, 15 years.<sup>133</sup>  
 Claudius, 2 years.  
 Aurelian, 6 years.  
 Tacitus, 6 months.  
 P<sup>l</sup>orianos, 88 days.<sup>134</sup>  
 Probus, 6 years.  
 Carus, 2 years.<sup>135</sup>  
 Diocletian, 20 years.<sup>136</sup>  
 The Twentieth of Constantine, which is the First Peace of the Church.<sup>137</sup>

#### [24] [652] Chapter 4

*The kings of Assyria, Media, and Persia*<sup>138</sup>

We have previously referred to the two sons of Noah, Japheth and Sem.<sup>139</sup> However, having spoken briefly about the line of Ham and the kings from that one, it is necessary to discuss the rest.

After the Flood, the human race was descended from three men across the whole world: for all Europe, from mount Imaeus as far as the western Ocean, they say is the dwelling of the descendants from Japheth;<sup>140</sup> and [for the descendants] from Ham, Egypt and the country of the Libyans, and from there to the regions of the west; and [for the descendants] from Sem, who was the eldest brother, [the land of] the Assyrians and all the regions of the East. And the Scriptures of the Hebrews attribute the first construction of Babylon to Nimrod; they say that he became the first king, before all, this in the

<sup>132</sup> Trebonianus Gallus.

<sup>133</sup> Valerian was captured by the Persians at the battle of Edessa in 259 CE after a reign of 6 years, and died in captivity. His son Gallienus, however, had been made co-emperor in 253 CE and ruled until September 268 CE, hence 15 years.

<sup>134</sup> P<sup>l</sup>orianos: Florian. Classical Armenian lacked a character to represent *f* until the twelfth century, employing the aspirated *p<sup>h</sup>iwr* instead.

<sup>135</sup> His sons Numerian and Carinus have been omitted.

<sup>136</sup> The era of the Tetrarchy has been radically simplified, with Maximian, Constantian I Chlorus, and Gelerius all omitted. Nor do Maxentius, Maximinus II, or Licinius feature. Again the chronological principle is foremost.

<sup>137</sup> Constantine celebrated his twentieth year, *Vicennalia*, twice, on 26 July 325 in Nicomedia and a year later in Rome; however, the First Peace of the Church must refer to the Council of Nicaea, which concluded shortly before the first celebration.

<sup>138</sup> This heading reflects the sequence of extracts in Eusebius' *Chronographia*, examining the Chaldean, Assyrian, Median, and Persian genealogies in turn: Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 1:10–106; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 4.6–34.5.

<sup>139</sup> In fact this is the first reference in this text to Noah, Japheth, or Sem, suggesting that this has been copied across from an underlying source.

<sup>140</sup> Rendered Ewropē, Emawon, and Ovkianos.

following way, that 'K'uš produced Nimrod'.<sup>141</sup> K'uš was an Ethiopian, who produced Nimrod, concerning whom Scripture says that 'he was born to be a giant over the earth. And Babylon was the starting point of his kingdom. And Ored and Ak'ad and K'alānē [were] in the land of Senēar. Asur went from that land and he built [25] Nineveh',<sup>142</sup> which was the first city of Syria, which Asur built and he was from the sons of Sem, about whom we said that they possessed all the regions of the East.<sup>143</sup>

They say the sons of Sem were Elam and Asur and Arphaxad and Aram and Lud. And from Elam came the Elamites, the first race of the Persians, by whom the city of Elamays was built; and from Asur, the Assyrians; and from Arphaxad, the Arp'ak'sac'ik', who are also called Chaldeans; and from Aram, the Aramac'ik', [653] who are named also Syrians; and from Lud, the Lydians; and Asur built the city of Nineveh which Ninos, king of Assyria, built a second time, and Nineveh is named in his name.<sup>144</sup>

They say that this Ninos was from the sons of Ham, the sixth from Nimrod, who was the first king of Assyria, in the time of Abraham, he occupied all Asia except for Hndik', 52 years.<sup>145</sup>

Afterwards Šamiram, his wife, 42 years.

Zamesē, who [was] also Ninuas, 38 years.

Arios, 30 years.

Aralios, 40 years.

Xerxes, who [was] also Baġios, 30 years.

Armamit'rēs, 38 years.

Belik'os, 30 years.<sup>146</sup>

Speros, 20 years.

Mameġos, 30 years.

[26] Sparet'os, 40 years.

<sup>141</sup> Gen. 10:8. Nebrovt': Nimrod. <sup>142</sup> Gen. 10:8–11.

<sup>143</sup> This whole paragraph is lifted from Eusebius' *Chronographia*: Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 1:108–10; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 35.9–26.

<sup>144</sup> This paragraph is copied from Eusebius' *Chronographia*: Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 1:110; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 35.27–34, with a minor rearrangement, placing the reference to Asur, Nineveh, and Ninos at the end of the paragraph. This introduces the Assyrian royal genealogy.

<sup>145</sup> The following genealogy is lifted from Eusebius' *Chronographia*: Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 1:98–100; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 30.30–32.5. The *History* of Movsēs Xorenac'i drew upon the same genealogy from Eusebius' *Chronographia*: MX I.19 [60.2–61.17]. There are significant differences between the lists of Movsēs and Step'anos, indicating that they were derived independently of one another from Eusebius' *Chronographia*. Moreover, the genealogy in the *History* of Movsēs Xorenac'i lacks any chronological detail, comprising a bare list of names. See also T'A I.4 [32.30–34.29], which specifies the years but again derives independently from Eusebius' *Chronographia*.

<sup>146</sup> Comparing the original Eusebian list, it appears that four kings have dropped out: Baġēas, 12 years; Aladas, 32 years; Mamit'os, 30 years; and Mak'k'alēos, 30 years. The figure for Mak'k'alēos, 30 years, has been transposed Belik'os. See Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 1:98; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 31.5–12.

Askakadēs, 40 years.

Amiwndēs, 47 years.

The other Belik'os, 35 years.

Barearos, 30 years.

Łabedēs, 32 years.

Mosarēs, 10 years.

Łambarēs, 30 years.

Pannias, 45 years.

Sosarmas, 19 years.

Mit'rēos, 27 years.

Tewtamos, 32 years.

In this one's time, the city of Ilion was taken.<sup>147</sup>

Tewtēos, 40 years.

T'iwnews, 8 years.

Derkios, 40 years.

Epalmēs, 38 years.

Ławost'enēs, 45 years.

Peredestēs, 30 years.

Op'rat, 32 years.

Op'ratanēs, 50 years.

Akrazanēs, 42 years.

Sardanapallos, 20 years.

Up to this one, the kings of Assyria ruled [27] the whole of the east and some part of the North and South and West, and they were despots and very powerful until T'onos Konkorelos, who in Greek is called Sardanapallos; he was defeated by Varbakēs the Mede, and by [654] Belesios, and he threw himself into the fire.<sup>148</sup>

Varbakēs destroyed the empire of the Assyrians and appointed Belesios as king of the Babylonians, and transferred the empire of the Assyrians to the Medes, which lasted this length of time, calculated in the following way:<sup>149</sup>

Varbakēs the Mede ruled all the east, 28 years.

Madawkēs, 20 years.

Tarmos, 30 years.

Hakadimos, 30 years.

Derkēs, 54 years.

P'rawortēs, 24 years.

<sup>147</sup> Eusebius' *Chronographia* contains this reference to the fall of Troy at exactly the same point: Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 1:99; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 31.29. It is not in the *History* of Movsēs Xorenac'i but is mentioned in T'A I.4 [34.16–17].

<sup>148</sup> Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 1:100; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 32.12–15.

<sup>149</sup> This introduction to the kings of Media, and the list which follows, are both lifted directly from Eusebius' *Chronographia*: Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 1:100–1; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 32.16–33.

Kuark'sarēs, 32 years.

Aždahak, 38 years, whom Cyrus deposed. He destroyed the empire of the Medes and not only the Medes but also the Chaldeans and Babylon. Likewise Cyrus killed Croesus and destroyed the empire of the Lydians.<sup>150</sup>

And Cyrus was king 30 years.<sup>151</sup>

[28] Cambyses, 8 years.

Darius of Veštasp, 36 years.

Xerxes, 41 years.

Artašēs *Erkaynabazuk*, 40 years.<sup>152</sup>

Darius *Harčordin*, 19 years.<sup>153</sup>

Artašēs, 40 years.

Artašēs who [was] also Ovk'os, 26 years.

Artašēs of Ovk'os, 4 years.

Darius of Aršēs, 6 years.

Alexander the Macedonian [son] of Philip killed this man and ruled the kingdoms of Persia and Assyria at the same time, 6 years.<sup>154</sup>

After the death of this man, his empire fell to many, as we have said previously, and the lordship of everyone was named after the Macedonians.<sup>155</sup> [655] Ptolemy Łagos ruled Egypt and Seleucus Nikanovr [ruled] Babylon and Assyria and all Persia; Antigonus and Demetrius son of the same, whose surname was Pašarič', ruled Asia and Syria.<sup>156</sup> And Seleucus and Demetrius fought against one another over Syria. Then Ptolemy the first, who was also Łagos, king of the Egyptians, went and arrived in old Gaza and he gathered for war against Demetrius, [29] [son of] of Antigonus, and he was victorious and appointed Seleucus king of Syria and Babylon and the upper regions and Persia.<sup>157</sup>

Now the Persians and Parthians and all those of the East refused to submit to the Macedonians. But Seleucus marched against them with many forces and

<sup>150</sup> This combines two separate sentences: Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 1:102 and 103; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 32.30 and 33.8–9.

<sup>151</sup> Although there are notable gaps, this Persian king list derives from Eusebius' *Chronographia*: Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 1:104–5; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 33.11–26. This is the second Persian king list; the first, in I.1 above, derives from the *Anonymous Chronicle*.

<sup>152</sup> *Erkaynabazuk*, long-arm; an Armenian calque, for which see also n. 84.

<sup>153</sup> *Harčordin*, illegitimate, bastard.

<sup>154</sup> Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 1:105; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 33.27–9.

<sup>155</sup> This sentence is not found in Eusebius' *Chronicle*, but instead derives from the *History of Movsēs Xorenac'i*: MX II.1 [102.3–4].

<sup>156</sup> This synchronism is expressed in the *Chronological Canons*: Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 2:226; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 198–9. A marginal entry identifies the surname of Demetrius as *pōliorkētēs*, a transliteration of *πολιορκητής*, 'taker of cities'. It is only in the *Chronographia* that this is translated as *pašarič'*, the Armenian equivalent: Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 1:343; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 117.8–11.

<sup>157</sup> This derives from the *Chronographia*: Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 1:344; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 117.25–8. It is not found in the *History of Movsēs Xorenac'i*.

he fought engagements and he triumphed. And from there he was called Nikanovr, which means ‘the victor’, and he reigned for 31 years and he lived in total 75 years.<sup>158</sup>

The son of the same, Antiochus, succeeded this man, who was called Soter, from Apamea, who having come from Persia, lived 64 years and reigned for 19 years.<sup>159</sup>

After this one, Antiochus inherited the empire who was called T’ēos, he ruled 15 years.<sup>160</sup>

And in his 11th year and the 60th year after the death of Alexander, the Parthians rebelled from submission to the Macedonians. And Aršak the Brave was king over them in the capital<sup>161</sup> Bahl in the land of the Khushans, and he took possession of all the regions of the east and he gave battle very fiercely. And he expelled the empire of the Macedonians from Babylon and he was king in total 57 years.<sup>162</sup>

And after him, his son Artasēs, 31 years. [656]

And after him, his son Aršak was king, who was called Great.<sup>163</sup>

[30] Demetrius, king of the Macedonians, came to Babylon against this man and having being defeated was taken into captivity by the same Aršak, who took and conveyed him to Parthia. From this he was also called Seperit’ēs, because he went into captivity and stayed in prison bound in chains. Demetrius had a younger brother who was called Antiochus, brought up in the city of Sidē, on account of which he was called Sidēac’i. He realized that his brother was in detention and he left the city of Sidē and came and took possession of Syria. This man subdued the Jews under his control and he destroyed the circuit wall of the city of Jerusalem in a siege and massacred their elite.<sup>164</sup>

Then the king of the Parthians, Aršak the Great, set out with twelve ten-thousands and arrived and this man devised a stratagem. He released his

<sup>158</sup> The first sentence is not found in Eusebius. The remainder of the paragraph is from the *Chronographia*: Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 1:344–5; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 117.28–32.

<sup>159</sup> Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 1:345; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 117.35–118.2. *i Parskastanē*, from Persia. The *History* of Movsēs Xorenac’i contains a similar reference but omits the incidental detail: MX II.1 [102.9].

<sup>160</sup> Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 1:345; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 118.9–11.

<sup>161</sup> *šahastani*, capital.

<sup>162</sup> This paragraph is lifted directly from the *History* of Movsēs Xorenac’i: MX II.1–2 [102.10–103.3]. Only the synchronism and the statement about Aršak’s rebellion derive ultimately from Eusebius’ *Chronological Canons*: Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 2:232; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 201.

<sup>163</sup> MX II.2 [103.9–11], although Aršak the Brave is accorded 31 years and Artasēs 26 years.

<sup>164</sup> This paragraph is an abbreviated version of a long passage in Eusebius’ *Chronographia*: Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 1:349–350; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 120.16–31. The *History* of Movsēs Xorenac’i includes a corresponding passage also taken from Eusebius’ *Chronographia*: MX II.2 [103.11–16]. Whilst proximate, there is no direct relationship between the respective passages in Step’anos and Movsēs, and it seems that they exploited Eusebius’ *Chronographia* independently.

brother Demetrius who was in captivity. But Antiochus, although winter had come, arrived and went against the forces of Aršak in narrow places and engaged violently in battle. And he [Antiochus] was wounded and fell and died in his 35th year from birth. Then Aršak seized the son of the same, Seleucus, who had come after his father, and conveyed him as a prisoner and kept him in a royal fashion.<sup>165</sup>

At that time, Aršak the Great, the grandson of Aršak the Brave, made his brother Vałaršak king over this country of Armenia. He also left to him all the countries of the west, which had been subjugated under his authority. And he himself travelled and went to Bahl.<sup>166</sup>

[31] Now in this way the two branches of the kingdom of the Persians and Armenians became divided.

Aršak the Brave ruled 57 years, with every valorous act, reigning over the Pahlawkan and Aršakuni, being the ancestor of both branches. After his son, the kings of the Persians were split.<sup>167</sup>

Aršak the Great, 52 years.

Aršakan, 30 years.

Aršanak, 32 years.

Artašēs, 20 years.

Aršawir, 46 years.

Artašēs, 31 years. [657]

Darius, 30 years.

Aršak, 19 years.

Artašēs, 20 years.

Peroz, 33 years.

Vałaršak, 50 years.

Artawan, 36 years.<sup>168</sup>

Artašir Stahrac'i, the son of Sasan, killed this man and destroyed the lordship of the Pahlavik', in the second year of Philip, the king of Rome.<sup>169</sup> Here ends the kingdom of the Parthians, from the people of Pahlavik', which began in the 30th year of the kingship of Ptolemy Philadelphos; these occupied in total 457 years.<sup>170</sup>

<sup>165</sup> Again a slightly modified version of the corresponding passage in Eusebius *Chronographia*: Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 1:350; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 120.33–121.8. Another version is found in MX II.1–2 [103.16–104.2]. The two Armenian versions are not related to one another.

<sup>166</sup> This paragraph combines two passages: MX II.3 and 68 [104.9–10 and 204.1–3].

<sup>167</sup> A brief summary, based upon MX II.68 [204.3–5].

<sup>168</sup> This Parthian genealogy is copied from two separate passages in the *History* of Movsēs Xorenac'i: MX II.68 and 69 [204.5–9 and 205.8–12].

<sup>169</sup> Whilst the brief reference to the *coup d'état* of Artašir is copied from MX II.69 [205.12–13], the chronological marker is not from this source.

<sup>170</sup> This synchronism derives from the *Chronological Canons*: Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 2: 232; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 201. The total, however, is not from this source. The actual figure is 474 years.

[32] After this Artašir Stahraç'i,<sup>171</sup> the son of Sasan subjugated all the Aryans and Anaryans and ruled the multitude from the same people of the kingdom of the Parthians and Pahlavik'.<sup>172</sup> And after him, his successors in the same fashion as follows.<sup>173</sup>

## Chapter 5

### *The Aršakuni kings of Armenia*

But let us go back from here to the previous sequence.<sup>174</sup>

As we have said, in the 60th year after the death of Alexander,<sup>175</sup> Aršak the Brave became king over the Parthians in the city which is called Bahl Arawatin in the land of the Khushans.<sup>176</sup> And after this man his son Artašēs, 31 years. His son Aršak succeeded him, who is called Great,<sup>177</sup> and he controlled one-third of the world, as is learnt from the fourth book of the narrative *Histories* of Herodotus, which examines the division of the whole world into three parts, calling one Europe, another Libya, and another Asia, which Aršak ruled.<sup>178</sup>

And at that time, he made his brother Vałaršak king of our country, giving to him the frontiers of the north and west.<sup>179</sup> When he became king, [33] he collected together many forces from Armenia near to the hill of Armavir [658] and set out and arrived at the borders of Chaldea.<sup>180</sup> He fought against Morp'olik who had invaded and taken possession of the borders of Mažak' and Pontus.<sup>181</sup> They encountered one another close by the rocky-topped summit of the hill of Koloneia.<sup>182</sup> Morp'olik died at the hands of valiant men from the family of Senek'erim<sup>183</sup> and from the house of Hayk. And his forces took flight and the land was subjugated under the control of Vałaršak and the Macedonian threat ceased.<sup>184</sup>

<sup>171</sup> Artašir defeated and killed Artaban IV probably on 28 April 224 CE, somewhere between Isfahan and Nehāvand, although he was crowned 'king of kings' only in 226; see *EI*<sup>2</sup>, 531.

<sup>172</sup> *zamenayn Aris ew zAnaris*: MX III.26 [287.16].

<sup>173</sup> This implies that a Sasanian genealogy will follow. It does, eventually; see II.3 below.

<sup>174</sup> Step'anos now inserts a strand of Armenian royal genealogy into his chronography. This requires him to revisit passages from the start of book II of the *History* of Movsēs Xorenac'i exploited previously, thereby producing a slight overlap.

<sup>175</sup> Alexander died in 323 BCE. Aršak was proclaimed king c.247 BCE.

<sup>176</sup> This is copied verbatim: MX II.2 [102.17–103.1].

<sup>177</sup> MX II.2 [103.9–11].

<sup>178</sup> MX II.2 [104.3–6]. Herodotus did indeed divide the world into these three regions but, following Thomson, *Moses*, 130, n. 17, Movsēs obtained his reference via Theon's *Progymnasmata*.

<sup>179</sup> Copied from MX II.3 [104.9–10].

<sup>180</sup> *Xaltik'*: a district in north-western Armenia between the Black Sea and the upper Čoruh river, and from which the later Byzantine theme of Chaldea derived its name.

<sup>181</sup> MX I.14 [46.17–47.2], which identifies Mažak as Caesarea in Cappadocia.

<sup>182</sup> Four short notices fused together from MX II.4 [105.13–106.13].

<sup>183</sup> According to MX I.23 [70.2–71.4], the Arcruni house claimed descent from Senek'erim. A similar claim is made in T'A I.6 [46.30–33]. See also III.46.

<sup>184</sup> Two notices fused together from MX II.5 [107.13–19].



And the king travelled to Nisibis<sup>185</sup> and erected the house of his kingship. And he rewarded the one from the Jews called Bagarat, granting to his family the *tanutēra*kan honour and he became the coronant of the king and *aspet* as well,<sup>186</sup> and [had the right] to wear a lesser diadem of pearls without gold or jewels whenever he should walk into the court and the house of the king.<sup>187</sup> And [he appointed as] the dressers of the gloves from the line of Canaanites and K'anidas, who in the times of Joshua fled from Canaan and came to Armenia. And he called the name of the house Gnt'unik'.<sup>188</sup> And [he appointed] his armed bodyguards from the descent of Xoř Haykazn, a certain brave man Małxaz, powerful and courageous. And he kept the original name of the family, Xořay. Then [he appointed] Dat from the line of Gařnik which is in Gełam, over the direction of the royal hunts, whose son being Varaž, he named the family in his name Varažnunik'. And [he appointed] a certain Gabał, over the grazing meadows and [34] Abēl, the head of the royal household and keeper of the throne. And he presented villages to them, to which the noble name of Abēlean and Gabelean is applied.<sup>189</sup> And [he appointed] these Arcrunik' as those carrying eagles before him.<sup>190</sup> And [he appointed] these Gnunik' as those who prepared drinks suitable for the king.<sup>191</sup> [659]

And these two houses were from the line of Senek'erim, Arcrunik', and Gnunik'.

And [he appointed] these Spandunik' over the sacrifices. And [he appointed] these Hawunik' as the falconers. And [he appointed] the Jiwnakank' as guards of the summer quarters and snow-keepers.<sup>192</sup>

And the second of the kingdom was from the line of Aždahak, the king of Media, who now they call Murac'an because he is addressed *tēr* of the Marac'i. And he allotted to him all the villages which were under the servitude of Media. And [he appointed as] governors of the east, each in charge of ten thousand, two from the branches of the houses of *nahapetut'iwn*, the Sisakan and the one who is from the house of Kadmēos. And in the north-eastern

<sup>185</sup> MX II.6 [109.14].

<sup>186</sup> *Tanutēra*kan *patiwn*: a term of social distinction whose meaning changed over time, but which originally denoted the legal vesting of family property interests in the *tēr*, head of the noble family: T. W. Greenwood, 'A Contested Jurisdiction: Armenia in Late Antiquity', in *Sasanian Persia: Between Rome and the Steppes of Eurasia*, ed. E. Sauer (Edinburgh, 2017) 211–2. For the title *t'agadir*, coronant, see C. Toumanoff, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History* (Georgetown, 1963), 326. For the title *aspet*, from Middle Persian *\*asp-a-pet*, master of the horse, see Toumanoff, *Studies*, 325–6 and Garsoian, *The Epic Histories*, 509.

<sup>187</sup> A précis of MX II.7 [110.1–8].

<sup>188</sup> MX II.7 [110.9–10]. Intriguingly, Step'anos derives the reference to Joshua and K'anidas from an earlier passage: MX I.19 [58.10–59.5].

<sup>189</sup> MX II.7 [110.10–19]. *naxararut'iwn*, the state of being a *naxarar*, that is, a noble.

<sup>190</sup> *arcui*, eagle, an entirely fanciful etymology.

<sup>191</sup> Two brief notices fused together from MX II.7 [111.1–2 and 5].

<sup>192</sup> MX II.7 [111.9–14]. *jiwnakirs*, keepers of snow, another invented etymology.

region he established as governor Arān, up to the river Kur, which traverses the great plain. Because it was the *gund* which he had inherited from the line of Sisak, the plain of Albania and the mountainous regions of the same plain, from the Araxes river as far as the fortress Hunarakert. And the country was named Aṭuank' [Albania] in honour of their *nahapet* because they addressed him as *atu* on account of the sweetness of his [35] conduct. And from his progeny, this Arān, renowned and brave, was placed as governor in charge of ten thousand by Vaṭaršak. From his progeny were descended the peoples of Utēac'ik' and Gardmanac'ik' and Cōvdēac'ik' and Gargarac'ik'.<sup>193</sup>

Then Gušar, who was from the sons of Šara, inherited the mountain Mt'in, which is Kangark', and a half-portion of Ĵawaxk', Koḷb and Cop' and Jorñ as far as the fortress of Hunarakert. But he assigned the lordship of Ašoc'k' and Tašir from the descent of Gušar Haykazn. Then opposite the Kovkas mountain, as the governor of the north, he established the great and powerful family and he called as the name of *nahapetut'iwn* the *bdeašx* of Gugarac'ik' who came from the descent of Mihrdat, a *naxarar* of Darius, who had been left as prince over the captive Iberian people, whom Nebuchadnezzar had brought.<sup>194</sup> Because Nebuchadnezzar, being more powerful than Heraklēs, recruited soldiers in the country of Libya [660] and Iberia and he subjugated them under his control and conveyed and settled one part of them on the right side of the sea of Pontus.<sup>195</sup>

And passing from Iberia to the borders of the land of the west, in the great valley of Basean, he established the noble-named Orduni, who are descendants of Hayk.<sup>196</sup>

Then he established the one named Turk', who was called Angeleay on account of his dreadful appearance [36] from the line of Pask'am, the grandson of Hayk, as governor of the west and he called the name of the family Angeł, from the vileness of his face. Concerning this man, they sing that he had the strength of 120 elephants, that he violently struck granite rocks and split [them] at will, and that he wrote with his nail 'eagles' or anything else. When enemy ships arrived at the shores of the sea of Pontus, he hurled rocks the size of hills after the ships on the sea, and from the surging of the waters many ships were sunk and others were driven many miles by the waves. Although this is a fable, that man was worthy of such tales.<sup>197</sup>

Then he established Šarašan from the house of Sanasar as great *bdeašx* and governor in the south-east, in the border districts of Assyria, up to the bank of the river Tigris, granting the districts Arzn and whatever was bordering

<sup>193</sup> This paragraph is closely modelled upon MX II.8 [112.13–113.15], even drawing upon the chapter heading, *nahapet*, progenitor. *Aṭuank'*: Caucasian Albania. *atu*, sweet.

<sup>194</sup> *Iveriac'woc'*, Iberian. *bdeašx*, commander of a march.

<sup>195</sup> This paragraph draws exclusively upon MX II.8 [113.16–114.9].

<sup>196</sup> MX II.8 [114.10–11]. *yIverioyn*, from Iberia.

<sup>197</sup> This is a succinct summary of MX II.8 [114.12–115.13].

around it, as well as mount Tawros, which is Sim.<sup>198</sup> Then he encountered the Mokac'i from the same district who had with him many brigands, and he appointed him to the rank of noble. Likewise [he established the rank of noble] for Kordac'i, Anjewac'i, and Akēac'i from the same district. Then in relation to the Rštuni and Goł'nec'i, I have found described in fact as branches from the Sisakan [family].<sup>199</sup>

And after all this, he built a temple at Armavir and he erected statues of the sun and the moon. And he entreated [37] one from the Jews, Šambat Bagarat, who was *t'agadir* and *aspet*, with compelling words to abandon the tenets [661] of Judaism and to worship idols. When he refused, king Vařarřak allowed him to follow his own will.<sup>200</sup> And he established two secretaries: one to record benefits and the other punishments. And he gave an order to the recorder of the good to recall justice and to be merciful at the anger of the king.<sup>201</sup> And he instituted laws, that one from the sons of kings should be kept beside himself for the sake of the royal line and the others should be sent to the regions of Haštēank'. Thus he established his son Arřak, keeping him with himself along with Artařēs, the latter's son, and the others he dispatched to Haštēank'. And he himself died in Nisibis, having reigned for 22 years.<sup>202</sup>

And then Arřak his son was king over Armenia, 13 years. And having fought against the inhabitants of Pontus, he left as a sign on the shores of the great sea his round-shafted lance which they say had been plunged into the blood of snakes and other reptiles. He thrust it deep into a stone column which he set up on the seashore. The inhabitants of Pontus venerated this as if [it were] an act of the gods. When on another occasion Artařēs attacked the inhabitants of Pontus, they hurled the column into the sea.<sup>203</sup> The sons of Bagarat were persecuted by this same, in connection with worshipping idols; two of them were killed with the sword, being similar in courage to the companions of Ananias and Ełiazar.<sup>204</sup>

[38] Then after this one, Artařēs was king of Armenia in place of Arřak his father, in the twenty-fourth year of Arřakan, king of Persia. And at his being successful, he did not occupy the second throne but aspired to the greater honour; he struck his own coinage [with] his own image.<sup>205</sup>

And Artařēs gave an order to raise many forces, so numerous that the total was not known to him; [he ordered that] on the roads and descents and halts, they should leave a stone per man, a heap of stones as an indication of the multitude. And he marched to the west and seized Croesus, the king of Lydia, and [662] he reduced to submission the continent separating the two seas and

<sup>198</sup> This is copied directly from MX II.8 [116.15–18].

<sup>199</sup> MX II.8 [116.19–117.3].

<sup>200</sup> MX II.8 [117.5–9]. *t'agadir*, coronant; *aspet*, see n. 186.

<sup>201</sup> MX II.8 [117.15–17].

<sup>202</sup> An abridgement of MX II.8 [118.9–18].

<sup>203</sup> MX II.9 [118.21–119.6].

<sup>204</sup> Copied with minor revisions from MX II.9 [119.11–14].

<sup>205</sup> MX II.11 [121.3–8].

filled the Ocean with a multitude of ships, intending to subdue the whole West. And I do not know from what cause the multitude of his forces were incited to disorder but they massacred one another. Then Artašēs fled and was killed as they say by his own forces, having reigned 25 years.<sup>206</sup>

Moreover he took from Hellas the statues of Dios, Artemidēs, Athena, Hephaestus, and Aphrodite<sup>207</sup> and had them brought to Armenia; those [responsible] had not yet been able to enter this country of ours, when they heard the sad news of the death of Artašēs; they fled and escaped to the fortress of Ani.<sup>208</sup>

[39] After Artašēs the first, Tigran his son was king, in the nineteenth year of Aršakan, the king of Persia. And he went out against the forces of the Greeks, those who after the death of his father Artašēs and the scattering of his forces had rushed to invade this country of ours. Tigran went out to engage them and he halted them and drove them back. And he entrusted Mažak' and the care of Asia Minor to his brother-in-law Mithridates.<sup>209</sup> And having assembled many forces for him, he returned to this country of ours and descended to Mesopotamia. He travelled to the country of the Palestinians and captured many Jews and turned back from here.<sup>210</sup>

At that time Pompey, the commander of the Romans, arrived in Asia Minor with many forces. He did not encounter Tigran but he fought with Mithridates and he [Mithradates] escaped in flight to Pontus. And he took the city of Mažak' and seized his son, Mithridates, and he himself [Pompey] hastened to Judaea.<sup>211</sup> Then, when the king of Armenia Tigran heard that, he marched and went to Syria against the forces of the Romans. And Gabinius, the commander of the Romans, went against him in battle because Pompey had returned to Rome. And not being able [663] to fight, Gabinius secretly negotiated a peace with Tigran and yielded his nephew, the young Mithridates.<sup>212</sup>

[40] The Romans became suspicious and they removed Gabinius and sent Crassus in his place. He went and seized all the treasures found in the Temple of God in Jerusalem and then marched against Tigran. And having crossed the Euphrates, he perished with all his forces in battle against Tigran. Having collected together his [Crassus'] treasures, he [Tigran] returned to Armenia.<sup>213</sup>

Around this time, the young Mithridates rebelled against his uncle Tigran and went to Caesar. Having obtained from him authority over the city of Perge, he rebuilt Mažak' on a larger scale with glorious buildings and named it

<sup>206</sup> Two passages fused together from MX II.12 [122.4–123.7].

<sup>207</sup> *zArtemideay, zAt'enay zEp'estu ew zAp'roditeay.*

<sup>208</sup> Copied directly from MX II.12 [123.8–11].

<sup>209</sup> Mihrdat, Mithradates. *Mijerkreayc'*, middle lands, i.e. Asia Minor. See also II.4, n. 343.

<sup>210</sup> Four passages fused together from MX II.14 [127.3–10, 128.12, 128.17, and 129.2].

<sup>211</sup> Three notices fused together from MX II.15 [129.9–10, 130.3–7].

<sup>212</sup> A summary dependent upon MX II.16 [130.14, 131.1–6].

<sup>213</sup> Copied without alteration from MX II.17 [131.11–16].

Caesarea in honour of Caesar. And from that time, Armenian sovereignty was removed from that city.<sup>214</sup> Tigran received a force in assistance from Artāšēz, the king of Persia, and he gave the forces to Armenia and he appointed as their *sparapet* Barzap'ran *nahapet* of Rštunik' and sent him to Jerusalem. He went and seized Hyrcanus, the chief priest of the Jews, and on entering Jerusalem he seized his goods, more than 300 talents. He captured the city of the Samaritans and appointed Antigonus as king. And they bound Hyrcanus and had him brought to Tigran and with the captives; they were settled in the city of Šamiram. And Tigran did not last more than two years after that and he died, having been king for 33 years.<sup>215</sup>

[41] Then when Antoninos arrived at Šamšat with all the forces of the Romans, he heard about the death of Tigran and seized the city before turning to Egypt. And he killed Antigonus and made Herod king of all Judaea and Galilee.<sup>216</sup>

Then Artawazd, the son of Tigran, was king of Armenia. And he granted his brothers and sisters an inheritance in the district of Aļiovit and Aŗberani, as the other [664] Aršakunik' had in Haštēank' and Jor. And he himself extracted the tens of thousands of the province of Atrpatakan, and the dwellers of mount Kovkas along with those of Albania and Iberia; then he marched and descended to Mesopotamia and expelled the forces of the Romans.<sup>217</sup>

Antoninos roared like a lion and, taking the multitude of his forces, he rushed against Artawazd and, on crossing Mesopotamia, massacred the forces of Armenia and arrested their king. And on his return to Egypt, he offered to Cleopatra Artawazd with many presents.<sup>218</sup>

And in the twentieth [year]<sup>219</sup> the days of the life of Artāšēs were completed and Arjam became king of Armenia, who is Aršam, the son of Artāšēs, the brother of Tigran, father of Abgar. But in the same year, Artāšēz died and Artāšir became king of the Persians, a very young [42] child. And there was no one who could assist Aršam. He discussed peace with the Romans, giving tribute for Mesopotamia and the regions of Caesarea.<sup>220</sup> This was the beginning of part of Armenia entering under tribute to the Romans.<sup>221</sup>

Then Herod, after many acts of valour, undertook good works, constructing many buildings in many cities, beginning in Rome as far as Damascus.

<sup>214</sup> Copied without alteration from MX II.18 [132.9–15].

<sup>215</sup> A much-abridged account devised around three extracts from MX II.19 [133.2–5, 135.3–5, and 135.6–11]. *sparapet*, Middle Persian *spāhbed*, commander, general.

<sup>216</sup> Two notices combined from MX II.21 [136.10–13 and 136.18–19].

<sup>217</sup> Two extracts fused together from MX II.22 [137.3–8 and 137.17–19]. *Auank'*: Albania. *Virik'*: Iberia.

<sup>218</sup> Two extracts fused from MX II.23 [138.3 and 9–13].

<sup>219</sup> Malxaseanc' and Manukyan agree that *ami*, year, has dropped out of the text.

<sup>220</sup> *i kolmanc'n Kesaru*, the regions of Caesarea; there is no mention of Mažak.

<sup>221</sup> Two extracts fused from MX II.24 [138.15–139.2 and 139.4–10].

He requested from Arĵam a mass of unskilled men and when Arĵam refused, he gathered his forces against him. And he [Arĵam] sent messengers to the emperor, that he should be completely removed from the dominion of Herod. Then the emperor entrusted not only Arĵam but the whole of Asia Minor to Herod. Then Arĵam submitted willingly to Herod and gave the workmen which he had sought, as a result of which the marketplace of the inhabitants of Antioch was completed, 20 *stadia* in length and paved with flagstones of white marble. But Arĵam, when he had managed the kingdom for 20 years, died.<sup>222</sup>

And Abgar, son of Arĵam, became king in the twentieth year of Aršawir, the king of Persia. In the third [665] year of his reign, all the regions of Armenia submitted completely to the Romans. For there came an order from Augustus Caesar to conduct a census across the entire world, as is said in Luke's Gospel.<sup>223</sup> And he sent to Armenia officials who came and erected the image of Augustus in all places.<sup>224</sup>

[43] At this time our Saviour, Jesus Christ, was born, the son of God, blessed for ever, Amen.<sup>225</sup>

Then Herod ordered his image to be erected in the temples of Armenia beside the imperial image. Abgar refused this, so Herod raised a force against Abgar under the control of his nephew. This came to Mesopotamia and encountered Abgar in the fortified district of Bugnan; and having fought, he died and his force went in flight. At the same time, Herod also died. And as *azgapet* of the Jews,<sup>226</sup> Augustus appointed his son Archelaus.<sup>227</sup> And not many days later the emperor Augustus died and in his place Tiberius ruled.<sup>228</sup>

At that time, Abgar built the city of Urha as a defensive site for the army of Armenia, where previously they used to watch the Euphrates against Carios which is called Edessa.<sup>229</sup> And he transferred his court to it from Nisibis and his idols and the manuscripts of the school of the temples. After this Aršawir died and his son Artašēs ruled over the Persians.<sup>230</sup> And Abgar went to the east and made peace between them, because Artašēs had envisaged becoming king through descent and his brothers Karēn and Surēn and his sister Košm had opposed him. Artašēs had blockaded them and there was great disunity within the Persian forces. Then Abgar reconciled them to peace and prescribed that Artašēs [44] would be king with his descendants and his brothers

<sup>222</sup> Three extracts fused together from MX II.25 [141.12–142.3 and 143.8–13].

<sup>223</sup> Luke 2:1.

<sup>224</sup> Copied with minor omissions, from MX II.26 [142.18–143.7].

<sup>225</sup> MX II.26 [143.7–8], although the concluding 'blessed for ever, Amen' is not found in Movsēs. It may be a later scribal interpolation.

<sup>226</sup> *azgapet*, a calque on ἐθνάρχης.

<sup>227</sup> Two fused extracts from MX II.26 [143.10–11, 144.1–6]. <sup>228</sup> MX II.27 [144.10–11].

<sup>229</sup> For Carios, found in all the manuscripts, read Cassius (MX II.27, at 144.16).

<sup>230</sup> MX II.27 [144.15–145.1].

would be called Pahlavik', after the name of their city and a great and fertile country, as first above all the nobles of Persia, as truly the stock of kings. And this mutual agreement [666] was consolidated with an oath, that if by chance it should occur that the young children of Artašēs should perish, they would inherit the kingship. And outside the branches of those reigning, three lines were distinguished, called Karēn-Pahlav, Surēn-Pahlav, and the sister Aspahapet-Pahlav, taking her name from that of the man who was *tanutēr*;<sup>231</sup> she was the wife of the commander of all the Aryans. And they say that St Grigor was from Surēn-Pahlav and the Kamsarakan from Karēn.<sup>232</sup>

When Abgar returned from the east and came to his city Edessa, he allied with the king of Petra, giving to him military assistance because he was fighting with Herod over indignities to his daughter; in this, the forces of Herod suffered serious losses thanks to the assistance of the valiant men of Armenia, as if divine providence was claiming revenge for the killing of the Baptist.<sup>233</sup>

During those times, Mařinos, son of Storgēs,<sup>234</sup> took the role of *hazarapet* [45] over the inhabitants of Phoenicia, Palestine, Syria, and Mesopotamia.<sup>235</sup> Abgar sent to him two of his leading men, Mar-Ihab, *bdeašx* of Aljnik', and Šamšagram, *nahapet* of Apahunik', and Anan his servant, to the city of Beth Kubim to explain the reasons why he went to the east, for the sake of peace between Artašēs and his brothers.<sup>236</sup> And they went and found him at Eleutheropolis. He received them with honour and replied to Abgar that there was no suspicion from the emperor on account of that. And they turned and went to Jerusalem to see our Saviour Christ, in response to the news of reports of his miracle-working. Abgar was amazed at these and believed that truly he was the son of God; and he had conveyed to him [Christ] a letter of supplications, to come and heal him from the disease which was not capable of being healed by man.<sup>237</sup> The Gospel statement attests this: 'There were certain ones from the Gentiles who came to [667] him.'<sup>238</sup> The Saviour commanded the Apostle Thomas to write a reply to this.<sup>239</sup> And Anan, the courier of Abgar, brought this letter and with it the painting of the Saviour's appearance which was kept in the city of the Edessenes, Urha,<sup>240</sup>

<sup>231</sup> For *tanutēr*, see n. 186.

<sup>232</sup> Four extracts fused together from MX II.28 [145.1, 146.2–4, 146.1–2 (a rare inversion in the sequence of the narrative), 146.6–18]. The fourth and longest extract is virtually identical to the original passage.

<sup>233</sup> Three extracts fused together from MX II.29 [147.4, 147.10–14, and 147.18–20].

<sup>234</sup> This corrupt form of Sabinus son of Eustorgius also occurs in MX II.30 [148.6].

<sup>235</sup> *hazarapet*, head of a thousand, and so a calque on *χιλιάρχης*. Here the meaning is 'prefect'.

<sup>236</sup> Bet'-Kubrin, although it is not certain that this was the same city as Eleutheropolis.

<sup>237</sup> Two extracts fused together from MX II.30 [148.4–18 and 149.2–4].

<sup>238</sup> John 12:20. This is copied from MX II.31 [150.2–3].

<sup>239</sup> This is based on the heading to the following chapter: MX II.32 [150.8–9].

<sup>240</sup> MX II.32 [150.18–20].

until the days of Nikephoros [46] the king of the Greeks, which he had transported under the control of the metropolitan Abraham to Constantinople.<sup>241</sup>

But after the Ascension of our Saviour, Thaddeus, one of the Seventy, at the command of the Apostle Thomas, went to Abgar and healed him. He believed in the living God, himself and all the inhabitants of the city of Edessa. Having been king for 38 years, he died.<sup>242</sup>

And Ananun, his son, reigned in Edessa and killed Addē, who had been appointed by the Apostle in his place in the city of Edessa; he had both his feet cut off with a sword, while he was sitting on the seat of instruction. Then the Apostle Thaddeus crossed to Sanatruk and was killed by the same in the district of Artaz. But the Apostle Thomas and Bartholomew were allocated Armenia, who also expired among us, in the city of Arabian.<sup>243</sup> And vengeance was exacted for the death of Addē from the son of Abgar, because a column of marble fell over and crushed his feet and he perished.<sup>244</sup>

And straightaway Sanatruk took control of Urha, who was the nephew of Abgar, who previously had been appointed king of Armenia.<sup>245</sup> Since the construction of the city of Nisibis had been shattered by an earthquake, he demolished and rebuilt it in more glorious fashion and he encircled it with a double circuit wall. This man became king in the twelfth year of Artašēs, king of Persia, and lived 30 years; he died in a hunt when his intestines were pierced by someone's arrow, [47] as if to exact vengeance for the tortures of his holy daughter.<sup>246</sup>

<sup>241</sup> Editorial intervention was required at this point, for whilst Movsēs Xorenac'i ends his chapter simply with 'up until today', Step'anos was aware of the recovery of the Mandylion in the middle of the tenth century and was therefore compelled to amend and update the notice. This is a rare alteration of the substance of an underlying source. However, the Mandylion was recovered from Edessa at the end of the reign of Romanos I Lekapenos and entered Constantinople on 15 August 944: 'The Sermon of Gregory the Archdeacon and Referendarius', in Guscini, *Image of Edessa*, 70, ll. 3–5 and 179–180; also S. Engberg, 'Romanos Lekapenos and the Mandilion of Edessa', in J. Durand and B. Flusin (eds.), *Byzance et les reliques du Christ* (Paris, 2004), 123–39. Step'anos may have confused this with the recovery of the Holy Tile, Keramidion, from Hierapolis (Mabbug or Membidj/Manbij) in October 966, during the reign of Nikephoros II Phokas. Leo the Deacon maintains that Nikephoros recovered the Holy Tile from Edessa: Leo the Deacon, *Historia*, IV.10. Neither episode features in book III.

<sup>242</sup> This paragraph is constructed around three brief notices in MX II.33 [151.3–5, 152.8, and 156.22–3].

<sup>243</sup> This paragraph is comprised of five brief notices fused from MX II.34 [157.4, 157.15–16, 158.7–9, 157.6–9, and 158.12–13]. Again the sequence of the narrative has been slightly altered; furthermore, the reference to the Apostle Thomas is a significant addition.

<sup>244</sup> MX II.35 [159.7–11].

<sup>245</sup> This sentence has been constructed by fusing two separate extracts from MX II.34 and 35 [157.5 and 159.14–15].

<sup>246</sup> Two extracts fused together from MX II.36 [160.12–14 and 161.11–13].



Then, after the death of Sanatruk, Eruand became king of Armenia in the eighth year of Darius, the last king of the Persians. And he executed all the sons of Sanatruk except for the child Artašēs, who survived; his nurse took him and Smbat [668] his *dayeak* and they crossed to Darius, king of Persia, to raise the child.<sup>247</sup> Eruand was suspicious and frightened by this. He supported the Romans and was not threatened during the reigns of Vespasian and Titus, conceding Mesopotamia to them. And from that time, Armenian authority was removed from Mesopotamia and Eruand paid an even heavier tribute from Armenia. And the Romans officials developed the city of Edessa significantly. They established in it the treasury and they gathered all the archives and they organized two schools, one of Syriac and one of Greek.<sup>248</sup>

In his days, the court was transferred from Armavir to a more westerly site on a steep hill, surrounded by the Araxes, flowing in the opposite [direction] to the river Axurean, encircling the hill which now is called Eruandak'ar.<sup>249</sup> And he transferred there everything from Armavir except for [48] the idols, for which he built a small city to the north, about 40 stadia distant, on the river Axurean; he named it Bagaran and there he set up the altars and he appointed his brother Eruaz as chief pagan priest.<sup>250</sup>

When the child Artašēs grew up, Smbat requested from the king of Persia supporting forces to go and make Artašēs king of Armenia.<sup>251</sup> When Eruand heard that, he amassed around himself the forces of Armenia and Iberia.<sup>252</sup> And they fought at the place which they call 'the field of Media' on the river Axurean, which was 300 stadia distant from the city of Eruand. And Eruand was defeated and he escaped in flight to his city Eruandak'ar. Artašēs and his forces pursued him and they killed him in his fortress.<sup>253</sup>

And Artašēs became king in the twenty-ninth year of Darius, king of the Persians.<sup>254</sup> And he went to a place where the [rivers] Araxes and Mecamawr merge, and being satisfied with the hill, he built a city and he named it after his own name Artašat. [669] The Araxes also assisted him with timber from

<sup>247</sup> A combination of three short notices from MX II.37 [161.19–162.1, 162.12–16, and 163.4–5]. *dayeak*, foster-father; see Garsoïan, *Epic Histories*, 521, for an exposition on this tradition.

<sup>248</sup> Closely modelled upon MX II.38 [164.9–17].

<sup>249</sup> This is based upon MX II.39 [165.3, 8–10]. However, there is no reference to the site being called Eruandak'ar, literally 'rock of Eruand'; this may reflect an editorial gloss.

<sup>250</sup> An abridged version of MX II.40 [166.3–11]. *asparēz*, stadia.

<sup>251</sup> A brief summary of MX II.43 [168.6–17].

<sup>252</sup> MX II.44 [169.6–9].

<sup>253</sup> An outline of MX II.46 [172.16, 171.2–4], although again lacking the reference to Eruandak'ar.

<sup>254</sup> MX II.47 [173.20–174.1].

pine-trees. And Artašēs transferred to Artašat all the splendour of the city of Eruand, both that which he [Eruand] had conveyed from Armavir and that for which he himself was responsible.<sup>255</sup> And then he ordered the boundaries of villages and estates to be demarcated because he had increased the population of the countries of Armenia, bringing many foreign peoples and causing them to settle in the mountains and valleys and [49] plains. And he set the markers of the boundaries in this way: he ordered four-sided blocks to be cut and the centres to be hollowed as a disc-shape, to be buried in the ground and to elevate the four-sided block upon mounds, a little higher than the ground. Artašir son of Sasan was jealous of this and he ordered similar markers to be made in the country of the Persians and to be named in his own name so that the name of Artašēs would not be remembered. But it is said that in the time of Artašēs there was no land which remained fallow in this country of Armenia, neither mountainous nor flat, on account of the prosperity of this land.<sup>256</sup>

In his days, the days of weeks and months and years of the annual cycles were set. And navigation of the lakes of this country [was determined] and bridges and instruments for hunting fish were fashioned in his days. And before this, there was no agriculture in any place, but they lived after the fashion of the northerners, eating carrion.<sup>257</sup> This man was king 41 years and he died.<sup>258</sup>

And Artawazd his son became king, who after a few days, when he was crossing the bridge of the city of Artašat to hunt boar and wild asses, was struck by some disease of insanity, and while leading his horse across the ground, he fell into a great hole and sank without trace.<sup>259</sup>

And Tiran, son of Artašēs, became king in the third year of Peroz, the first king of the Persians. He possessed two horses, more light-footed than Pegasus, with unlimited swiftness, which they reckoned did not walk on earth but rather flew through the air. [50] This man, when he went to the regions of Ekeleac', died on the road overwhelmed by northern snow; he reigned for 21 years.<sup>260</sup>

And his brother, the last Tigran, succeeded Tiran in the twenty-fourth year of Peroz, king of Persia. And having lived for 42 years, he died.<sup>261</sup> [670]

<sup>255</sup> MX II.49 [176.17–177.1 and 177.6–9].

<sup>256</sup> This paragraph was copied with minimal alteration and without abridgement from MX II.56 [186.11–23].

<sup>257</sup> A summary of MX II.59 [188.3 and 188.12–18]. Rather than describing conditions prior to the reign of Artašēs and then stating bluntly that he reformed all these, Step'anos turns the chapter around, confirming that Artašēs was responsible for the following reforms.

<sup>258</sup> MX II.60 [191.5].

<sup>259</sup> MX II.61 [191.9 and 191.12–16].

<sup>260</sup> A combination of three short notices from MX II.62 [193.3–4, 193.6–8, and 194.10–12].

<sup>261</sup> MX II.64 [196.13–15].

And Vałarš his son became king, in the 30th year of the homonymous king of Persia, Vałarš. This man built a great *awan* in the district of Basean, where the [rivers] Araxes and Murc' join one another, and he named it after his own name, Vałaršawan. In that place his mother had given birth to him when she was going to winter quarters in Ayrarat. He surrounded the powerful *awan* of Vardgēs with a circuit wall, which was on the river K'asax. For it was Vardgēs who had built this *awan*, the brother-in-law of the short-lived Eruand the First, who was a Haykazn. And now Vałarš surrounded it with a circuit wall and with a powerful rampart and he named it Vałaršapat, known also as Nork'alak'. And having reigned for 20 years, he died.<sup>262</sup>

But I say that he lived on after his death on account of his good reputation, greater than that of feeble kings. In the days of this man, the mass of northerners—I mean the Khazars and Barsilk'—united to advance beyond the gate of Čor, having as their leader and king [51] one Vnasep Surhap. They passed across the river Kur and roamed here. Vałarš engaged them and they camped with a great mass of people and armed warriors. And he went in pursuit and crossed through the pass of Čor. Here the enemy united once more and drew up a battle line. Although the brave Armenians repelled them and put them to flight, Vałarš was killed at the hands of skilful archers.<sup>263</sup>

And Xosrov his son succeeded to the kingdom in the third year of Artawan, king of Persia. And straightaway he assembled the forces of Armenia and passed around the great mountain, seeking revenge for the death of his father. And having pushed back these powerful peoples by the sword and spear, he took hostage one out of every hundred from the elite, and he set up a column as a marker of his own authority, with Greek writing on it.<sup>264</sup>

At this time, Artašir, son of Sasan, killed Artawan [671], the king of Persia. And he himself became king. When Xosrov, king of Armenia, heard this, he informed Philip, the emperor of the Romans, requesting assistance from him.<sup>265</sup> And he gave to him in assistance many forces from Egypt and the desert as far as the seashore of Pontus. Having obtained such a great multitude, he marched against Artašir and, drawing up his line of battle, he put him to flight, taking over possession from him of Assyria and the other countries of royal residence.<sup>266</sup> [52] And Artašir sought refuge from Xosrov near the country of Hndik'; and on being greatly oppressed, he made promises to his nobles that if anyone were to deliver him from that one, whether by deceit or poison or the sword, he promised to give various presents, half [the empire]

<sup>262</sup> An abridged version of MX II.65 [199.5–200.3]. *awan*, settlement, town.

<sup>263</sup> This is copied with minimal alteration from MX II.64 [200.4–14].

<sup>264</sup> Again this is copied with minimal alteration from MX II.64 [200.15–20].

<sup>265</sup> A combination of three short extracts from MX II.71 [207.9–10, 207.16, and 208.4–6].

<sup>266</sup> MX II.72 [208.13–17].

of the Aryans and second place under his own authority. Anak, who was from the branch of Surēn Pahlav, was attracted to this and he agreed to kill Xosrov. And employing the subterfuge of rebellion, he fled from Artašir and went to Xosrov. And when Anak came to the plain of Artaz, he found a place of lodging near to the grave of the holy Apostle Thaddeus, [which was] directly under the innermost chamber of the tent. And there they say that the mother of our great Illuminator conceived.

And having spent two years in Armenia, in the third Anak killed Xosrov, who was king for 48 years.<sup>267</sup>

And thereafter Artašir raided us freely, and putting to flight the forces of the Greeks, he enslaved and ravaged the greater part of this country.<sup>268</sup> And thus he subjugated under his control this country, digging a ditch as a means of fixing the boundary.<sup>269</sup> Then, after the death of Xosrov, Artawazd, a noble from the family of Mandakunik', took Trdat, son of Xosrov, and fled to the country of the Greeks.<sup>270</sup> Then Bundar, who was from the Persian nation, and his wife [672] Sophia, who had converted [53] and who was the nurse of our Illuminator, took the child Grigor and went in flight to the country of Cappadocia, to the city of Caesarea. They brought up the little Pahlavi child and put their trust in Christ.<sup>271</sup>

Artašir, after the killing of Xosrov, occupied this country of Armenia for 26 years, and died, leaving the kingdom of Persia to his son Šapuh, which is translated 'child of a king'.<sup>272</sup>

Then Trdat was brought up in the country of the Romans and demonstrated many acts of valour. He seized the horns of two wild bulls in each hand and threw them down, having wrung their necks. And in the horse-races of the great Circus, he wanted to drive but fell to earth, knocked off by the skill of his opponent; but he seized and stopped the chariot, at which everyone was astonished.<sup>273</sup>

Everything from the reign of Aršak the Brave until this point has been said by the great historian Movsēs Tarōnec'i, bishop of Bagrewand and Aršarunik'.<sup>274</sup> The death of Xosrov, king of Armenia, is the end of our book.

<sup>267</sup> This section consists of five short notices fused together from MX II.74 [211.3–6, 211.11–14, 212.1–3, 212.7–10, and 212.13–15].

<sup>268</sup> MX II.76 [214.20–215.2].

<sup>269</sup> A brief notice derived from MX II.77 [215.15–16]. However, Movsēs records that it was the emperor Probus who dug ditches to indicate frontiers, not Artašir. He used standing stones instead, just as Artašēs had done: MX II.77 [216.13–14].

<sup>270</sup> MX II.76 [215.2–5].

<sup>271</sup> Three brief notices fused together from MX II.80 [219.13–16, 220.2–4, and 220.7–8].

<sup>272</sup> MX II.77 [216.15–17].

<sup>273</sup> MX II.79 [218.4–8].

<sup>274</sup> Step'anos is the first author to associate Movsēs Xorenac'i with his own district of Tarōn and the first to identify him as a bishop of Bagrewand and Aršarunik'.

[57] [672] HISTORY OF STEP'ANOS TARŌNEC'I  
[COMPILED] FROM HISTORICAL BOOKS

**Second Book<sup>1</sup>**

*List of Chapters of the Second Book*

1. The reign of Trdat, and those [descended] from him, the Aršakuni kings; and this illumination of Armenia by St Grigor and those [descended] from him, the patriarchs of we Armenians.
2. The princes of Armenia, those who [came] after the Aršakuni kings; and the patriarchs of Armenia, those who [came] after the house of St Grigor. [673]
3. The Sasanian kings of Persia, their names and times.
4. The *Amir-al-Mumnik'* of the Arabs and whatever transpired in their days.<sup>2</sup>
5. From another source. The *Amir-al-Mumnik'* of the Arabs and their double-name appellations.
6. The Emperors of the Greeks, their names and years in office from Constantine to the present.

[59] HISTORY OF STEP'ANOS TARŌNEC'I

**Second Book**

*Chapter 1*

*The reign of Trdat, and those [descended] from him, the Aršakuni kings; and this illumination of Armenia by St Grigor and those [descended] from him, the patriarchs of we Armenians*

We made a beginning to this History at the Creation of man, our forefather Adam, and progressed by means of a succinct but complete summary, an abridgement of the Divine Scriptures;<sup>3</sup> having noted the times and dates precisely, we reached the time of the reign of Trdat, who was the first king

<sup>1</sup> This heading, *Erkrord Handēs*, Second Book, is missing from M2865. For districts in Armenia referred to in book II, see Map II; for locations in Armenia referred to in book II, see Map III.

<sup>2</sup> *Amir-al-Mumnik'*, Armenian transliteration, in the plural, of the Arabic *Amir al-Mu'minin*, Commander of the Faithful, a title employed exclusively for and by the caliph.

<sup>3</sup> Although Step'anos refers in the opening chapter of book I to the Creations of God and to the departure of 'our forefather' from the garden to a land of thorns, he does not provide a complete summary from Adam, preferring to start at the seventy-fifth year of Abraham.

to be rendered brilliant through his faith in Christ. So let us set at the top and beginning of this second book our second father and the first illuminator of we Armenians [60] in sequence down to our own times,<sup>4</sup> and the Aršakuni kings, until their suppression; and then the princes, in sequence down to the kingship of the Bagratunik<sup>5</sup>; and the Sasanian kings of Persia down to their extinction by Heraclius; and then the Amir-al-Mumnik<sup>6</sup> of the Arabs, how long they lasted and whatever valiant deeds were accomplished by brave men in their days, all the ascetics, those who were glorified through God; and which *vardapets* appeared in which times, as famous orators or poets; and the times of peace and turmoil which we encountered.<sup>6</sup> [674]

Accordingly, in investigating the first year of Trdat, we have discovered that he became king in the third year of Diocletian, and in the second year of Šapuh, king of Persia.<sup>7</sup> When he arrived at Caesarea, many of the Armenian nobles went out to meet [him]. And in the first year of the reign of Trdat, St Grigor endured intolerable torments for the sake of his faith in Christ and was thrown into a pit.<sup>8</sup> Now the brave Trdat fought in many combats successfully, first in Armenia and then in Persia. The skilful Persians tested the fortitude of the hero; with many wounds they killed his horse by shooting arrows and, struck to the ground, it threw the king. Then he stood up and fought on foot; he cast down many of his enemies around him. And seizing the horse of one of them, he remounted bravely. Again [61] on another occasion, when he was intentionally on foot, he repelled troops [mounted on] elephants with his sword. He continued to operate in Persia and Assyria with such valour, and from there he even attacked beyond Ctesiphon.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Step'anos therefore identifies the sequence of patriarchs of the Armenian church, starting with St Grigor the Illuminator, as one of the major chronographical strands in book II. For a complete patriarchal sequence, see Mahé, 'L'Église arménienne', 533–4.

<sup>5</sup> Ašot I Bagratuni was crowned on 26 August 884 CE, thereby re-establishing the Armenian royal line for the first time since the abrogation of the Aršakuni dynasty in 428 CE; see I.1 and n. 18. For a chronological sequence, see A. Ter-Ghévondian, 'Le «Prince d'Arménie» à l'époque de la domination arabe', *REArm* 3 (1966), 185–200.

<sup>6</sup> The selection of prominent martyrs, ascetics, and theologians for inclusion reveals something of the preoccupations and interests of Step'anos himself; see III.7 and 8.

<sup>7</sup> MX II.82 [224.4–5]. Movsēs correlates the accession of Trdat with the third year of Diocletian (287/8 CE) but does not refer to the second year of Šapuh. Šapuh I ruled from 241 until 273 CE; Šapuh II, son of Hormizd II, ruled from 309 until 379 CE. Step'anos later describes Trdat attacking 'Šapuh son of Artašir', but is mistaken; it was Šapuh II. Arguably Step'anos has combined the date of his accession, correlated with Diocletian, with the date of his conversion, correlated with Šapuh II.

<sup>8</sup> This sentence is not found in the *History* of Movsēs Xorenac'i, which lacks a description of the conversion of Trdat. For this reason, it is probable that Step'anos turned instead to Agat'angelos. Agat'angelos §48 records that the first encounter between Trdat and Grigor took place in the first year of Trdat, whilst §122 reflects generally on the torments inflicted upon Grigor prior to his incarceration in the pit, *virap*. The term employed by Step'anos, *virapēnkēc'*, is not found in Agat'angelos.

<sup>9</sup> These six sentences are copied without amendment from MX II.82 [225.5–16].

And in the fifteenth year of Trdat, the holy women, the Hrip'simeank' and Gayianeank' being persecuted by Diocletian because of their devotion to God, came to the city of Vařarřapat and received from king Trdat the torments of martyrdom, for which a divinely given punishment was imposed upon Trdat and this country of Armenia. And through a miraculous vision to the same, St Grigor emerged from his pit and by his illuminating teaching, he began to heal the afflictions. The whole multitude fasted for five days, listening to the teaching of St Grigor, which is the First Fast observed every year down to the present, excluding the other 60 days of his teaching.<sup>10</sup>

But when Trdat went to Rome, to the holy Constantine, řapuh plotted evil against our country. And by his design, a multitude of northern peoples came into our country. [675] Seduced by his words, the *nahapet* of the people of Slkunik' rebelled against the king and secured himself in the fortress of Ołakan.<sup>11</sup> And when the great Trdat approached from the west, he sent to the Slkuni [prince] Mamgun Ćen, who [62] came and deceived him with beguiling words; and when he was hunting deer, he struck him with an arrow and killed him. When the king heard this, he appointed the noble Mamgun to the place of the rebel, naming Tarōn in his name, the Mamgonean house.<sup>12</sup>

Then king Trdat with all the Armenians descended onto the plain of Gargarac'ik' and encountered the northerners in battle. And at the clashing of the two sides, he split the host of the enemies into two, attacking like a giant, with great speed; and they were struck to the ground in clouds by him, rolling in the dust, like the net of an expert fisherman, full of fish, writhing on the ground, they rolled on the earth. When the king of the Barsilk' saw this, he advanced near to the king and throwing his snare skilfully from behind, it struck his [Trdat's] left-hand shoulder because he had raised it against someone's sword. And he himself was wearing a coat of mail which arrows could not penetrate. And because he was not able to dislodge the giant by force, he grabbed the throat of the horse and hastened to whip his horse; with his left

<sup>10</sup> Movsēs Xorenac'i does not recount the martyrdoms of the holy women, although MX II.83 touches briefly on the actions of two imperial wives, Maximina and Helen, and the conversion of Constantine; it also concludes with an explicit reference to Agat'angelos. Once again Step'anos appears to have turned to the *History* of Agat'angelos. The events are described as taking place 15 years after Grigor was thrown into the pit: Agat'angelos §§215 and 233. The holy women Gayianē and Hrip'simē in Rome: Agat'angelos §§137–8; persecution by Diocletian: Agat'angelos §§139–49; the flight to Vařarřapat: Agat'angelos §150; the 65-day period: Agat'angelos §722. The reference to Vařarřapat indicates that this précis derived ultimately from the A rather than V recension. This account is extremely brief, however, and it is equally possible that Step'anos exploited an intermediate work which had in turn exploited Agat'angelos. The use of the collective nouns Hrip'simeank' and Gayianeank' is unusual; Aĉarean, *HanjB*, identifies this as the earliest reference to Gayianeank'.

<sup>11</sup> Ołakan: in the province of Tarōn.

<sup>12</sup> This paragraph comprises a much-abridged version of the account in MX II.84 [227.14–228.5, 228.11–12, 229.9–10, and 229.17–18] but without reference to Tarōn.

hand, the giant grasped the snare made of sinews and with violent strength he struck at his [opponent] with his two-edged sword and cut [63] the man in two, and with the same blow he severed the head of the horse at the neck. Then when all the forces saw this, they turned in flight.<sup>13</sup>

However, Trdat returned from there with great booty. Having united all the north, he departed to the country of Persia, fought against Šapuh, son of Artašir, bringing four of his commanders: Mihran, the leader of Iberia, who had placed his trust in the Christian faith (because [676] at that time the Iberians, along with their leader Mihran, had come to believe in the living God through Nunē, who was from the companions of St Hrip'simē)<sup>14</sup> and Bagarat *aspēt* and Manačihr, *nahapēt* of Rštunik'.<sup>15</sup>

And in the seventeenth year of the reign of Trdat, St Grigor came to the throne of the patriarchate of Armenia and he served it for 30 years.<sup>16</sup> And in the 47th year of the dominion of Trdat, he prepared and arranged Rstakēs, the younger son of Grigor, and sent him to the city of Caesarea for consecration as patriarch of this country of Armenia; who served the throne of the patriarchate 7 years.<sup>17</sup> This one built the great church in the country of Cop'k', in the *giwlak'alak'* Xozan.<sup>18</sup> When he heard of the dissolute conduct of Archilaeus, prince of Fourth Armenia, he reprimanded him repeatedly. And he waited for the right time; he met the holy patriarch Rstakēs on the road to Cop'k' and he [Rstakēs] fell to the ground killed by the sword [64]. And he was terrified of the king and fled to Tarsus of Cilicia.<sup>19</sup> His deacons lifted him up and conveyed him and buried him in the district of Ekeleac', in the village of T'ordan.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>13</sup> This paragraph reproduces, with minimal amendment or abridgement, MX II.85 [230.4–231.7].

<sup>14</sup> This provides a terse summary of the first part of MX II.86 [231.19–232.]. *Virk'*: Iberia.

<sup>15</sup> Aside from the phrases in brackets, this paragraph is modelled on MX II.85 [231.11–16]. Step'anos omits the reference to the death of Artawazd Mandakuni and the appointment of Vahan, prince of Amatunik', as the fourth commander.

<sup>16</sup> This sentence combines two notices from MX II.91 [242.8–9 and 243.11]. The patriarchal throne is additionally described by Movsēs as being that of the holy Apostle Thaddaeus.

<sup>17</sup> The chronological details derive from MX II.91 [243.11–12], but the description of Rstakēs' consecration in Caesarea is not from the *History* of Movsēs Xorenac'i. By tradition he is thought to have held office between c.320 and 327.

<sup>18</sup> *Buzandaran, P'awstosi Buzandac'woy Patmut'iwn Hayoc'*, ed. K'. P[atkanean] (St Pétersbourg, 1883; repr. Tiflis, 1912), III.2 [6.12–15] and MX II.91 [243.18] note his association with Cop'k', but neither record the building of this church. The source for this is unknown. *giwlak'alak'*, a calque for *κωμόπολις*, village-city.

<sup>19</sup> MX II.91 [244.1] records that he fled to the Taurus mountains of Cilicia; YD X.2 [41.11–12] states that he fled west of the Taurus. Intentionally or otherwise, this has been amended to Tarsus, which by the time Step'anos was writing was once more under Byzantine control, having fallen on 13 July 965.

<sup>20</sup> Elements copied from MX II.91 [243.16–244.3] have been fused. According to MX II.91 [244.15–16], Grigor's relics were buried at T'ordan; those of Rstakēs were buried at T'il, in Ekeleac'.



And in the 54th year of Trdat he appointed Vrt'anēs, the elder son of Grigor, as catholicos of Great Armenia, who served the throne of the patriarchate 15 years.<sup>21</sup>

Then Trdat, king of Armenia, who after his conversion to Christ had shone openly with every virtue, wanted to inculcate Christian practices in every Armenian. But our ill-natured people, proud and hard-hearted, resisted the wishes of the king. Having been deprived of his earthly crown, he pursued the heavenly crown. He soon reached the location of the holy hermit of Christ which is called the cave of Manē. Settling there, he became a mountain-dweller. The nobles sent after him and summoned him; [677] they promised to be holy in accordance with his wishes and to reserve the kingship for him. But when the saint refused, they gave him a drink of death, like the hemlock of Socrates or like the Hebrews, enraged, gave a draught mixed with gall to our God. And having done this, they extinguished from themselves the brilliant light of piety and were deprived of the light of his radiant grace; he had reigned 56 years.<sup>22</sup>

When news of the death of Trdat broke, the blessed patriarch Vrt'anēs was in the district of Tarōn, [65] in the church of Aštišat, in the vigil of the feast of Easter. And the inhabitants of the mountain had been gathered at the instigation of the queen of queens; because of his continual reproaching, she wanted to kill him. And the patriarch came out and saw that everyone was bound by invisible chains, and having asked the reasons he released them. And he himself crossed over into the district of Ekeleac'.<sup>23</sup>

At the same report of the death of Trdat, through the scheming of Sanatruk, who was prince of the country from the line of Aršakunik', the barbarians killed Grigoris, the elder son of Vrt'anēs, who was bishop of the regions of Albania, trampled by horses on the Vatnean plain near to the Caspian sea. The deacons of the same lifted him up and brought him to Pok'r Siwnik' and [they buried] him in the town of Amaras.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Two notes have been combined from separate chapters: MX II.91 [244.3–5] and III.11 [269.13–14]. By tradition he is thought to have held office between c.327 and c.342. For recent independent attestation, see Macarius of Jerusalem, *Letter to the Armenians, AD 335*, ed. and trans. A Terian, AVANT 4 (Crestwood, NY, 2008), 78, addressed to the *episkoposapet*, chief bishop Vrt'anēs.

<sup>22</sup> This paragraph is largely based upon MX II.92 [246.7–247.7 and 250.3–5] although Movsēs does not indicate that Trdat retired to the cave of Manē; this is to where Grigor had retired, as noted in the previous chapter: MX II.91 [243.3–4].

<sup>23</sup> Again, whilst this paragraph appears to be based upon MX III.2 [258.8–14], a number of additional details do not come from this source, specifically the Easter service that he was conducting; the role of the queen of queens in inciting the inhabitants of the mountain; and Vrt'anēs' reaction to their predicament. *Buzandaran*, III.3 [7.28–30 and 8.12–22] includes the second and third, although in slightly different terms, but does not refer to Easter.

<sup>24</sup> This is lifted from MX III.3 [259.19–260.3] with additional phrases from 259.12 and 16. Both Malxaseanc' and Manukyan insert *t'alec'in*, they buried.

Now when Sanatruk was king, he took possession of the city of P'aytakaran and planned to rule the whole of Armenia.<sup>25</sup> When the great prince Bakur realized this, who was *bdeašx* of Ałjnik', he conceived the same for himself and gave assistance to Ormizd, king of the Persians. The other nobles of Armenia assembled around the great Vrt'anēs and dispatched two of the honourable princes to the emperor Constantius, son of Constantine,<sup>26</sup> [asking] that he should send a force in assistance and make as king of Armenia Xosrov, son of Trdat. [66] On hearing this, he dispatched Antiochus with a huge force.<sup>27</sup> And he came and made Xosrov king. And he sent Manačihr with his southern forces and a Cilician army [678] against Bakur the *bdeašx*. And Antiochus combined the other Armenian forces with his entire Greek army and moved against Sanatruk. Now he filled the city of P'aytakaran with Persian troops and took flight to the king of Persia; he escaped with the nobles of Albania. And the Armenian forces ransacked their country and returned from there.<sup>28</sup>

Now Manačihr travelled southwards; he overthrew the *bdeašx* Bakur and his forces and pursued those Persians who were assisting him. And he took many captives from the regions of Nisibis, including eight deacons of the great bishop Jacob; Jacob went after them and asked for these captives to be freed. And when Manačihr refused, Jacob resolved to go to the king. Antagonized by this, Manačihr ordered the eight deacons to be thrown into the lake. When the great Jacob heard this, he returned to his place angered, as Moses from the presence of Pharaoh. On reaching a certain mountain, from which the district derived, he cursed Manačihr and the district. And the judgement of God was not delayed, but Manačihr was slain soon after in the manner of Herod and the country became infertile, a sky of copper came over it and [67] the lake rebelled and extended over the boundaries of fields. When king Xosrov heard this, incensed, he ordered the captives to be freed. But after the passing of Jacob from the country, Manačihr's son and heir, with sincere penitence, powerful tears and lamentation, through his intercession, gained healing for himself and the district.<sup>29</sup>

Now in the second year of Ormizd, king of Persia, and in the eighth year of the autocracy of Constantius, through the assistance of the latter, Xosrov became king. And he did not display the brave courage of his father, for although he was small [679] and slight, he was not like Alexander of the Macedonians who was only three cubits in stature. However, he built a city at the foot of the mountain of Gełam. And he transferred his court to a hill, having built a palace shaded with trees; according to the Persian language it is

<sup>25</sup> MX III.3 [260.3–5].

<sup>26</sup> This is an abbreviated version of MX III.4 [260.13–21].

<sup>27</sup> MX III.5 [261.8–9 and 13–14].

<sup>28</sup> This comprises an abridged version of MX III.6 [262.3, 262.12–13, 262.19–263.6].

<sup>29</sup> This paragraph is closely modelled upon MX III.7 [263.9–264.15], with only minor alterations and abridgements.

called Dvin, which is translated 'hill'. For at that time the planet Arēs was travelling in conjunction with the sun and hot winds were stirred up and blew fetid air; therefore the inhabitants of Artašat willingly accepted the move.<sup>30</sup>

In his days the northern inhabitants of Kovkas came together in raids into the heart of this country of ours, in a great mass, about thirty thousand strong, and they reached the gates of Vałaršapat and besieged [it]. Unexpectedly the Armenian forces fell upon them and dislodged them from there to the rocky outcrop of Ōšakan. There was a certain huge giant, equipped [68] with a felt breastplate which enclosed him completely, who was fighting bravely in the middle of the forces, to the extent that nothing had any effect upon him—for when he was hit with a spear, it bounced off the breastplate. Then the valiant Vahan Amatuni glanced towards the cathedral and said, 'Help me God, who caused the sling-stone of David to strike the forehead of Goliath; direct my lance at this mighty giant.' And he was not disappointed in his request, and he dashed the terrible beast from the neck of his horse to the ground; the enemy were disheartened at this and turned in flight. And on returning from there to the country of Cop'k', Bagarat acted as an accurate and dispassionate witness to the king. Therefore the king presented to him the site of the confrontation, Ōšakan.<sup>31</sup>

But the king did not prolong his life; he died having reigned for 9 years. And they removed him and placed him in Ani beside his father.<sup>32</sup>

And in the seventeenth year of his autocracy, Augustus Constantius made king Tiran, son of Xosrov, and sent him to Armenia.<sup>33</sup>

Now after accomplishing 15 years in the office of bishop, the great Vrt'anēs departed [680] this world in the third year of Tiran. And after him they sent the son of Vrt'anēs, Yusik, to the city of Cappadocia, for consecration as patriarch of Armenia, who occupied the patriarchal throne for 6 years.<sup>34</sup>

[69] But Tiran was resentful towards the blessed Yusik, because of his constant chiding and in relation to the image of Julian, which the king had erected in a church in the district of Cop'k', and which the blessed Yusik had smashed and trampled upon—and he ordered that he be struck with whips until, as a result of the beating, he gave up his soul. And after this, Tiran was condemned by Daniel, an elderly *k'orepiskopos* who had been a pupil of

<sup>30</sup> This paragraph is made up of three extracts from MX III.8 [264.19–265.1, 265.6–7, and 265.12–17] to which the reference to the foundation of another city at the mountain of Gelam has been added.

<sup>31</sup> This paragraph comprises four extracts lifted from MX III.9 [266.4, 7–8, 12–15, 267.2–15].  
<sup>32</sup> MX III.10 [268.2–4].

<sup>33</sup> MX III.11 [269.4–6].

<sup>34</sup> MX III.11 [269.13–14 and 17–18]. Movsēs' *History* does not record Yusik's visit to Caesarea in Cappadocia (Gamirk') for consecration. This detail is, however, found in *Buzandaran*, III.12 [26.14–18]: *i mayr k'atak'ac'n Gamrac' i Kesaria hasuc'anel zmanukn Yusik yařak'elakan at'oın hayrapetac'n*. By tradition he is thought to have held office between c.342 and c.348 CE.

St Grigor.<sup>35</sup> Tiran became enraged at him and ordered that he be strangled. And they buried him in the monastery which is called Hac'eac' draxt. The body of the blessed Yusik they placed next to his father in the village of T'ordan.<sup>36</sup>

And in the second year of Tiran, P'airnerseh succeeded to the throne, who was from Aštišat of Tarōn, a praiseworthy man, 4 years.<sup>37</sup>

And during those times, the king of Persia, Šapuh, came as commander to Armenia with a vast force and, summoning Tiran to himself by deception, he blinded his eyes in the district of Apahunik', in the village which they call Arjkał, as Biwzand describes,<sup>38</sup> since he had extinguished the two lights of Armenia.<sup>39</sup>

And after Tiran, Aršak his son reigned 7 years.<sup>40</sup> In the fourth year of his dominion, he prepared and equipped Nersēs, son of At'anagēn, son of Yusik, son of Vrt'anēs, son of St Grigor [70], and with a substantial force he sent him to the country of Cappadocia, to be consecrated as patriarch of Armenia;<sup>41</sup> he occupied the patriarchal seat for 34 years.<sup>42</sup> In his days, the *sparapet* of the Armenian army was Vasak son of Vač'ē, who built Vasakakert in the district of Ekeleac'; and the valiant Mušel, son of Vasak from the Mamikonean line.<sup>43</sup> This man [Aršak] killed [681] his nephew Gnēl at the instigation of the evil-minded Tirit', out of envy for his wife P'aranjēm, who was the daughter of Andok, prince of Siwnik'.<sup>44</sup> In response to this evil, St Nersēs condemned Aršak and this country of Armenia and he took flight and travelled to the country of the Greeks, leaving in his place Xad, bishop of Bagrewand, who

<sup>35</sup> *k'orepiskopos*, suffragan bishop. He was buried in the *menaran*, monastery, of Hac'eac' draxt in Tarōn, which means 'grove of ash trees'.

<sup>36</sup> This paragraph is based on MX III.14 [272.6–20]; the church at Xozan in Cop'k', see n. 18.

<sup>37</sup> MX III.16 [275.9–10]. Movsēs places this in the tenth year of Tiran. By tradition, P'arēn of Aštišat is thought to have held office for a short time in 348 CE: *Buzandaran*, III.16 [38.15–39.6].

<sup>38</sup> Although Movsēs Xorenac'i repeatedly exploits the *Buzandaran*, he never mentions the author or the work by name. It is striking that Step'anos elects to do so.

<sup>39</sup> This is a much-abridged version of MX III.17 [275.17–18 and 276.18–19]. Into this, two references from *Buzandaran*, III.20 [45.31–46.8] have been introduced, namely where the blinding occurred (Acuł rather than Arjkał) and who was responsible. This is why Šapuh is described confusingly as both king and commander, for in the *Buzandaran* it is the latter who is responsible.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. MX III.35 [301.4], which accords him 30 years.

<sup>41</sup> This is based loosely upon MX III.20 [278.21–279.2]. Movsēs avoids stating that Nersēs was consecrated in Caesarea, merely noting that he went there. Nor is Aršak accorded any role.

<sup>42</sup> MX III.38 [306.11]. By tradition he is thought to have held office between 353 and 373 CE.

<sup>43</sup> Both Vasak and Mušel Mamikonean appear briefly in the *History* of Movsēs Xorenac'i, but in very different contexts and without this information: MX III.25 [286.8–19] and III.37 [304.24–5]. By contrast, both receive extensive coverage in the *Buzandaran*, but there is no reference to Vasakakert.

<sup>44</sup> This is a drastic abridgement of MX III.22 and 23 [281.16–284.20]. Movsēs identifies P'aranjēm as a member of the house of Siwnik' but does not name her father as Andok: MX III.22 [282.5] For this, see *Buzandaran*, IV.15 [98.33–99.2].

came from the district of Karin, from the village of Margac', whose store-houses overflowed after the example of the great Elijah.<sup>45</sup>

During these times, Šapuh, king of Persia, came to Atrpatakan and he summoned Aršak to himself. And he seized him, bound him, and had him conveyed to Khurasan. When his wife P'aranjēm learnt of this, she slipped away and escaped to the fortress of Artagers. Now once the king of Persia had established Meružan Arcruni as prince of Armenia, he himself returned to Persia. And Meružan besieged the fortress of Artagers; he seized it and impaled P'aranjēm, according to the Persian custom, between the shaft of a wagon.<sup>46</sup> When the great Nersēs heard all this, he begged the emperor [71] Theodosius not to lose sight of this country of Armenia. The great Theodosius accepted his supplications and summoned the son of Aršak, Pap, who was a hostage at the royal court, and set a crown upon him and gave him as an assistant the commander Anatolius, and Nersēs, the patriarch of Armenia. He let him go with a large army to Armenia. And they came and expelled Meružan and the Persian forces.<sup>47</sup> And thereafter this land was consolidated under the control of Pap for 7 years.<sup>48</sup>

At that time the commander Anatolius received the royal command and came to our country, and travelling across many regions, he was pleased to build a city in the district of Karin, of fertile soil and well-watered and fruitful. He reckoned the site to be central, not very far removed from the places where the sources of the branch of the Euphrates rise and where they flow at a leisurely speed, spread out like a lake, with the appearance of a marsh. [682] In this there are an infinite number of fish and a plethora of different pasturing birds, from whose eggs alone the inhabitants are sustained. Around the edges of the marsh, [there are] canes and a multitude of reeds. The plain possesses an abundance of pasture and a wealth of seeded fruits, and the mountains are full of hooved and ruminant animals. They cause to multiply herds of animals of considerable size and strength, and they are raised rolling with [72] fatness. And at the foot of one well-situated mountain there are found many clear springs trickling out. There he traced the outline the city, surrounded by a deep ditch; he established the foundations of the rampart sunk deep in the earth and upon it he constructed very high, awesome towers, the first of which he named Theodosius in honour of Theodosius. He built towers out from that one, jutting out like the prows of ships and without blind-spots facing the

<sup>45</sup> Three isolated notices have been fused together from different chapters of the *History of Movsēs Xorenac'i*: MX III.24 [285.5–6], III.31 [295.12–17], and III.20 [279.19–20].

<sup>46</sup> This is a bare outline of MX III.34 and 35 [298.6–300.9].

<sup>47</sup> This is a summary from MX III.36 [302.1–10], although Movsēs names the Roman general Terentius and not Anatolius, for whom see MX III.57 [334.8–335.4], III.58 [337.4–5], and III.59 [338.8–339.14]. According to Movsēs, Terentius was instructed by Theodosius I (379–95) and Anatolius by Theodosius II (408–50); Step'anos, or his source, have confused the two.

<sup>48</sup> MX III.39 [307.15].

mountain to the south and the plain to the north; he organized circular towers facing east and west. And in the middle of the city in an elevated location he built several warehouses and he named it Augustion in honour of Augustus. He brought various watercourses across many places and confined in invisible pipes. [He filled] the city with equipment and a garrison and named it Theodosiopolis so that his name might be perpetuated through the memorial of the city. And over the warm springs which gushed out, he built buildings of polished stone.<sup>49</sup>

Now Pap behaved dissolutely in his shameful passion and was reprimanded on many occasions by St Nersēs. Pap behaved wickedly towards him, causing him to drink a draught of death in the district of Ekeleac', in the village of Xax, and he was removed from life, having occupied the patriarchal throne for 34 years.<sup>50</sup> When the great patriarch of Caesarea Basil heard this [73] he cursed Pap and all his men. With an oath he stipulated that [683] the catholicos of Armenia would no longer be consecrated at the seat of Caesarea. These curses were rapidly fulfilled.<sup>51</sup>

Now Pap appointed as catholicos of Armenia a certain Šahak from the district of Apahunik', without the consent of the metropolitan of Caesarea, from the village of Manazkert, who lasted 4 years.<sup>52</sup>

But the valiant commander Anatolius seized Pap straightaway; he bound him in iron chains and had him conveyed to the emperor. He was not reckoned worthy of an audience but he ordered him to be thrown into the sea.<sup>53</sup> And straightaway after him, he [Theodosius] made king Varazdat, a certain Aršakuni, a child in years who reigned 4 years. He appointed as catholicos of Armenia Zawēn, brother of Šahak, who lasted 4 years.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>49</sup> This paragraph is virtually identical to MX III.59 [338.8–339.14], with minimal alteration and no abridgement. Although it might seem out of place, its relocation was precipitated by the earlier confusion between Terentius and Anatolius.

<sup>50</sup> This is closely modelled upon MX III.38 [306.7–13].

<sup>51</sup> These details are not found in the *History* of Movsēs Xorenac'i. They may derive from *Buzandaran*, V.29 [190.25–191.14], although the patriarch of Caesarea is not identified as Basil and it is the removal of the Armenian primate's authority to consecrate bishops and the requirement that future Armenian bishops travel to Caesarea for consecration which is the focus in the *Buzandaran*; see Garsoïan, *Epic Histories*, 323.

<sup>52</sup> This is based upon MX III.39 [306.16–20]; intriguingly, Movsēs refers to the great archbishop of Caesarea, *mec ark'episkoposin Kesaru*, rather than the *metrapōlitin Kesaru*, possibly reflecting current rather than historic practices. The reference to Manazkert may come from *Buzandaran*, V.29 [190.21–3], where Yusik's descent from bishop Albianos of Manazkert is noted. It appears that two figures have become conflated: Šahak I of Manazkert, who was catholicos for four years (349–53 CE) and Yusik II of Manazkert, catholicos, also for four years (373–7).

<sup>53</sup> MX III.39 [307.11–15], although Movsēs reports that Pap was killed with an axe.

<sup>54</sup> Two sentences fused together from MX III.40 [307.19–20, 309.6–9]. By tradition he is thought to have held office between 378 and 381 CE.

Then after Varazdat, the sons of Pap, Aršak and Vałaršak, ruled for 5 years. And in their sixth year the Armenian kingdom was split.<sup>55</sup> Aršak took the sector of the Greeks and Vałaršak took the sector of the Persians, the Araratean country.<sup>56</sup> In their days after Zawēn, Aspurakēs, brother of the same, became catholicos of Armenia, from the same village, 5 years.<sup>57</sup>

Then after Vałaršak, Xosrov Aršakuni reigned in the eastern part with the consent of Šapuh, the king of Persia, 3 years.<sup>58</sup> He appointed as catholicos of Armenia St Sahak, son of the great Nersēs, who occupied the patriarchal throne for 50 years.<sup>59</sup>

[74] Then after three years Xosrov was deposed from his dominion by reason of the false accusations from the same king Šapuh.<sup>60</sup> And his brother Vřam-Šapuh succeeded in his place, who reigned 15 years.<sup>61</sup>

And we have found that the fifth year of Vřam-Šapuh, king of Armenia, coincided with the second year of Artašir, king of Persia.<sup>62</sup> In this [year] the blessed Maštoc', who was from the district of Tarōn from the village of Hac'ekac', at the suggestion of Vřam-Šapuh and the great patriarch Sahak, using the characters of Daniel, fitted the letters to the Armenian language, together with certain colleagues given to him by Sahak.<sup>63</sup> After this, [684] in the sixth year of the same Vřam-Šapuh, which was the first year of king Vřam-Krman,<sup>64</sup> he altered the same and rearranged using characters that were given by God, through which literature and the divinely inspired Scriptures were

<sup>55</sup> This sentence combines phrases from MX III.41 [309.12–13] and III.46 [316.3–4]. The latter notice records that Aršak ruled over all of Armenia for 5 years and over half of Armenia for two and half years. From this, Step'anos deduced that the division of Armenia must have taken place in his sixth year.

<sup>56</sup> This sentence is based on MX III.42 [310.10–14].

<sup>57</sup> MX III.41 [309.20–1], although Movsēs does not comment on his place of origin. By tradition he is thought to have held office between 383 and 387 CE.

<sup>58</sup> MX III.42 [311.2–3] for his accession and III.50 [321.16] for the length of his reign, which is given as 5 years.

<sup>59</sup> MX III.49 [320.5–6] for his appointment and III.67 [355.12–13] for the duration of his patriarchate, given by Movsēs as 51 years. By tradition he is thought to have held office between 387 and 438 CE.

<sup>60</sup> This provides a bare outline of MX III.50 [321.1–16].

<sup>61</sup> MX III.55 [329.16] allocates him a reign of 21 years.

<sup>62</sup> For the fifth year of Vřam Šapuh, see Koriwn, *Vark' Maštoc'i*, ed. M. Abelyan (Erevan, 1941; repr. Delmar, NY, 1985), 7 [44.7–8] and Łazar P'arpec'i, *Patmut'iwn Hayot's ew Tult' ar Vahan Mamikonean*, ed. G. Tēr-Mkrtč'ean and S. Malxasean (Tiflis, 1904; repr. Delmar, NY, 1985) 10 [13.20]. Neither, however, correlates this with the second year of Artašir. Koriwn records that the Armenian alphabet was created in the eighth year of king Yazkert: Koriwn 29 [100.3–4].

<sup>63</sup> Koriwn, followed by Movsēs Xorenac'i, records that when Daniel's system proved deficient, Maštoc' invented another script with the help of a Greek calligrapher called Rufinus: see Koriwn 6–8 [42.2–50.4]; MX III.52–3 [325.12–327.17]. By contrast, Łazar reports that Maštoc' employed Daniel's letters which he then adapted under the direction of the patriarch Sahak: Łazar 10 [14.29–15.10]. In this instance, Step'anos seems to be following Łazar.

<sup>64</sup> Koriwn does not refer to Vřam Krman, but Łazar 12 [18.14] and MX III.51 [324.19] both do so. Only Movsēs Xorenac'i also places the creation of the Armenian script firmly in the reign

translated accurately, as Koriwn and Łazar describe.<sup>65</sup> And the invention of these Armenian letters was the occasion of the beginning of great study and unlimited investigation of many countries. For writing was given not only to Armenians but also to Georgia and Albania from the mindfulness of God by means of the blessed *vardapet* Mesrop.<sup>66</sup>

Vřam-Šapuh died well. In his place king Krman made king Xosrov, the deposed brother of the same, who lasted a second time, for one year.<sup>67</sup>

[75] After him Yazkert appointed as king of Armenia not one from the same [line] but Šapuh, his own son,<sup>68</sup> after the death of his father, he was killed by the great ones of the same.<sup>69</sup> This country of Armenia remained without a king for many years. We have examined this and found that the period without a prince was 11 years.<sup>70</sup> Yovsëp' and Eznik, servants of Sahak, were sent around this time to Syria and from there also to the Greeks, for records of scholarly books.

After him, Artašës reigned, who is also Artašir, at the command of Vřam king of Persia, for 6 years.<sup>71</sup> Mesrop, who is also Maštoc', a remarkable man, a priest and inventor and *vardapet* of the characters and the script of the Armenian language, appeared and was even more distinguished in these times. Now the great chief priest Sahak who was also from the descent of St Grigor translated once again the holy Scriptures from the Greek language into the Armenian language with Eznik, from accurate copies which had been brought by the holy Łewond and others from the Constantinian city.<sup>72</sup> He restored the church of the holy virgins, the one destroyed by king Šapuh. And through his supplications, the unknown location of the bones of St Hřip'simë was revealed by God.<sup>73</sup> [685] This is the man who, before he became chief priest, saw a vision at night, the suppression of the kingdom of

of Vřam Krman; cf. Koriwn 29 [100.3–4], who records that the Armenian alphabet was created in the eighth year of king Yazkert.

<sup>65</sup> Again the specific reference to these authors is significant. Despite borrowing extensively from Łazar's *History*, Movsës Xorenac'i does not refer to the work or the author. Furthermore, he mentions Koriwn without acknowledging his authorship of the *Life of Maštoc'*, another of his principal sources.

<sup>66</sup> See Koriwn 15 [62.9–64.6] (Georgian) and 16 [68.24–72.4] (Albanian); MX III.54 [328.14–329.7]. By contrast, Łazar does not refer to the development of these scripts.

<sup>67</sup> MX III.55 [330.3] but Movsës names the Persian king as Yazkert, not Krman; cf. Łazar 12 [18.13–20] which does identify Vřam Krman as responsible.

<sup>68</sup> MX III.55 [330.4–5].

<sup>69</sup> MX III.56 [332.10–12] for the coincidence between the deaths of Yazkert and Šapuh, the latter betrayed *i drann mardkanë*, by his courtiers.

<sup>70</sup> This appears to be Step'anos' own calculation. MX III.56 [332.19] identifies 3 years without government, *yanišxanut'ean*. Earlier in the chapter, MX III.56 [332.10–11] allocates 11 years to Yazkert, king of Persia.

<sup>71</sup> MX III.58 [338.2–5].

<sup>72</sup> Although Łazar 11 [17.1–4] refers to Sahak's descent from Grigor, only Movsës Xorenac'i includes this detail, at III.49 [320.5–7] and the reference to Łewond's visit to Constantinople, at III.60 [341.15–17].

<sup>73</sup> These two sentences are not from Koriwn, Łazar, or Movsës Xorenac'i.



the Aršakunik' and the termination of the office of chief priest from the family of St Grigor and the allocation of the rank to certain others. Then 'at the [76] end of time', he said, 'the kingdom shall rise once again and the chief priesthood shall be restored to the same families at the appointed time'.<sup>74</sup>

At this time, the nobles of Armenia united and went to St Sahak in order to slander Artašir, in connection with his dissolute lusts in order to depose the king and to set up a Persian as the holder of this country. But he said: 'May it be to me through Christ to deliver my sheep from the impious wolf; and [how could I] take the place of the sickly lamb for the healthy wild animal, whose health is the cause of great punishment.'<sup>75</sup> The *azatagund* of Armenia was angered at him; they made a decision and went to Vram, the king of Persia, to slander their king Artašir and St Sahak, on account of their grudge against the patriarchate.<sup>76</sup> The Armenian nobles persuaded Vram, the king of Persia, and straightaway he summoned the king of Armenia and St Sahak to the royal court.<sup>77</sup> And he seized and bound Artašir<sup>78</sup> and dispatched him to Xužastan and he commanded that St Sahak be deposed from the throne of the patriarchate.

And at the request of the nobles, he gave as their catholicos one Abdišoy, a Syrian *jakobik*, an evil-doer who did not last 1 year.<sup>79</sup> After him came Šmuēl, one from the same race, even more degenerate than him, who also died after 2 years. And after him Surmak, a fearless man who had denounced St Sahak, from the district of Bznunik', from the village of Arckē, 7 years.<sup>80</sup> He belongs in the list of patriarchs but Abdišoy and Šmuēl did not count.

<sup>74</sup> This is a highly abbreviated summary of the Vision of St Sahak, incorporated into Łazar's *History*: Łazar 17 [29.1–37.3, but esp. 34.1–35.12]. This predicts that the monarchy will be renewed from the Aršakuni line and the priesthood from the descent of Grigor after a period of turmoil and desolation lasting 350 years. It was inserted into Łazar's *History* but also existed as a freestanding document. A late eighth-century date for the composition of the original text has been tentatively suggested; Thomson, *History of Łazar P'arpec'i*, 11. It was also translated into Greek: G. Garitte, 'La Vision de S. Sahak en grec', *Le Muséon* 71 (1958), 225–78.

<sup>75</sup> Although all the manuscripts read *mec vnasuc'*, great punishment, MX III.63 [347.16] reads *mer vnasuc'*, our punishment.

<sup>76</sup> These three sentences comprise four brief notices taken from Movsēs Xorenac'i III.63 [346.12–16, 347.6–7, 347.14–16, 347.20–3]. In preferring *azatagund* to *naxararac'n*, Step'anos may be employing a collective term of more contemporary significance.

<sup>77</sup> MX III.64 [348.4–5].

<sup>78</sup> The six oldest manuscripts read Artašēs, but for consistency Manukyan prefers Artašir.

<sup>79</sup> Abdišoy does not feature in other lists of catholicoi but could be a corruption of Brk'išoy. However, the epithet *jakobik* is unexpected, for this identifies him as a supporter of a miaphysite interpretation, exemplified in the figure of Jacob Baradaeus, from whom the name derives. Jacob, however, was a sixth-century figure, a century after these events. Moreover, the antipathy towards this *jakobik* is at odds with the Christological position expressed in III.21.

<sup>80</sup> The *History* of Łazar, followed by Movsēs Xorenac'i, proposes a different sequence: Surmak *erēc'*, priest, from the province of Bznunik' and from the village of Arckē, Brk'išoy a Syrian; and Šamuēl, another Syrian: see Łazar 14 and 15 [23.6–8, 26.5–7, and 26.25–7]; MX III.63–6 [347.20–3, 349.10–19, 350.13–17, and 353.13–354.11]. The figures supplied by Step'anos for their years in office do not tally with those recorded by Movsēs Xorenac'i.

[77] When the great *vardapet* Movsēs, the father of literature,<sup>81</sup> saw this, he raised the cry: ‘I weep for you, country of Armenia, because a king and a patriarch have been taken away from you. [686] I weep for you, church of Armenia, because a prophet and a counsellor has been taken away from you’,<sup>82</sup> just as the active soldier, the prophet Jeremiah, lamented the destruction of the people of the Jews and the desolation of the Temple.

And St Sahak went to spend a short time in the district of Bagrewand at the village of Blur, and he was taken from this life by the will of God. His granddaughter, a lady of the Mamikoneayk’, who they used to name Dxtik, took the remains of his bones, conveyed and interred them in the province of Tarōn, in the village of Aštišat; he had held the throne of the office of patriarch for 50 years.<sup>83</sup>

And after the passing of a few days, the great *vardapet* of Armenia Mesrop died, in K’alak’udašt, in Vałaršapat, whom they buried in the village which is called Öšakan.<sup>84</sup>

Here the kingship of Armenia from the Aršakunik’ family ceases, having begun in the 12th year of Ptolemy Euergetēs the second, king of the Egyptians, and ended in the 24th year of Theodosius, king of the Greeks; the kingdom of Armenia lasted in total 559 years.<sup>85</sup>

## [78] Chapter 2

*The princes of Armenia, those who [came] after the Aršakuni kings; and the patriarchs of Armenia, those who [came] after the house of St Grigor*

Now after the death of Artašir, king of Armenia, the Armenian nobles assembled and appointed St Vardan as their *sparapet*, who was from the house of Mamikoneayk’, the grandson of St Sahak.<sup>86</sup> And sometimes they

<sup>81</sup> Once again, Step’anos calls Movsēs Xorenac’i *k’ert’olahayr*; see I.1 and n. 12.

<sup>82</sup> Two sentences fused together which were extracted from MX III.68 [358.10–11 and 15]. Step’anos altered the second sentence and inserted the parallel with Jeremiah.

<sup>83</sup> This paragraph is based on three extracts from MX III.67 [355.9–10, 356.5–9, and 355.12–13], although linguistically these are not as closely related as the overwhelming majority of other extracts.

<sup>84</sup> MX III.67 [356.11–13 and 357.17–358.1], although Movsēs records that Mesrop died six months after Sahak and does not refer to K’alak’udašt, literally ‘city-plain’.

<sup>85</sup> This synchronism was calculated by Step’anos since it derives from and depends upon chronological data supplied previously.

<sup>86</sup> Lazar 30 [56.35–57.5] identifies Vardan as *tēr*, lord of the Mamikoneank’, and *sparapet*, commander of Armenia, and describes Vardan referring to his grandfather Sahak, but these references occur in the build-up to the outbreak of rebellion in 450 CE and not in the immediate aftermath of the deposition of Artašēs in 428 or the death of his grandfather Sahak in 438. These details do not appear in Elišē’s *History*.

were in a state of submission to the Persian kings and sometimes in rebellion, as the history of the *vardapet* Elišē teaches.<sup>87</sup>

After the death of Surmak, the patriarchs of Armenia assembled, made a search, and found a certain priest, whose name was Yovsēp', who had been a pupil of the great Mesrop, from the district of Vayoc' Jor, from the village of Hołoc'im. [687] With the consent of Vardan, they installed him on the throne of the Catholicosate, 2 years.<sup>88</sup> He convened a council at Šahapivan, where they established canons concerning fines.<sup>89</sup> Then the holy Vardan, who had maintained the Armenian nobles as a single body for 19 years and fought with Yazkert, king of the Persians, died for the sake of the holy covenant and the Christian faith on the plain of Awerayr in the district of Artaz.<sup>90</sup>

And after the battle of Vardan, two years later, the holy Lewondeank' together with the patriarch Yovsēp' [79] were martyred in the month *hrotic'*, on the 26th day of the month, that is July, a Sunday.<sup>91</sup> We have examined thoroughly the years of the kings in relation to this date and we have found that it coincided with the 15th year of Yazkert and the 3rd year of the cursed Marcian.<sup>92</sup>

Then after the death of Vardan, this land of Armenia was without a prince for 10 years. Persecution and troubles abounded, for although Yazkert relented somewhat from his destructive intent, he blamed the apostate Vasak and ordered him to be dismissed in disgrace.<sup>93</sup> And then Peroz his son became

<sup>87</sup> This reference to a specific Armenian source is a notable feature of Step'anos' style of composition.

<sup>88</sup> Although YD XIV.30 [58.12–17] includes most of this information, Łazar 19 [38.21–6] also makes the specific connection with Maštoc'. By comparison, Elišē never refers to him as catholicos or patriarch. It is striking that Step'anos treats Surmak as a legitimate head of the Armenian church.

<sup>89</sup> For the canons of Šahapivan, held in the sixth year of Yazkert (444 CE), see *Kanonagirk' Hayoc'*, ed. V. Hakobyan, 2 vols. (Erevan, 1964, 1971), I, 422–67; these do contemplate fines. The study of previous Armenian church councils by Yovhannēs Ōjñec'i, *imastasēr*, preserved in the *Book of Letters*, records that this Council was convened in the sixth year of Yazkert and that it addressed the organization of the church: *GT*<sup>I</sup> I, 220.21–3; *GT*<sup>I</sup> II, 474.1–4.

<sup>90</sup> For Vardan's role in uniting the Armenian nobles, and for the precise location of the battle, see Łazar 34 and 37 [64.1–15 and 68.38–69.28]. The figure for the years of Vardan's supremacy is not registered elsewhere and may have been calculated by Step'anos. By convention, the date of the battle has been determined as 26 May 451.

<sup>91</sup> Łazar 57 [101.4–34] records the martyrdoms, although the term Lewondeank' denoting the companions and fellow martyrs of Lewond is not used; cf. YD XV.3 [59.23–4]: *srhoc' Lewondeanc'n*. Łazar 57 [101.26] specifies the twenty-seventh of the month of *hrotic'*, although Thomson, *History of Łazar*, 151 and n. 5, notes that this was corrected by the editors from 25; Elišē 182.20–2 stipulates the twenty-fifth. Neither, however, attempts to identify the equivalent month in the Julian calendar, nor the day of the week. Thomson, *Elišē*, 229 and n. 6, equates the twenty-fifth of *hrotic'* with 26 August (454 CE).

<sup>92</sup> This appears to be Step'anos own calculation. Łazar 57 [101.25–6] refers to the sixteenth year of the reign of Yazkert but does not attempt to correlate this with the Roman emperor Marcian; similarly Elišē 7 [141.1–3].

<sup>93</sup> This is a very brief summary of Vasak's fate, recorded in both Łazar 45–46 [82.11–86.3] and Elišē 6 [138.23–140.10], although not in identical terms.

king; he released the Armenian nobles from [their] bonds.<sup>94</sup> And Mangnos, son of Vardan, received the office of *sparapet* of Armenia, 20 years.<sup>95</sup>

Now after lord Yovsēp', lord Giwt took possession of the throne of the patriarchate, 10 years, who was from the district of Vanand, from the village of Ut'mus.<sup>96</sup> In that time there was the great Armenian philosopher Movsēs, who introduced the art of rhetoric to Armenia;<sup>97</sup> the ascetic Anton who was also [known as] T'at'ul—it is said that he renounced everything for the sake of Christ, along with the priest Varos his brother; he went to inhospitable places, with wild animals and dragons, and settled in the place which now is called Gazanacakk' or T'at'loy vank'.<sup>98</sup>

And in the twenty-fifth year of Peroz, the Armenians rebelled against the Persians;<sup>99</sup> they resisted in uncompromising warfare under the leadership of Vahan, son of Hmayeak, brother of Vardan. And his brothers were the valiant Vasak and Artašēs and Vard [80] *patrik*, about whom Łazar P'arpec'i instructs you.<sup>100</sup> Brimming with intellectual wisdom, [688] the blessed patriarch Yovhan Mandakuni guided them with advice and support, who following lord Giwt, served the patriarchal throne for 6 years.<sup>101</sup> At that time, the blessed Tearnt'ag, who was from the district of Aršarunik', from the village of Kałoc', was martyred valiantly for the sake of Christ. He was slain by Zarmihir Hazarawuxt, the Persian commander.<sup>102</sup> His relics were laid to rest in the

<sup>94</sup> In the sixth year of Peroz: see Łazar 61 [110.8–16]. Elišē 7 [199.15–17] records that many of the Armenian nobles were restored to their ancestral lands in his fifth year and some were promised restoration in his sixth year.

<sup>95</sup> Following Ačařean, *HanjB*, this is the earliest reference to Magnus Mamikonean; neither Łazar nor Elišē refer to him.

<sup>96</sup> Łazar 62 [110.21–2] introduces Giwt as coming from the district of Tayk' and the village of Arahez, but at 64 [116.18–21] he records that he was buried in the tomb of his fathers in the village of Odmus in the district of Vanand. Cf. YD XVI.1 [60.17–19], which states that he came from the village of Ot'mus and that he held the patriarchal throne for 10 years. Elišē does not mention Giwt. By tradition he is thought to have held office between 461 and 478 CE. Step'anos omits Melitē of Manazkert (452–6) and Movsēs I of Manazkert (456–61).

<sup>97</sup> The source of this reference is unknown. Traditionally this is identified as Movsēs Xorenac'i. Intriguingly, Step'anos does not connect this with earlier references to Movsēs; see I.1, n. 12 and I.5, n. 274.

<sup>98</sup> Anton/T'at'ul is not mentioned in earlier Armenian texts, although one T'at'ul, bishop of Aršarunik', attended the first Council of Dvin in 506 CE: *GT*<sup>c</sup> I, 41.29–30; *GT*<sup>c</sup> II, 148.13–14. *gazan*, wild animal; *T'at'loyvank'*, the monastery of T'at'ul.

<sup>99</sup> Łazar 66 [118.20–21] supplies the date. The third section of Łazar's *History* records the life of Vahan Mamikonean and his leadership of the rebellion in 482 CE.

<sup>100</sup> The four brothers are named together at Łazar 62 [111.5–8], although Vard is not named *patrik*; *patrikios*, a high status Roman title. For this, see Sebēos 67.23–4. This is the earliest direct reference to Łazar P'arpec'i in Armenian literature.

<sup>101</sup> YD XVI.2–3 and 6 [60.19–21 and 61.14–16] names him Yovhannēs Mandakuni and accords him a patriarchate of 6 years. Whilst Yovhannēs identifies him as possessing spiritual (*hogevor*) wisdom, Step'anos records him as having intellectual (*imastanakan*) gifts. By tradition he is thought to have held office between 478 and 490 CE.

<sup>102</sup> Zarmihir Hazarawuxt appears as the Persian commander in Łazar's *History*: Łazar 66 [118.23] for the first reference.

district of Širak, in the village which is called Beṛnōnk', in the church which they call Tearnt'ag.<sup>103</sup>

Now Vałarš, king of Persia, heeded the good advice given to him and subdued the Armenians by using generosity; he honoured them with great respect and made peace. As a sign of reconciliation he sealed for them deeds of amnesty. And furthermore he paid still greater respect to Vahan; by means of Andekan, he committed this country of Armenia to him through [his occupation of] the office of *marzpan*, which he exercised for 30 years.<sup>104</sup>

At that time, Mambrē, brother of Movsēs, concerning whom they say that he was found third among the scholars, returned to Armenia, and David, pupil of Movsēs, from the district of Hark', [81] from the village of Herean.<sup>105</sup> In this time the blessed Yovhan Mandakuni, who was from the district of Aršamunik', from the village of Caxnot, introduced many upright institutions for Armenia: the offices of the night and the day, the ceremony of baptism, [the consecration] of a deacon, of a priest and of a bishop, and the consecration of a church and the whole structure of the liturgy, which is said to be that of Athanasius. And he died at the will of God.<sup>106</sup>

And after him lord Babkēn became catholicos, from the district of Vanand, from the village of Ut'mus, 3 years.<sup>107</sup>

<sup>103</sup> The source of this short narrative is unknown.

<sup>104</sup> Łazar 91–7 [164.7–176.7], including the condition that the pardons should be recorded in writing. For the role of Andekan in Vahan's appointment as *marzpan*, provincial governor, see Łazar 98–9 [177.1–179.9]. His 30-year occupation of the *marzpanate* is not otherwise attested, although his brother Vard attended the first Council of Dvin in 506 CE, implying that Vahan had died by that date. If so, he was *marzpan* for at most 22 years: *GT* I, 42.11 and 47.10; *GT* II, 148.29 and 155.33–156.1.

<sup>105</sup> Mambrē is identified as the author of several homilies. T'ovma Arcruni is the first to identify him as the brother of Movsēs Xorenac'i: T'A I.6 [44.27–8] and Thomson, *History of the House of the Artsrunik'*, 108 and n. 7. Subsequent Armenian traditions, exemplified by Vardan Arewelc'i, *Hawak'umn patmut'ean*, 54.26–55.8, developed in different ways. Vardan records that Movsēs, Mambrē, and David debated with Greek theologians, including the archbishop of Corinth and Melitos, the metropolitan of Macedonia, in Constantinople, shortly after the Council of Chalcedon. According to Thomson, 'Historical Compilation of Vardan Arewelc'i', 170 and n. 5, such a tradition is unattested before the twelfth century.

<sup>106</sup> In light of the earlier references to Yovhan Mandakuni, his inclusion here, albeit as theologian rather than catholicos, is surprising. Numerous homilies are attributed to him, as well as four sets of canons: *Kanonagirk'* I, 491–500; II, 239–43; 264–6; and 296–304. None of these contemplate the matters reported by Step'anos. A. Mardirossian, *Le Livre des canons arméniens* (*Kanonagirk' Hayoc' de Yovhannēs Awjnec'i. Église, droit et société en Arménie du IV<sup>e</sup> au VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, CSCO 606 subs.116 (Louvain, 2004), 589–94, has proposed that these should all be attributed to Yovhannēs Mayragomec'i. He has also argued that Yovhannēs Mayragomec'i was the redactor of 74 of the 88 canons collected under the name of Athanasius of Alexandria: *Kanonagirk'* I, 282–328 and Mardirossian, *Livre des canons*, 578–81. But although these do consider baptism, they do not address the issues identified by Step'anos. YD XVI.2 [60.22–4] does refer to Yovhan setting the daily offices but, unusually, does not specify his place of origin.

<sup>107</sup> Cf. YD XVI.7–13 [61.16–62.27], which allocates five years to Babgēn and does not give his birthplace. By tradition he is thought to have held office between 490 and 515, 25 years.

And after him lord Samuēl, from the district of Bznunik', from the village of Arckē, 10 years.

And after him lord Mušē, from the district of Kotayk', from the village of Aylaberdk', 8 years. [689]

And after him lord Sahak, from the district of Hark', from the village of Ełegakan, 5 years.

And after him lord K'ristap'or, a scholar, from the district of Bagrewand and the village of Tirarič, 6 years.<sup>108</sup>

Then Vahan illuminated and restored the churches of God, honouring the servants of the covenant and making this country prosperous.<sup>109</sup> During the period of his princely authority, the same man also wonderfully restored the great cathedral church of Armenia, [82] expanding the orders of monks—in what is called the hermitage of Surēn—and appointed as overseer Łazar P'arpec'i, orator and historian.<sup>110</sup> This man also shut in the Alans. In his days the sun completely disappeared, after which there was a severe famine. Then Vahan died well, leaving as his successor his brother Vard *patrik*, 4 years.<sup>111</sup>

In the days of Vahan, the relics of the holy Apostle Thaddeus and Sanduxt and St Grigor our illuminator were discovered.

Then after lord K'ristap'or, in these days lord Łewond<sup>112</sup> became patriarch of Armenia from the district of Arberani, from the village of P'okr Arest, 21 years.<sup>113</sup>

And then after Vard *patrik*, the brother of Vahan, Persian *marzpan*s ruled Armenia, 11 years.<sup>114</sup> At this time, Ezras Angelac'i, pupil of the orator Movsēs, bishop of the district of Bagrewand, expanded the ranks of orators.<sup>115</sup>

<sup>108</sup> YD XVI.14–17 [63.1–20] supplies the same patriarchal sequence and allocates the same number of years for each catholicos. There are minor differences, however, the most notable being the identification of K'ristap'or as *p'ilisop'ay* or scholar. By tradition, K'ristap'or is usually considered to have occupied the office of catholicos between 539 and 545 CE, long after the rise of Vahan Mamikonean in 482, recorded by Łazar P'arpec'i: Łazar 66–100 [118.18–186.32].

<sup>109</sup> Sebēos 8 [66.31–67.2] records that 'Vahan restored the great churches which the Persians had ruined in the city of Vałaršapat, in Dvin, Mzrayk', and many other places in Armenia, and he renewed again the prosperity of the country'. In spite of the broad similarity in terms of content, the two passages are not close linguistically.

<sup>110</sup> *zmec kat'olikē ekelec'in*, great cathedral church. See Łazar, *Letter* [186.1–5], which records that Vahan Mamikonean appointed Łazar to the administration of the monastery attached to the 'holy cathedral church' in Vałaršapat; the monastery is not otherwise named.

<sup>111</sup> Sebēos 8 [67.23–4] refers to Vard *patrik* but does not mention Vahan's death or give the exact length of Vard's period of supremacy, other than noting that it lasted for 'a short time'.

<sup>112</sup> *tēr*, lord, in all the manuscripts, but *surbn*, holy or saint, in ST I, 82.13.

<sup>113</sup> YD XVI.19–20 [63.20–1, 64.3–4]. However, Yovhannēs does not refer to Arberani and allocates just three years. By tradition, he is thought to have held office between 545 and 548 CE.

<sup>114</sup> Sebēos 8 [67.24–5] refers to Persian *marzpan*s but does not specify how long they had control.

<sup>115</sup> The source of this notice is unknown and the individuals are not otherwise attested.

And then Mžēž Gnuni came as prince of Armenia, 30 years.<sup>116</sup>

And in his seventh year lord Nersēs became catholicos of Armenia, from the district of Bagrewand, from the village of Ašterak, 9 years.<sup>117</sup> This man, in the fourth year of his patriarchate and in the tenth [690] year of the dominion of Mžēž, convened a council in the city of Dvin.<sup>118</sup> And [83] the leaders of the council were Petros, bishop and grammarian [*k'ert'ot*] of Siwnik', and Neršapuh from Tarōn.<sup>119</sup> And they instituted the Armenian Era in the 14th of emperor Justinian, who built St Sophia, and in the 24th of Xosrov, son of Kawat, king of Persia.<sup>120</sup> In this year St Yezitbuzit was martyred for Christ.<sup>121</sup> And in that year and at that time Armenia separated completely from communion

<sup>116</sup> The source for this is unknown. Although this reference has persuaded scholars to accept that Mžēž Gnuni exerted authority over Armenia for a 30-year period in the middle of the sixth century, it is significant that the notices mentioning Vahan and Vard above appear to have been wildly misplaced in the sequence of catholicos. It is possible, therefore, that this figure is none other than the Mžēž Gnuni active in the third decade of the seventh century: Sebēos 41 [131.31–133.30]. No figure of this name appears in the documents recording the second Council of Dvin in 555 CE: *GT*<sup>r</sup> I, 70.1–77.14, *GT*<sup>r</sup> II, 196.1–205.30. The view expressed by Sebēos [67.23–6], that after the death of Vard Mamikonean only Persian *marzpan*s came to Armenia until the time of Surēn and Vardan Mamikonean in 571/2 CE, should be preferred.

<sup>117</sup> YD XVI.21 and 24 [64.4–7 and 25–6]. Once more, Step'anos combines the place of origin and years in office in a single notice; these are consistently separated in YD. By tradition he is thought to have held office between 548 and 557 CE.

<sup>118</sup> For a study of the second Council of Dvin in 555 CE, see Garsoïan, *L'Église arménienne*, ch. 3. For the fourth year, see the account of previous Armenian church councils by Yovhannēs Ōjnec'i: *GT*<sup>r</sup> I, 220.11–12; *GT*<sup>r</sup> II, 474.27–8. *La Narratio de rebus Armeniae*, ed. G. Garitte, CSCO 132 subs. 4 (Louvain, 1952), §69, dates it to an impossible 20th year of Nersēs; by convention his patriarchate lasted 9 years (548–57 CE). The exact date of the Council is established by the resultant Pact of Union, executed 'in the twenty-fourth year of Xosrov, king of kings, during Lent, on Palm Sunday' [21 March 555]; *GT*<sup>r</sup> I, 72.13–15; *GT*<sup>r</sup> II, 199.16–17; Garsoïan, *L'Église arménienne*, 56 and n. 51; 137 and n. 12; and Appendix IV, 476.

<sup>119</sup> Neršapuh, bishop of Tarōn and the Mamikoneans participated in both Councils of Dvin, in 506 and 555 CE, according to Garsoïan, *L'Église arménienne*, 439 and n. 9; he attested six documents and was accorded a prominent role in three of them. Petros, bishop of Siwnik', was only present at the second Council of Dvin, attesting three documents and being given a prominent role in two of them. However, it is only through the historical composition of Step'annos Ōrbēlean that Petros is identified as a scholar: SŌ I, I.22 [89.12–15]; SŌ II, [64.9–10 and n. 2]: *ew apa bazmerjanikn ew anhamematn i mardkanē Petros ašakert k'ertola-hōrn k'aj hretorn ew anyalt' p'īlisop'ayn, li imastut'eamb ew katareal arak'inut'eamb*.

<sup>120</sup> Yovhannēs Ōjnec'i states that the second Council of Dvin was held in the fourth year of Nersēs, the twenty-fourth year of Xosrov, and the fourteenth year of Justinian: *GT*<sup>r</sup> I, 221.11–13; *GT*<sup>r</sup> II, 474.27–30. This is the closest to Step'anos. *Narratio* §69 correlates it with an impossible twentieth year of Nersēs, the thirteenth year of Justinian [540/1 CE], and the twenty-fourth year of Xosrov [555/6 CE]. YD XVI.27–28 [65.6–18] records that the Armenian Era was established in the tenth year of the patriarchate of Movsēs [584] and the thirty-first year of Xosrov [562/3 CE]. The *Anonymous Chronicle* suggests the 20th year of Justinian [547/8 CE]: P'ilon Tirakac'i, *Žamanakagrut'iw*n, 963.344. ST II, 690.42 supplies the 14th year for both Justinian and Xosrov, without explanation, and this looks suspiciously like a typographical error; ST I, 83.3–4.

<sup>121</sup> For the martyrdom in Dvin of a Persian magus called Maxož, but known in Armenian as Yizitbuzit [Pahl. Yazdbōzid, 'Saved by God'], on Sunday, 9 November 553 CE, see Garsoïan, *L'Église arménienne*, 228–9 and nn. 284–8.

with the Greeks.<sup>122</sup> And it was 304 of the Greek era from the 7th year of the emperor Philip.<sup>123</sup>

All the time from the birth of the Saviour until the Council of Dvin and the Armenian Era adds up to 553 years, and from the illumination of St Grigor, which is the beginning of the knowledge of God in this country of Armenia, 252 years.<sup>124</sup>

And after lord Nersēs, lord Yovhannēs became catholicos of Armenia, from the district of Gabeleank', from the village of Siwnjefun, who had been abbot of T'at'loyvank', 17 years.<sup>125</sup>

And after this one, lord Movsēs from the district of Aragac'otn, from the village of Elivard, 30 years.<sup>126</sup> This Movsēs consecrated Kiwrion, priest of the monastery of the holy cathedral as catholicos of Iberia; near to the death of Movsēs, Kiwrion wavered from the orthodox faith and accepted the Council of Chalcedon. And on many occasions lord Movsēs [84] reproached him with divine admonition, but having profited nothing, he himself died.<sup>127</sup>

Then following the sequence of princes after Mžēž Gnuni, Persian *marzpan*s came to Armenia.

<sup>122</sup> This seems to be Step'anos' own interpretation of the significance of the second Council of Dvin. He therefore advocates an early and permanent breach with the imperial church, a breach which might sit easily with his own views on the relationship between the two churches but which was not in fact finally realized until the third decade of the eighth century.

<sup>123</sup> The Era of the Romans, or in this instance the Greeks (and so not to be confused with the Seleucid Era), was based on the date of the original foundation of Rome: Mosshammer, *Easter Computus*, 266–8. The second millennium of the Roman era began in 248/9 CE, the fifth year of the reign of Philip the Arab (244–9). If one replaces the Armenian character for 7, Է, with the character for 5, Ե (both Armenian 'e'), one obtains a perfect correlation. With the possible exception of a passage in the *Chronicon Pascale*, 686.19–687.10, under the thirty-fifth year of Justinian, no extant Greek or Latin source uses the second millennium of Rome as a fixed chronological point from which to reckon dates or compute intervals. It was used in the concluding synchronism to this text and in at least two late tenth-century colophons: Mat'evosyan, *Hišatakaraner*, no. 75: 'In 422 of the Armenian Era (28.iii.973–27.iii.974) and in 725 of the Era of Rome (973/974), this commentary on the Song of Songs was written in the district of Tarōn...'; and no. 85: '[This Gospel] was written in year 438 of the Armenian Era (24.iii.989–23.iii.990), and 742 according to the Era of Rome (990/991) and 379 of the Ismaelean tyranny (11.iv.989–30.iii.990)...'

<sup>124</sup> This calculation appears to have been made by Step'anos. For Step'anos, therefore, the date of the illumination of Armenia was 301 CE.

<sup>125</sup> YD XVI.25 [64.26–65.3], which identifies his place of origin as the village of Sncetuan and his period in office as 17 years, but does not mention either the district of Gabeleank' or his leadership of the monastery of T'atul; see n. 98. By tradition he is thought to have held office between 557 and 574 CE.

<sup>126</sup> YD XVI.26 and 33 [65.3–6 and 66.10–12]. The separation of these two details by YD contrasts with their combination by Step'anos. By tradition he is thought to have held office between 574 and 604 CE.

<sup>127</sup> YD XVI.29–32 [65.19–66.10, esp. 65.19–20 and 66.5]. This notice, reporting the schism between the Armenian and Georgian churches, is extraordinarily abbreviated.



First Denšapuh, who caused idolatry to increase and lit the Ormizdean fire [691] in Rštunik'. And he forced Christians to worship the fire, on account of which many died.<sup>128</sup>

And after him, Varazdat, a Persian from the same house. In his time there was a great loss of life through suffering. And then a terrible sign appeared in the sky, fiery and bloody in appearance, which flashed frequently across the northern region, from west to east every night in the shape of a column; it lasted for 8 months.<sup>129</sup>

And then Xosrov, king of Persia, raised to the office of *hazarapet* of Armenia one Surēn, his kinsman, whose name was Čihovr-Všnasp.<sup>130</sup> He came and took possession of this land of ours, greatly oppressing the Armenian nobles, because he committed adultery with the wives of the *azats*, not accepting a man as lord of his wife. Vardan *bdēašx*, son of Vasak, from the family of the Mamikoneayk', was enraged at this.<sup>131</sup> He waited for a suitable

<sup>128</sup> Although the source of these two notices is unknown, it is striking that a Persian *marzpan* named Denšapuh features in the Armenian Synaxarion, *Yaysmawurk'*, under 25 *kaloc'*/2 January: *PO* 18/1, 173. He was responsible for the arrest and martyrdom of Grigor the Persian (also known as Manač'hr Ražik) in the city of Dvin on 18 April 542. The date of composition of this passage has not been established, although the work as a whole is clearly composite. Following Garsoian, *L'Église arménienne*, 228–30 and n. 288, Denšapuh may have been confused with the great *mōbadh* Dād'hormizd who undertook the direction of the persecution in 540/1 CE. On the other hand, the specific actions associated with the *marzpan* Denšapuh in this passage do not derive from *Yaysmawurk'*, and it is possible that there were two figures, one *mōbadh* and one *marzpan*. According to YD XV.2 [59.1–8], Šawasp Arcruni and Vndoy from the city of Dvin had built a temple of Ormizd, *zmeheann Ormzdakan* and a house of fire-worship in Dvin in the middle of the fifth century. Given the longstanding tradition of Arcruni control over Rštunik', there may be some connection between these notices.

<sup>129</sup> The *marzpan* Varazdat is equally unknown. The Pact of Union, mentioned above in relation to the second Council of Dvin, refers to the construction of a martyrion in the name of Manač'hr Ražik in Dvin in the seventeenth year of Xosrov (548/9), king of kings, during the time of *marzpan* Nihorakan: *GT'* I, 72.26–8; *GT'* II, 200.7–10. It should be noted that since Nihorakan is a title rather than a proper name, it is possible that either Denšapuh or Varazdat were also known as *marzpan* Nihorakan. Sebēos 8 [67.23–6] states that: 'After Vahan, his brother Vard held office for a short time and he died. After him Persian *marzpan*s came. But the Armenians were unable to wage war and remained in submission until the *marzpan* Surēn and Vardan, *tēr* of the Mamikoneans.'

<sup>130</sup> See I.5 and n. 235. The meaning of *hazarapet* altered over time. As Garsoian observed, its original military definition is not supported by the social and administrative responsibilities associated with the office of the same name in fourth-century Armenia, as defined in *Buzandaran*, IV.2 [56.25–8]. Whether the remit of the *hazarapet* had also taken on a largely or perhaps exclusively civilian character in Persia by the fifth century remains unresolved. According to an inscription carved onto the architrave above the tympanum of the western entrance to the church of Tekor, now destroyed, the site was founded by Yohan, the catholicos of Armenia, Yohan, bishop of Aršarunik', Tayron, elder of the community of Tekor, and Manan, *hazarapet* of Uran Hořom: T. W. Greenwood, 'A Corpus of Early Medieval Armenian Inscriptions', *DOP* 58 (2004), 70–1 and A1. Manan may be Veh-Vehnam, named by Łazar as *hazarapet* in Armenia in 482 and 484 CE: Łazar 66 and 91 [118.39 and 164.20–1]. The term is not used, however, by Sebēos. Čihovr-Všnasp is not found in YD XVI.19 [63.21–64.3].

<sup>131</sup> The role of Vardan Mamikonean is attested in Sebēos 8 [67.26–31], but the name of his father is not given. *azats*, the free, a collective term for the elite.

occasion and struck Surēn *marzpan* with a sword and stretched him out dead on the ground, in the forty-first year of the reign of Xosrov, which is the seventh year of the reign of Justin, in the month [85] *areg*, [day] 22 of the month, which is February, a Tuesday.<sup>132</sup> And the Armenian princes all rebelled against the Persians; they gave assistance to the Greek [forces], resisting with them in a violent campaign. Then Vardan took his family and the other nobles took flight and escaped to the country of the Greeks, to the royal city of Constantinople.<sup>133</sup> And he went and came before king Justinian who built [the church of] St Sophia, and he took communion with him and he named the main door of St Sophia in his name, which down to today is called the Door of the Armenians.<sup>134</sup>

And these are times of wars, of division, of countless massacres, of the seizure of captives, of disorders, of bonds, of affliction, of deprivation, of harsh famine, of the sword and the plague, of the ravaging of towns, of the burning of buildings, and of every kind of harm to many countries; these occurred because both sides had forgotten the worship of God.<sup>135</sup> [692]

Then after lord Movsēs, lord Abraham became catholicos of Armenia, from the district of Rštunik', from the village of Ałbat'eank', at the command of Smbat Bagratuni, who was *marzpan* of Armenia at the command of Xosrov.<sup>136</sup>

<sup>132</sup> Sebēos 8 [67.27] records the events taking place in the forty-first year of Xosrov (July 571/2). The synchronism works because the seventh year of Justin II equates to 15.ix.571–14.xi.572. By contrast the *Narratio* reports the fortieth year of Xosrov and the thirtieth of Justinian: *Narratio* §78. 22 *areg* equates to a Tuesday in February, specifically 23 February 572. *P'etruar*, February. See Introduction and n. 191, where it is argued that Step'anos was himself responsible for this synchronism. If so, he was familiar with the Roman names of the months which were retained in the Byzantine Empire.

<sup>133</sup> Although the Armenian elite are commonly called *naxarars*, here they are titled *payazats*.

<sup>134</sup> The source of this passage is unknown. Several other sources record Vardan's rebellion and exile: Evagrius, *Ecclesiastical History*, V.7 [203.3–26]; John of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, II.20 [81.28–84.3]; and Gregory of Tours, *History*, IV.40 [172.10–173.12]. Intriguingly, *Narratio* §§77–8 reports that Vardan killed the Persian tyrant Surenas and fled to Constantinople 'in the fortieth year of Khusro and the thirtieth of Justinian who built Hagia Sophia'. This last phrase also appears in the passage above, although Justinian and Justin have been confused. Furthermore, *Narratio* §82 records that Vardan and his entourage were gathered in front of the door of St Sophia, 'which is still called today the Door of the Armenians'. This passage is most closely related, therefore, to the account in the *Narratio*, although the two are evidently not directly related. No other source supplies Suren's full name or provides a precise date. The absence of any reference to the catholicos Yovhannēs Gabelean travelling to Constantinople with Vardan Mamikonean and negotiating with the imperial church is striking.

<sup>135</sup> The source of this passage is unknown. It is significant, however, that it follows immediately on from a passage recording Vardan Mamikonean taking communion with Justin II in Constantinople. Arguably this passage was composed by Step'anos and inserted here to invite his audience to make the connection between communion with the imperial church and the worldly devastation which would inevitably follow.

<sup>136</sup> YD XVII.9 [71.7–9], although YD does not record the duration of his patriarchate. By tradition he is thought to have held office between 607 and 610 CE. Abraham became catholicos in 607 at the instigation of Smbat Bagratuni: Sebēos 27 [100.5–12]. However, Sebēos records that Smbat was *marzpan* of that country, *ašxarhin aynorik*, for 8 years, rather than Armenia. Indeed,

This Smbat went on campaign to the country of Vrkan and found there people who had been captured from Armenia and settled in the desert of T'urkasthan, which is called Sagastan; they had forgotten their Armenian language and writing. When Smbat saw this, he rejoiced greatly and appointed a priest named Habēl as their *vardapet*. [86] They learnt Armenian letters from him and continue to be a diocese of St Grigor down to today.<sup>137</sup>

Then the patriarch Abraham, although he expended much effort over the country of Iberia, was unable to convert them back to orthodoxy. Therefore he cut them off using the divine sword and condemned [them] with the agreement of all Armenia.<sup>138</sup>

Then the emperor Maurice established one Yovhan as catholicos of the sector of the Greeks. And Abraham was installed at Dvin.<sup>139</sup>

And a certain Ašot was sent by the Persian king Xosrov and defeated the Greek;<sup>140</sup> he took Kt'rič, a city of Haštēank',<sup>141</sup> as well as the city of Karin, and he captured Yovhan catholicos with all the vessels of the church and he was conveyed to the capital Ahmatan, who held the throne for 15 years.<sup>142</sup> But

Smbat's determination to rebuild the church of St Grigor in Dvin prompted the commander of the fortress and the *marzpan* to complain, without success, to Xosrov II about the threat this stone building would pose to the fortress: Sebēos 27 [100.11–18]. Evidently Smbat was not *marzpan* of Armenia at this time. Smbat Bagratuni is titled *marzpan* of Vrkan and *teranc' zinuor*, commander of lords, in contemporary documents, but never *marzpan* of Armenia: see *GT* I, 149.7–8; *GT* II, 296.8–9.

<sup>137</sup> This account is closely modelled on YD XVII.2–6 [69.19–70.8], with one notable exception. In YD's account, Habēl is appointed as their bishop, *episkopos noc'a*; by contrast, Step'anos asserts that he was appointed as *vardapet*.

<sup>138</sup> This is a remarkably brief summary of a long and complex process whose many dimensions can be traced principally through the surviving correspondence in the *Girk' T't'oc'/Book of Letters*. The stress placed by Step'anos on the consent of all Armenia to Abraham's actions is striking, and appears to reflect his own interpretation of these events rather than the analysis of a contemporary; see also YD XVII.11–13 [72.1–20].

<sup>139</sup> YD XVII.14 [72.21–7]. Step'anos follows the same sequence as YD, but this is notably out of place from a chronological perspective. *Narratio* §108 dates it to 'fourteen years before the death of Maurice', producing an impossible 588/9 CE. However, Garitte noted that Arsēn Sap'areli supplied a figure of 12 years, implying that the appointment was made shortly after Xosrov II conceded a significant portion of Persarmenia to Maurice in 591 CE. Sebēos 19 [91.11–19] corroborates the appointment but does not supply a date.

<sup>140</sup> YD XVII.15 [73.1–4] also reads Ašot; cf. Sebēos 33 [111.11], which reads, correctly, Aštat Yeztayar.

<sup>141</sup> Kt'rič: Jit'arič in Sebēos 33 [111.25], which is Kitharizon. This is not found in YD.

<sup>142</sup> This reference to the vessels of the church is not found in YD but is in Sebēos 19 [91.21–3] and 33 [111.32–112.4]. The first reference explains that the vessels of the church of St Grigor in Dvin had been moved to Karin/Theodosiopolis, purportedly for safekeeping, but more realistically to legitimize the regime of Yovhan shortly after his appointment as catholicos in the Greek sector of Armenia. The subsequent transfer of Yovhan and the vessels to Ahmatan/Hamadān occurred in the twenty-first year of Xosrov (609/10 CE) according to Sebēos 33 [111.32–112.4]. If Yovhan did occupy this office for 15 years, he was appointed in 594/5 CE.

Abraham, when he had occupied the throne of the office of patriarch for 23 years, died.<sup>143</sup>

Then, after the slaying of Surēn, the king of Persia no longer sent a Persian *marzpan* to Armenia. But at the request of the nobles he appointed as prince of Armenia David Saharuni—{this man built the church at Mren<sup>144</sup>}—who held the office of *hazarapet* of Armenia 30 years, at the command of Ormizd, son of Xosrov, king of Persia.<sup>145</sup>

In his twelfth year, Muḥammad, son of ‘Abd Allāh, appeared in 68 [693] of the Era.<sup>146</sup> And the beginning of the kingdom of Ismael occurred in 72 of the Era.<sup>147</sup>

And after lord Abraham, lord Komitas became catholicos of Armenia, [87] from the district of Aragac’otn from the village of Ałc’ik’, for 8 years.<sup>148</sup> This man built the resting-place of St Hrip’simē with a well-made construction, because the earlier construction of St Sahak had been demolished.<sup>149</sup> And in his times when Komitas had been entrusted with the office of catholicos, Yovhan Mayrogomec’i shone in the office of *vardapet*. This man wrote three books and he did not attribute his name to them because he was rejected by

<sup>143</sup> YD XVII.23 [74.6–8] also has an impossible 23 years for Abraham, as does Uxtanēs II.1 [510]. In fact Abraham held office for just 3 years (607–10). It appears that a prepositional *ini, i g ams*, for 3 years, has become fused with the numeral, giving *ig ams*, 23 years.

<sup>144</sup> This phrase was added subsequently into the margin of M2865, at fol. 165a: Mat’evosyan, ‘Yovhan grč’i’, 106.

<sup>145</sup> This is flatly contradicted by Sebēos 9 [70.15–71.22] and 30 [105.21–7] which supply a sequence of Persian *marzpan*s and military commanders with responsibility for Armenia from 572 until 628. It is true that Davit Saharuni did replace Mžēž Gnuni, but this happened in the late 630s according to Sebēos, whose testimony should be preferred: Sebēos 41 [133.24–34]. He occupied the position for 3 years, not 30 years; indeed, for Step’anos the latter figure seems almost to represent a long time of unknown duration. Ormizd IV ruled from February 579 until February 590 CE. Even if David had been appointed in his final days, 30 years would still only reach to February 620.

<sup>146</sup> Mahmēt, son of Abdla. 68 of the Armenian era: 25.vi.619–24.vi.620. This is the earliest Armenian Era date in the *Universal History*. Twelfth year of David: this implies that he held this office until c.638. The plot of Athalarikos against Heraclius, which seems to have provided David with the opportunity to displace Mžēž Gnuni, should be dated to 636 or 637, thereby extending his short hegemony to 639 or 640; the latter year has been preferred recently: Martin-Hisard, *Lewond Vardapet Discours historique*, 12, n. 75. See also Greenwood, ‘Corpus’, 66–7, 72 and A7, for discussion of the inscription at Mren which refers to an unnamed ‘all-praiseworthy *patrikios kouropalates* and *sparapet* [of Armenia] and Syria’, almost certainly David Saharuni.

<sup>147</sup> AE 72: 24.vi.623–23.vi.624. Year 1 of the *hijra*: 16.vii.622–5.vii.623.

<sup>148</sup> YD XVII.23 [74.8–11] and 33 [75.17–19], again separating origin and years in office. Neither YD nor Sebēos identify Aragac’otn as the district, but both YD and Sebēos 33 [112.6–7] identify him as bishop of Tarōn before becoming catholicos. By tradition he is thought to have held office between 610 and 628 CE, 18 rather than 8 years.

<sup>149</sup> YD XVII.27–30 [74.20–75.7]. Sebēos 37 [121.5–9] reports that the original construction had been built by Sahak and demolished by Komitas. In this instance, the compression alters the original meaning.

the people.<sup>150</sup> The name of the first was *Moral Instruction*, and the name of the second, *Root of Faith*, and the name of the third, *Noyemak*.<sup>151</sup>

And the lord K'ristap'or, an *azat* from the Abrahamean dignity, from the district of Apahunik', 6 years. They deposed this man from the throne because he caused trouble between the princes. Afterwards they said another reason.<sup>152</sup>

Lord Ezzr, from the district of Nig, from the village of P'aražnakert, for 10 years.<sup>153</sup> He met with Heraclius in the city of Karin, but instead of bringing with himself Yovhan, the sacristan of St Grigor, who was at that time the most accomplished in his knowledge of the holy Scriptures, he took with him someone incomplete in knowledge.<sup>154</sup> And on arriving at the council, Heraclius sought from him a statement of faith. Then they, being ignorant of the holy Scriptures, were deceived by the cunning of the Greeks, condemned all heretics except for those of the Council of Chalcedon; they took communion in accordance with their rites and returned in magnificent splendour. He took possession of Kolb instead of the faith. The clergy of the church went out to meet him [88], but Yovhan did not go out. And when Ezzr reproached him, he denounced him, saying: 'May God preserve me from participating in communion with one who has demolished the wall of faith.' And then, having conducted him forcibly into his chamber, Ezzr said: 'Why, being resistant

<sup>150</sup> *č'ënduneloy žolovrdeann*, rejected by the assembly or community of the faithful; the exact circumstances in which they were repudiated are not discussed.

<sup>151</sup> Mardirossian, *Livre des canons*, 258–63 and 591–2. Of the three works, *Hawatarmat*, *Root of Faith*, should be identified as *Knik' Hawatoy*, *Seal of Faith*, a seventh-century miaphysite florilegium previously ascribed to Komitas; *Narratio* §117 asserts that one of the works of Komitas was titled *Abartakam*, i.e. *Hawatarmat*, in Armenian. The first work, *Xrat varuc'*, *Moral Instruction*, a collection of twenty-three homilies and ten other items, was traditionally ascribed to Yovhannēs Mandakuni. For a thorough exposition, see Mardirossian, *Livre des canons*, 261 and n. 28. As for the 'enigmatic' *Noyemak*, Mardirossian outlines two solutions proposed by van Esbroeck before advancing a third, that it comprised the first nine canons of Yovhannēs Mandakuni. N. Polarean, *Hay grolner E-ŽE dar* (Jerusalem, 1971), 68–9, suggested that *Noyemak* was a corruption of *Hawatoy Namak* or *Letter of Faith*, yet another variant for the collection bearing the title *Root* or *Seal of Faith*. This seems less likely, and perhaps simply *Book of Noah* should be preferred.

<sup>152</sup> YD XVII.34–5 [75.19–24 and 76.4]; Sebēos 40 [129.7–8]. Neither YD nor Sebēos record that he came from the district of Apahunik', nor do they add the intriguing comment that there was debate over exactly why he was deposed. Sebēos [129.10–11] suggests that he stirred up trouble between the *aspēt*, Varaztiroc' Bagratuni, and his brother, but the details are not recorded. For *barjēn*, dignity, read *tanēn*, house, as at Sebēos 129.7–8; in other words, K'ristap'or was related to Abraham, the predecessor of Komitas. By tradition, he is thought to have held office between 628 and 630 CE.

<sup>153</sup> YD XVII.38 [76.12–14] and XIX.11 [82.26–7] for the two specific details. By tradition he is thought to have held office between 630 and 641 CE.

<sup>154</sup> This is Yovhan Mayragomec'i who, one might conjecture, had ambitions to succeed Komitas, ambitions which might well have been realized but for the sudden and complete collapse of the regime of Xosrov II in autumn 627, culminating in his attempted flight, arrest, and execution on 28 February 628. The very year that Komitas died, therefore, coincided with a dramatic revival in the fortunes of Heraclius and hence the influence of the Imperial church: Mardirossian, *Livre des canons*, 257.

and defiant, do you not see us?’ And [694] he said: ‘There is no insolence in me but I want to be an advocate of the truth. You rightly have been called E<sup>z</sup>r because being removed to the edge, you have divided us Armenians; you have undone the definition of faith of the fathers and breached the apostolic wall, overthrown in the Tome of Leo which denied the divinity of Christ.’ And when he had said this, he left his presence in disgrace. And he went and settled in Mayroyvank’. E<sup>z</sup>r expelled him from here and he called the place Mayroygom and Yovhan Mayrogomec’i. Then he went to Gardman; there he completed his life in apostolic fashion. It was rumoured in relation to him that he introduced a heresy into the church; it was not him but one of his pupils named Sargis who did that, whom Yovhan dismissed from himself.<sup>155</sup>

Now after David Saharuni, T’ëodoros Rštuni became prince of Armenia, 25 years.<sup>156</sup>

And after E<sup>z</sup>r, Nersēs, bishop of Tayk’, succeeded to the throne.<sup>157</sup> He built the martyrium of St Grigor over the pit at Artašat and another glorious church of St Grigor [89] on the rough ground of Vałaršapat, with varied decoration.<sup>158</sup>

At this time, the *amirapet* of the Arabs left the desert of Sin with a huge force, and crossed by sea into the south-eastern region, to Sind, to Persia, to Sagastan, and to Srman and to Hndik’. And he destroyed and enslaved all the kingdoms completely except for the Romans.<sup>159</sup> When T’ëodoros, lord of Rštunik’, who was commander of Armenia, saw this, he and others of the same opinion abandoned the emperor and submitted to the Arabs. Then the emperor Constans, grandson of Heraclius, in great anger, advanced to Armenia; he boasted that he would purge [it] thoroughly. The patriarch Nersēs went out to meet him and induced him to reconciliation. And when

<sup>155</sup> This long section is a summary of YD XVIII.8–30 [77.11–80.6], apart from the statement that E<sup>z</sup>r met Heraclius in Karin/Theodosiopolis, which is not in YD or Sebēos but is found in the *Anonymous Chronicle*: P’ilon Tirakac’i, *Žamanakagrut’iwn*, 966.381. It also appears in Yovhannēs Ōjncēi’s study of Armenian church councils composed in the context of the Synod of Manazkert in 726 CE: *GT* I, 221.32–222.3; *GT* II, 475.21–30.

<sup>156</sup> Although the sequence is correct, T’ëodoros Rštuni was not prince of Armenia for 25 years. Sebēos 41 [134.2–6] records the eclipse of David Saharuni and the defensive measures employed by T’ëodoros, probably in 640 CE; Sebēos 52 [174.25–8] reports his death, probably in early 655, giving a total of 15 years.

<sup>157</sup> YD XIX.12 [83.1–5]. By tradition Nersēs III is thought to have held office between 641 and 661 CE.

<sup>158</sup> The martyrium dedicated to St Grigor: YD XIX.15 [83.13–15] but without recording its location at Artašat. The second foundation dedicated to St Grigor, on rough ground, *araparin*: YD XIX.16 [83.22–6], but without recording its location at Vałaršapat. Sebēos 45 [147.21–31] also situates it at Vałaršapat and refers to *zamenayn vayrsn arapar*, all the rough ground. This, however, is the famous church dedicated to the Heavenly Angels or Vigilant Ones, *Zuart’noc*: see Agat’angelos §262 and R. W. Thomson, *The Teaching of Saint Gregory*, AVANT 1 (New Rochelle, NY, 2001), 64–5 and n. 13. See also III.47 and n. 633.

<sup>159</sup> YD XIX.20–1 [84.13–24], except that Step’anos reads Srman instead of Muran, Taran, and Makuran. The Arab conquests are treated briefly and dispassionately.

they arrived together at the city of Dvin, the emperor commanded [695] to Roman priests to celebrate the sacrament in the churches. And the emperor and the catholicos participated in the communion together.<sup>160</sup> Many were offended at this because for eight days the emperor was in council in accordance with his custom, and at the time of the communion meal the *azats* of Armenia in front of him were treated with contempt.<sup>161</sup>

Then the emperor went to Constantinople, leaving [some] from his forces as guardians of this country of Armenia.<sup>162</sup>

And then the rebellious dragon, the execrable devil, the beast that contends with God did not rest from the wickedness of his villainous intentions but with his never-sleeping eye he contemplated within himself [90] in order to provoke persecution against the churches of God which are in this country of Armenia. For in the years of the reign of Constans, son of Constantine, grandson of Heraclius, he put into effect the innate wickedness of his sorcery in order to muddy the faith of the children of the church and he employed as his accomplices the forces of the Greeks who were in this country of Armenia. For the Armenians had never accepted the Roman [practice] in the sharing of the body and blood of the Lord. Now they wrote an accusation to Constantinople, to king Constans, and to the patriarch: 'We are considered as impious in this country because they consider the Council of Chalcedon and the Tome of Leo as improper to Christ God, and they condemn them and everyone who thinks about faith is in accordance with them.'<sup>163</sup>

Then the king, together with the patriarch ordered that an edict be written to Armenia, to the pious catholicos of Armenia Nersēs and to all the bishops and to the great T'ēodoros, lord of Rštunik', who was prince of this country and commander of the forces and to all the princes of this country, that they should carry out a union of faith with the Romans and that they should not despise that Council and the Tome.<sup>164</sup> And if anyone from the princes should be found who resisted the command [696] he was to be removed from his

<sup>160</sup> This appears to be a summary of YD XIX.27–32 [85.24–86.16], except that the character of Constans II has been revised and given a decidedly hostile spin. At the same time, the treachery of T'ēodoros Rštuni, previously interpreted in terms of making a pact with death and an alliance with hell, has been reformulated in neutral terms. See Introduction n. 193.

<sup>161</sup> Intriguingly, both YD XIX.32–3 [86.16–20] and Sebēos 49 [167.12–16 and 28–30] describe how the bishops participated in the sacrament with Constans II and catholicos Nersēs III in Dvin in 653; they do not comment on the treatment of the *azats* in attendance, or indeed their presence.

<sup>162</sup> Although YD XIX.41 [87.18–19] and Sebēos 49 [168.33–5] note the hasty departure of Constans II for Constantinople, neither refers to the appointment of *verakac'us*, guardians. Sebēos 49 [168.34–5] reports that Morianos was made prince of Armenia with an Armenian force.

<sup>163</sup> This passage has been lifted almost verbatim from Sebēos 45 [147.732–148.8]; it is not found in YD. Its place in the narrative has been altered, however. Following Sebēos, these events occurred before the visit of Constans II to Dvin in 653 rather than afterwards.

<sup>164</sup> This passage combines two short notices: Sebēos 45 [148.8–11 and 14–16].

honour and office of prince and they were to take possession of all his belongings for the royal treasury and that he was to be conveyed to the court of kings, there he was to [91] make reply.<sup>165</sup> And there was there a man from the district of Bagrewand, from the village of Baguan,<sup>166</sup> who had studied the science of philosophy, and his name was David. He ordered him to be sent to Armenia so that he might go and put an end to the opposition and might bring about union.<sup>167</sup>

All the bishops and all the princes of the country gathered at the city of Dvin around the Christ-loving and truth-relating catholicos of Armenia Nersēs and the pious prince of the country and the commander of Armenia, T‘ēodoros Saharuni *patrik*, who was lord of Rštunik<sup>168</sup>; and they saw the command of the king and they heard the statements from the philosopher who taught the doctrine of two natures by way of separation in accordance with the Council of Chalcedon. And when they heard, they refused to alter the true doctrine of St Grigor [to conform] with the Tome of Leo. It seemed right to everyone to respond to the statements and to demonstrate the solidity of the foundation of their true faith which they had previously taken from their own native *vardapets*. Everyone raised a shout and said, ‘It would be better for us to die than to exchange the doctrine of St Grigor for that of the Council of Chalcedon and the Tome of Leo.’<sup>169</sup>

‘To all of us who wished to observe the true path of faith this seems to be true. The Apostle said, [92] “Now I implore first before anything else, to make prayers, supplications, entreaties, and thanksgiving on account of all men, especially for kings and all princes so that in peace and tranquillity we may conduct our lives in a pious and holy fashion.”<sup>170</sup>

<sup>165</sup> This sentence, threatening loss of office, possessions, and liberty, is not to be found in Sebēos’ narrative. Arguably it was devised and inserted by Step’anos himself.

<sup>166</sup> Baguan in manuscripts A, B, C, and O; Manukyan prefers Bagwan. This refers to Bagawan, an important pagan site.

<sup>167</sup> This is lifted from Sebēos 45 [148.11–14], with the exception of the final phrase which repeats the previously expressed ambition for union between the churches.

<sup>168</sup> Sebēos 45 [148.14–16], except that Nersēs is not described in that *History* as truth-relating, *čsmartapatum*, and T‘ēodoros is wrongly called Saharuni as well as Rštuni. Whilst the second of these is probably a scribal error, the first seems to reflect the intervention of Step’anos. A subsequent description of Nersēs in Sebēos’ narrative is far from complimentary. Sebēos 49 [167.4–22] recalls how he kept the bitter poison (of his acceptance of the Council of Chalcedon) hidden in heart; how he perverted the true faith of St Grigor, which all his predecessors had preserved on a solid foundation from the time of St Grigor; how he muddied the pure waters (of the Armenian confession of faith) and betrayed the bishops one by one. This positive portrait of Nersēs III is therefore surprising.

<sup>169</sup> This section is not found in Sebēos. Significantly, it promotes the role that *vardapets* played in teaching and preserving correct doctrine. It also depicts in dramatic fashion a unanimous rejection of Chalcedon.

<sup>170</sup> This too is not found in Sebēos. It stresses the ‘true path’ of faith and then cites 1Tim. 2:1–2 in full. The Apostle is Paul.



'Now although our unworthiness is considerable, yet we try hard to accomplish what was commanded to us—to pray for all mankind but above all for the glory of your majesty that is acceptable to God and for all princes and forces and the whole of [697] your divinely protected palace in which the love of God dwells completely, and the grace of divine favour upon you is evident to everyone. For behold, your kingdom is greater and more powerful than all kingdoms, which is crowned not by the hand of man but by the right hand of God, which no one shall ever be able to replace except for the kingdom of Christ.<sup>171</sup> The holy and true office of chief priest, filled with divine grace, the nobles and Christ-loving forces, and the whole multitude of your peoples, [are] the people of Christ God and we, who have been exalted in the light of your glory, God-loving majesty, we have stood and remained with an unshakeable faith next to the venomous and cruel and impious Persian kings.<sup>172</sup> For when they took away the kingdom, they destroyed all the nobles and forces of this country, they slew men and [93] women with the sword, and led away into captivity the masses from cities and villages, brandishing the sword over those who remained; on many occasions they attempted to convert to corruption but they were unable to shake them. Furthermore, even the impious ones were confounded in their vanity because the sign of the Christian faith is more powerful than all the kingdoms of pagans, until the time when the impious king Kawat gave an order, and after him his son Xosrov, that "Each individual shall have his own faith and from henceforth may no one presume to harass the Armenians. All our servants let them serve us in body [but] as for souls, the one who judges souls, he shall know, and they."<sup>173</sup>

"Then again in the days of Xosrov, son of Ormizd, after the capture of Jerusalem, king Xosrov gave an order to assemble all the bishops of the regions of the east and Assyria at the royal court. "I hear", he said, "that there are two parties of Christians, and the one condemns the other, that they are not reckoned to be righteous. Now let them all be gathered together in one place." And all the bishops and priests and all the believers of these parties were assembled there.<sup>174</sup> And he appointed over them as governors Smbat Bagratuni, named Xosrovšnum, and the chief doctor of the court. There was there in captivity Zak'aria, patriarch [94] of Jerusalem, and [698] many other

<sup>171</sup> With the exception of the opening phrase proclaiming their own unworthiness, this passage is closely modelled on Sebēos 45 [148.30–149.6].

<sup>172</sup> Again this is lifted almost verbatim from Sebēos 45 [149.6–10]; *bazmut'iwn amenayn žolovrdoc'd*, the whole multitude of your people, is additional.

<sup>173</sup> This is closely modelled on Sebēos 45 [149.10–18]. However, the description of violent persecution at the hands of the Persians, both for the inhabitants of cities and villages, is not found in Sebēos' account, nor is the power of the sign of the Cross stressed.

<sup>174</sup> This repeats Sebēos 45 [149.19–25]. For discussion of this debate, see T. W. Greenwood 'Oversight, Influence and Mesopotamian Connections to Armenia across the Sasanian and Early Islamic Periods', in *Mesopotamia in the Ancient World: Impact, Continuities, Parallels*, ed. R. Rollinger and E. van Dongen, Melammu Symposia 7 (Münster, 2014), 516–21.

philosophers, those who had been taken captive from the city of Alexandria. King Xosrov gave an order to them to consider impartially and to reveal to the king the orthodox and true [faith]. And when everyone was gathered in the hall of the court, there was contention and much noise because some were orthodox in faith, with written records and with the seal of ancient kings, fully consistent with the faith of the country of Armenia.<sup>175</sup> And some were Nestorians and others Severans and there was a multitude of muddled sects.<sup>176</sup> Moreover, the head of the Jews [*hrēapet*] with his compatriots advanced and made an accusation in accordance with their usual practices, “That man should not be called God.” They relayed these words to the king. The king said, “By whose command did that man come into that place? Now let him be beaten with a stick and let him go to his own place.” [He dismissed] in the same way the multitude of other sects. But he ordered only [the Councils] of Nicaea and Constantinople and Ephesus and Chalcedon to be investigated.<sup>177</sup>

Two men happened to be there at that time, bishops from the country of Armenia, faithful men who had been sent in connection with the oppression of the country, so that they might inform the king, Komitas, bishop of Mamikoneayk', and Matt'ēos of Amatunik'. And they had, ready in their possession, the history of St Grigor and other doctrinal treatises.<sup>178</sup> And the king [95] ordered them to be asked in the days of which kings did these councils take place. They said, “The Council of Nicaea took place in the time of Constantine. That of Constantinople, in the time of Theodosius the Great. That of Ephesus, in the time of Theodosius the Less. That of Chalcedon in the time of Marcian.” The king responded and said, [699] “The commands of three kings seem to be more true than [those] of one.” And when the king had understood through a document about Nestorius, namely who he was, from where, at which council, what he had spoken, and how things had turned out for him, he commanded the Nestorians to be removed outside the tribunal.<sup>179</sup>

Similarly in connection with the Council of Chalcedon, he asked who were the leaders and why that council had occurred. And they explained everything to him and said, “At Nicaea and at Constantinople, the kings Constantine and

<sup>175</sup> This copies Sebēos 45 [149.25–30], with the addition of the final phrase, ‘fully consistent with the faith of the country of Armenia’. This stresses the point.

<sup>176</sup> This follows Sebēos 45 [149.33–150.1], but adds *ew omank' Seweritk'*, and others [were] Severans, i.e. followers of Severus of Antioch, the principal miaphysite theologian of the sixth century. Since his was the position espoused by the Armenian orthodox, this is a most surprising addition.

<sup>177</sup> Sebēos 45 [150.1–7].

<sup>178</sup> This repeats Sebēos 45 [150.8–12], but adds the phrase, *ayl ews vardapetakan patmut'iwns*, other doctrinal treatises, implying that the History of St Grigor (probably a version of Agat'angelos, a text which addresses only Nicaea) was insufficient.

<sup>179</sup> This reiterates Sebēos 45 [150.12–20], but inserts the compelling phrases *grov*, through a document, and *orpēs elew nma*, how things had turned out for him.

Theodosius the Great were themselves [the leaders]; but at Ephesus it was Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, and at Chalcedon one bishop Theodoret, who spoke the [views] of Nestorius and a catholicos named Anna and other bishops and many priests from his jurisdiction, from Aruastan, from the region Xužastan, and from other countries [were the leaders].”

“Therefore king Xosrov gave the command to demolish [96] all their churches.<sup>180</sup> “If [the council] of Chalcedon had been admissible,’ he said, ‘then why did it not dispatch letters? And I had considered it as true but it is outside the three holy councils.”<sup>181</sup> And he threatened everyone with the sword, to kill them if they would not turn from their error and follow the royal path.<sup>182</sup>

“Then he commanded that there should be a disputation with those of Chalcedon, Viroy,<sup>183</sup> the catholicos of Albania, who was in P'aytakaran, at the royal court, and certain other bishops and priests of cities who were from the sector of the Greeks, and the princes, those who had come into the service of the king of Persia.<sup>184</sup> And then he requested a deed from the leaders<sup>185</sup> of both parties concerning [the Council] of Nicaea, which was in the time of Constantine, and [the Council] of Constantinople, which was in the time of Theodosius the Great, and [the Council] of Ephesus, which was in the time of Theodosius the Less, and [the Council] of Chalcedon, which was in the time of Marcian. And [700] having scrutinized everything and formed an opinion, he said “Why did these not say two natures by separation, like these? It is clear that it is necessary to divide ourselves into two, to say two kingdoms, and not one. For if anyone investigates the hypostasis, I myself am from two natures, whether from father and mother, or from soul and body. But the Divinity, who is in every place, if He is not able to be whatever he wishes [97] or to do whatever he wants, then what is the Divinity?”<sup>186</sup>

“Therefore he ordered Zak'aria, the patriarch of Jerusalem, to be questioned and many others, those whom he had brought from the city of Alexandria, “Whichever is the true one, identify the legitimate with an oath.” And they

<sup>180</sup> This copies Sebēos 45 [150.20–9], except that Step'anos names the catholicos Anna, i.e. Hanan, not Eran.

<sup>181</sup> This direct speech is not found in Sebēos. It reinforces the distinction between the first three councils and Chalcedon, suggesting that Xosrov's decision was made on the basis of written evidence.

<sup>182</sup> This reproduces Sebēos 45 [150.29–30].

<sup>183</sup> Although Malxaseanc' read *Iverioy*, Viroy should be preferred. For Viroy's attendance at the royal court, see MD II.14 [150.1–151.4].

<sup>184</sup> This reiterates Sebēos 45 [150.31–151.1]. For disputation, *p'ayk'ar*, cf. Sebēos, *zēp'ayk'arn* with *zēp'ak'arn* in manuscripts A and D; *zēč'č'p'ak'arn* and *zēč'p'ak'arn* in C, E, and O: ST II, 699.138 and n. 36. Clearly the original *et'Ĺ*, was transformed into a *č'a*, *č*.

<sup>185</sup> *teranc'*, lords, but here with the sense of clerical lords, church leaders.

<sup>186</sup> This reproduces Sebēos 45 [151.1–12], with the addition of the phrase ‘If anyone investigates the hypostasis...’

replied saying, “If we had not approached God in error, in his anger He would not have brought turned against us. But now, intimidated by God, we shall say the truth before you. The true faith is that which was declared at Nicaea in the time of the blessed Constantine and the Councils of Constantinople and Ephesus are consistent with the same. And the faith of the Armenians truly conforms to these. But the statement of Chalcedon is not identical to these, as your Beneficence has appreciated.”<sup>187</sup>

‘And the king gave an order for a search to be made of the treasures of the king and they investigated and found papers written in connection with the true faith, which were in agreement with the faith of this country of Armenia which had been sealed with the ring of king Kawat and his son Xosrov. At this, king Xosrov also commanded, “All Christians, those who are under my authority, shall hold the faith of the Armenians.” And those who were reconciled to the faith of the Armenians: from the regions of Assyria included the metropolitan Kayēšov [98] and another ten bishops and agreeing with these the pious queen Širin and the valiant Smbat and the great chief doctor. King Xosrov ordered the transcript of the orthodox confession to be sealed with his ring and to be deposited in the royal treasury.”<sup>188</sup>

‘Now because God has removed us from the powers of darkness and rendered us worthy [701] of service to your majesty, a citizen of heaven, how much more worthy is it for us to enjoy peace, and we must pray and entreat from Christ God for you, pious and Christ-loving majesty, that you are and will remain secure and unshaken for ever, as the days of heaven upon earth.’<sup>189</sup>

Now after the departure of the emperor, Nersēs was frightened at the fury of the princes and fled to Tayk’, his native district. After six years, when the commander T’ēodoros had died, he returned to Armenia.<sup>190</sup>

In these days, when T’ēodoros Rštuni was prince, in 86 of the Era, the first irruption of the Arabs into Armenia occurred, at the command of Omar *amir-al-mumin*, who was second from Muḥammad.<sup>191</sup> And in 95 of the Era,

<sup>187</sup> This repeats Sebēos 45 [151.13–22].

<sup>188</sup> This reproduces Sebēos 45 [151.23–33], except that Sebēos reports that they found *greal zNikiayn hawats ēšmarit*, written down the true faith of Nicaea, whereas Step’anos reads *greal i veray hawats ēšmarits*. This looks to be a scribal error. For the metropolitan Kamyišoy/Qamishō’ and the identities of the ten other bishops, see Greenwood, ‘Oversight’, 517–19.

<sup>189</sup> This repeats Sebēos 45 [151.34–9].

<sup>190</sup> YD XIX.41–42 and 45 [87.18–22 and 88.4–6]. The narrative reverts to the aftermath of Constans II’s visit to Dvin in 653. This passage implies that Nersēs was in hiding for six years, from 653 until 659. It is worth noting, however, that T’ēodoros probably died in 655 (Sebēos 52 [174.25–8]), suggesting that the six years should be counted from 649, and that Nersēs returned from Tayk’ as soon as the new client of Constans II, Hamazasp Mamikonean, had secured Armenia.

<sup>191</sup> Mahmēt. AE 86: 20.vi.637–19.vi.638. This is too early. It is contradicted by Sebēos 42 [138.8–139.3], which records that the first Arab raid, which struck deep into Armenia and resulted in the sack of Dvin, with 35,000 captives, took place in autumn 640. Intriguingly, the two

the Arabs came again with a huge force, took the city of Dvin and the number of captives was 35,000.<sup>192</sup> And then they ruled Armenia, Iberia, and Albania.

Then this country of Armenia completely rejected the Arabs [99] and submitted to the emperor and at the request of Nersēs, Hamazasp became governor of Armenia, in 104 of the Era.<sup>193</sup> When the caliph heard this, he was enraged and massacred the Armenian hostages, about 1775 souls.<sup>194</sup> And straightaway he himself died at the hands of his own forces.<sup>195</sup> And the army of Ismael which was in Egypt, was reconciled to the emperor and believed in Christ and 16,000 were baptized.<sup>196</sup>

Then at the death of Hamazasp, Nersēs, along with the nobles, asked the caliph to appoint as prince of Armenia Grigor Mamikonean, brother of Hamazasp who was a hostage near to him.<sup>197</sup> And he built the cathedral which is at Aruč.<sup>198</sup>

Then when Nersēs had lasted 10 years, Anastas succeeded to the throne, in 120 of the Era, who was the head of the household of Nersēs, from the district of Maseac'otn, from the village of Akoii, who adorned the

earlier notices dated by reference to the Armenian Era also refer to Arab activities; cf. with MD III.15 [316.15–317.11], the first of a series of six chapters at the end of the *History of Aḥuank'*, which appear to derive from a chronicle of some kind whose entries are dated by reference to the Armenian Era. It opens with the Arab conquests; its earliest date is AE 80: 22.vi.631–20.vi.632.

<sup>192</sup> AE 95: 18.vi.646–17.vi.647. Again this notice is awry and is contradicted by Sebēos, whose sequence should be preferred. Here Step'anos records the events of the first raid but identifies them with the second. Step'anos did not exploit Sebēos, therefore, for this passage. YD XIX.10 [82.12–25] does report the Dvin assault, but this is the only raid to be described. Lewond's *History* not only reports three raids but also alters their sequence, as here; see Greenwood, 'Reassessment of the *History* of Lewond', 133–40.

<sup>193</sup> *hramanatar*, governor. 104 AE: 16.vi.655–14.vi.656. This date suits the context of his appointment as prince of Armenia recorded in Sebēos 52 [175.8–12]. In a previous passage in the same chapter [174.30–2], Hamazasp is described as *ayr arak'ini yamenayn dēms*, virtuous in every respect, and *ēnt'erc'asēr ew usumnasēr*, a lover of reading and learning. For his intellectual interests, see T. W. Greenwood, 'A Reassessment of the Life and Mathematical Problems of Anania Širakac'i', *REArm* 33 (2011), 157–9.

<sup>194</sup> YD XIX.49–50 [88.24–89.5] although no date is given. *amirapet*, caliph.

<sup>195</sup> This refers to the murder of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān in 656 CE in Medina: YD XIX.51 [89.10–11].

<sup>196</sup> YD XIX.52 [89.11–14]; cf. Sebēos 52 [176.7–15], which records the same episode but gives a figure of 15,000.

<sup>197</sup> *Amirpet*: Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān (661–80). The circumstances under which Hamazasp died are unknown, but it seems likely that as the principal client of Constans II in Armenia—and hence a vital link in the chain of Byzantine clients stretching east across Albania into northern Iran—he did not outlive the end of the civil war by more than a few months, as Mu'āwiya sought to reassert control over the northern territories of the caliphate. YD XX.1–2 [89.19–26] offers a similar account but omits the family relationship between Hamazasp and Grigor.

<sup>198</sup> YD XX.9 [90.24–91.1]. The inscription at the church of Aruč confirms Grigor's role: Greenwood 'Corpus', 67, 73–4, and A11.

church of Akoři [702] with an elegant building.<sup>199</sup> In his days St David was converted.<sup>200</sup>

Then Anastas decided to arrange a fixed calendar for us Armenians, in accordance with other peoples. And he commanded Anania Širakac'i to establish an excellent chronology [*k'ronikon*] through which he established a fixed calendar for us. And Anastas intended to gain approval for the chronology through a council and the bishops but he died having occupied the throne for 6 years.<sup>201</sup> In his days also there was P'ilon Tirakac'i, who translated the history of Socrates into the Armenian language.<sup>202</sup>

[100] And after him lord Israyēl from the district of Vanand from the village of Ut'mus, 10 years.<sup>203</sup>

And after him lord Sahak, who was from Jorap'or from the village of Ark'unašēn, 25 years.<sup>204</sup> In his 5th year the prince Grigor fought against the Khazars and he died in 130 of the Era.<sup>205</sup>

<sup>199</sup> A summary of YD XX.5–8 and 11 [90.8–23 and 91.4–17]. Nersēs III *šinot* 'the builder' is usually considered to have had a patriarchate of 20 years (641–61 CE), not 10. AE 120: 12. vi.671–10. vi.672. This is also ten years out. If the text had originally read 20 years for Nersēs and 110 AE (14. vi.661–13. vi.662), the dates would be correct. This could be an error by transposition. *senekapet*, head of the household.

<sup>200</sup> YD XX.12–14 [91.22–92.10] for the conversion of David; for his martyrdom, see n. 217.

<sup>201</sup> This notice is based on YD XX.15–17 [92.11–26], but there are two significant differences. YD calls Anania Anec'i, of Ani, whilst Step'anos prefers Širakac'i, of Širak. YD does not refer to the K'nnikon or K'ronikon, which Step'anos seems to have understood as the title of a work on chronology. Unlike YD, therefore, Step'anos connects Anania with a specific composition of high repute, revealing that he had additional knowledge. For a discussion, see J.-P. Mahé, 'Quadrivium et cursus d'études au VII<sup>e</sup> siècle en Arménie et dans le monde byzantin d'après le K'nnikon d'Anania Širakac'i', *TM* 10 (1987), 168–70, and Greenwood, 'Anania', 131–7. By tradition, Anastas is thought to have held office between 661 and 667 CE.

<sup>202</sup> This is not found in YD. The *Ecclesiastical History* of Socrates Scholasticus was translated into Armenian on at least two occasions. A colophon attached to the oldest manuscript of the first, original translation (S1) in fact records the circumstances surrounding the second translation (S2) by P'ilon Tirakac'i in 695/6 CE. See Thomson, *Socrates*, 9–12 and 35–40. P'ilon may also have been responsible for compiling the *Anonymous Chronicle*: Greenwood, 'New Light', 249; H. Bart'ikyan, 'P'ilon Tirakac'in ew ir zamanakagrut'iwnē', in *Matenagirk' Hayoc' 7th Century*, vol. 5 (Ant'lias, 2005), 899–900. It is unclear why Step'anos associated the translation of this text with the patriarchate of Anastas. Even with the confused chronology, Anastas had died almost twenty years before.

<sup>203</sup> YD XX.18 and 20 [93.1–3 and 6–7]. Once again the notices are separated in YD, who also omits the reference to Vanand. By tradition he is thought to have held office between 667 and 677 CE.

<sup>204</sup> YD XX.21 and XXI.15 [93.8–11 and 97.17–19]. YD suggests 27 rather than 25 years. By tradition he is thought to have held office between c.677 and 703.

<sup>205</sup> YD XX.23 [93.13–17], placing the battle in the seventh year of Sahak (683/4) rather than an Armenian Era date. AE 130: 9. vi.681–8. vi.682. Fifth year of Sahak: 681/2 CE; again the familiar misreading of the numerals 5 and 7 (Ե and Է) may explain this discrepancy. According to the final notice in the *Anonymous Chronicle*, the prince of Armenia was killed by the Khazars in the first year of Justinian II, on the tenth day of the month of *sahmi*, in the year 134 AE, i.e. 15 August 685: P'ilon Tirakac'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 969.415. Constantine IV died on 10 July 685 or early September 685: P. Grierson, 'Tombs and Obits of Byzantine Emperors', *DOP* 16 (1962), 50.

And in 135 of the Era, Ašot Bagratuni became prince of Armenia, for 3 years.<sup>206</sup> Because in 134 of the Era, the forces of the north, who are the Khazars, seized control of Armenia, Iberia, and Albania and they killed in battle the prince of Armenia and [the prince] of Iberia.<sup>207</sup> Then Justinian in the third year of his reign sent a huge force to Armenia. They ravaged 25 districts with fire and captivity and they captured and sold 8000 families. And in another year, he sent another force of 40,000.<sup>208</sup>

And there was great turbulence in this country of Armenia because from the south-east an Arab force came and captured several districts. Then Ašot, the prince of Armenia, went to fight against the Arab [force] and was killed in the battle. Then some from the Armenian princes surrendered themselves to the forces of the Arabs.<sup>209</sup>

Then, at the coming of his fourth year, Justinian himself set out with an immense force; he came to one region of Armenia, to the mountain which is called Arartak, and dividing his forces into three, he dispatched to Armenia, to Iberia, and to Albania.<sup>210</sup> And he summoned [101] to himself all [703] the princes of these countries, and they attended upon him, not out of will but under compulsion. Then he took certain princes with him and demanded the sons of certain others as hostages; with them he also held Sahak, catholicos of Armenia, with 5 bishops under arrest, close to himself.<sup>211</sup> He honoured certain

<sup>206</sup> AE 135: 8.vi.686–7.vi.687. This sequence and period is supported by Łewond 5 [16.11–13 and 17.26–18.1] and contradicted by YD XX.24 [93.21–2], which identifies Smbat Bagratuni son of Smbat as Grigor's immediate successor. Dulaurier's footnotes for this chapter come to an end at this point: Dulaurier, *Histoire universelle*, 193.

<sup>207</sup> This is a rare example of a double entry for the same event; see n. 205. Here the date offered matches that in the *Anonymous Chronicle*. Evidently Step'anos was exploiting at least two different sources at this juncture and failed to appreciate that they were reporting the same episode under different dates.

<sup>208</sup> This is not found in YD. Łewond 5 [17.6–13] reports a campaign in the second year of Justinian II but does not supply any specific details. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1883–5), 363, records that in AM 6178 (685/6) and his first year, Justinian II directed an army under the command of *strategos* Leontios against Armenia, again without further details. These figures are not otherwise attested. For recent commentary, see Martin-Hisard, *Łewond Vardapet Discours historique*, 34 and nn. 201–2.

<sup>209</sup> Łewond 5 [17.26–18.24] reports an Arab raiding party moving into Armenia, apparently from the south-east, and the death of Ašot in battle. There is no reference to Armenians surrendering, either in this or any other extant source.

<sup>210</sup> Fourth year: September 688/9. The mountain of Arartak: a misreading of Ararat? The division of a raiding force into three is a familiar literary motif in Armenian historiography; see e.g. Sebēos 44 [145.6–8], which was borrowed and transformed in Łewond 3[11.5–14]; Greenwood, 'Reassessment of the *History of Łewond*', 135–6. The division reported here seems highly improbable from a strategic perspective and is contradicted by the next sentence, which has the princes of these countries apparently attending upon the emperor.

<sup>211</sup> For the use of hostages, see n. 194. *Narratio* §§144–6 confirms that negotiations with catholicos Sahak III took place, although it dates the meeting to the fifth year of Justinian and adds that Sahak and his bishops assembled in Constantinople. There they accepted a dyophysite confession of faith and swore in writing that they would no longer contest this. On their return to Armenia, however, they encountered opposition from, it appears, fellow bishops; the latter

princes with imperial presents and he appointed as princes of the countries Nersēh, lord of Širak, count [*koms*] of Kopoytirk', as prince of Armenia<sup>212</sup> and Varazdat *patrik ēk'sarxos*, who was second to the king, as prince of Albania,<sup>213</sup> and a force of 30,000 in support of the princes, and he himself returned to Constantinople.

threatened to break away unless Sahak and his colleagues repudiated their agreement with the imperial church and reverted to their earlier position, anathematizing the dyophysite confession once more. Unlike the *Narratio*, Step'anos implies that Sahak travelled with the other hostages under duress. Evidently Step'anos had access to another source for this notice, arguably one which had a lay rather than an ecclesiastical focus. There is no hint in Step'anos' version of events of negotiations involving Sahak, let alone reconciliation with the imperial church.

<sup>212</sup> Nersēh Kamsarakan. No Kamsarakan family history has survived, and this significant family does not feature prominently in the works of either Lewond or YD. It is possible, however, to reconstruct something of the life and career of this individual through one inscription, one colophon, and this reference. The undated inscription at T'alın refers to Nersēh *apohipat, pa [trik]*, lord of Širak and Ašarunik': Greenwood, 'Corpus', 64–70, 74, and A12. The colophon is attached to the second translation of the *Ecclesiastical History* of Socrates Scholasticus (S2) and dated 695/6: 'In the year 6204 of th[is] transitory existence, as the chronography of St Sophia has, the senior church of the universal metropolis Constantinople, and in the 704th year of the coming of Christ, and in 144 of the era, in the ninth indiction, in the first year of the reign of the second Leo, autocrator Augustus... O lord Nersēh *apiwhipat patrik*, you who are a builder of churches, may you always have peace from Christ, who is the giver of peace, may you constantly have the zeal of pious kings to perform pious labours for yourself, and may you never have occasion to wander from the paths of righteousness. And may you not be drawn and lead astray by opponents who will fall into ruin, but contemplating what is above may you evade assassins and pursue righteousness, faith, love, striving after eternal life, like the pious king Theodosius': Mat'evosyan, *Hišatakaraner*, no. 28; Thomson, *Socrates*, 9–12 and 35–40. The coincidence of the Byzantine titles awarded to Nersēh, *apo hypatōn* and *patrikios*, across both inscription and colophon is striking. Intriguingly, Step'anos does not credit him with these titles, identifying him instead as *koms* of Kopoytirk', found in all the manuscripts but corrected to Kapoytiroc' by Malxaseanc': ST I, 101.8 The fortress of Kapoyt was located close to the southern bank of the river Araxes in Aršarunik'.

<sup>213</sup> Varazdat: Varaz Trdat was the son of Varaz P'eroz and nephew of the great prince of Albania, Juanšēr, who was elected as successor to his uncle after the latter's murder in c.669 CE: Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, 119–20. Varaz Trdat held the titles of *apuhiwpat* and *patrik*, the same titles awarded to Nersēh Kamsarakan: MD II.36 [231.4–5]. It is unclear whether this was before his election, and one passage suggests that Varaz Trdat may have been little more than a child at his succession: MD II.42 [261.15–16], *barepašt ordeakn im Varaz Trdat*. The career of Varaz Trdat has not been studied in as much detail as that of his uncle and deserves more attention. MD III.12 [311.11–15] reveals that Varaz Trdat paid tribute to the Khazars, the Arabs, and the Romans simultaneously. This seems to echo the notice under AM 6178 in Theophanes, *Chronographia* 363, which describes Leontios imposing tax on Armenia, Iberia, Albania, Boukania, and Media; contrary to Mango and Scott, *Theophanes*, 507 and n. 4, Boukania should be understood as a corruption of Vaspurakan rather than a reference to the insignificant district of Bukha. At an unspecified date Varaz Trdat travelled to Constantinople with his sons, where he was arrested and detained for five years: MD III.12 [311.14–17]. His sons were held for a further twelve years, until the accession of Vardan Philippikos in November 711. Therefore it seems that Varaz Trdat was confined to Constantinople between c.695 and 699 CE. The title of *ἐξάρχος*, *exarchos*, is not otherwise attested in the east at this time, but it suggests that Justinian II was seeking to establish a third exarchate alongside those in North Africa and Italy.



And Nersēh Kamsarakan was prince of Armenia for 4 years.<sup>214</sup> And in his days, Grigoris *k'orepiskopos* of Aršarunik' sparkled in philosophical knowledge, who fashioned a commentary on the Lectionary at the request of Nersēh Kamsarakan.<sup>215</sup>

And after him, in 140 of the Era, Smbat Bagratuni Biwratean became prince of Armenia, 20 years.<sup>216</sup>

And a governor came to Armenia, whose name was Abdla; he seized the princes of Armenia and transported [them] to Damascus. St David was martyred by the same in the city of Dvin.<sup>217</sup> And in his days there was an engagement at Vardanakert, in which the army of Ismael was completely destroyed. And Ōkba the commander of the Arabs was driven back by the Kamsarakank' and went to give the bad news to the caliph.<sup>218</sup> He was enraged

<sup>214</sup> Four years: perhaps 689–93, although the colophon cited in n. 212 suggests that Nersēh was still in power in 695/6 CE. As observed previously, the chronology of prominent secular figures is erratic.

<sup>215</sup> G. Yovsep'ean, *Yišatakarak' jeragrac'* (Ant'ilia, 1951), no. 17 supplies a list of bishops of Aršarunik' and the house of Kamsarakan. The final name on the list is Grigoris, 33 years. The colophon adds that in AE 155 [3.vi.706–2.vi.707] 'Gagik Kamsrakan consecrated the church of Vardanakert and the news arrived that Šušan Kamsrakan the daughter of Vahan *patrik* had inherited the name of faith confessor for the sake of Christ God, having been tortured in Xa'ran of Mesopotamia. Another Grigoris, 7 years.' It is unclear whether there was one Grigoris who served as bishop of Aršarunik' for 33 years between c.673 and 706 CE, or perhaps 40 years, between 673 and 713, or if in fact there was a second figure, also called Grigoris, who succeeded the first, for seven years after AE 155. His commentary on the Lectionary survives, and both an edition and a French translation have been published. Finally, one Grigoris, *kor'episkopos* of Aršarunik', *k'ajin ew imastasiri ain p'ilisop'ayi*, a noble and learned philosopher, is described as leading the bishops who gathered for the Council of Manazkert in the month of *trē*, AE 175 (August/September 726 CE): *GT* I, 223.33–5; *GT* II, 478.12–14.

<sup>216</sup> AE 140: 7.vi.691–4.vi.692. This seems too early. YD XX.24 [93.21–2] refers to Smbat Bagratuni, son of Smbat, succeeding Grigor Mamikonean, but does not specify his years in office. Lewond 6 [19.6] refers to Smbat, son of Varaztiroc', but this seems highly improbable because the only individual named Smbat, son of Varaztiroc', features in the *History* attributed to Sebēos when he was made *spatharios* by Constans II in 645/6 CE. Lewond 8 [23.10–11] refers, more plausibly, to Smbat, son of Ašot. He may also be the same figure who features in Theophanes' *Chronographia* 366, at AM 6185, named Sabbatios patrikios of Armenia, who allegedly delivered Armenia into Arab control. According to MD III.17 [320.10–11], Smbat, prince of Armenia, died in AE 174 [29.v.725–28.v.726].

<sup>217</sup> This abbreviates YD XX.28–30 [94.7–24]. *ostikan*, governor. Abdla is not mentioned in any Armenian source but it is possible that he was 'Abd Allāh b. Hātim b. al-Nu'mān al-Bāhili.

<sup>218</sup> YD XXI.1–4 [95.5–20] adds that the Kamsarakan achieved the victory. In a brief notice, MD III.16 [319.1–2] notes that in the year after AE 153, the lord, *tēr*, of Širak was conveyed to Syria. AE 154: 3.vi.705–2.vi.706. This tallies with the highly informative colophon, translated in n. 215, which describes the consecration of a church at Vardanakert in AE 155 and the arrest, torture, and death of Šušan Kamsrakan, the daughter of Vahan *patrik* in Harran. Such reprisals would fit perfectly into the context of an unexpected Arab defeat at the hands of the Kamsarakan family. Intriguingly, this whole episode is entirely transformed in Lewond's *History*, at 8 [23.1–26.3], with Smbat Bagratuni being given the credit for the victory and all mention of Kamsarakan involvement displaced, apart from the action of one princess Šušan who, ironically, is portrayed as protecting the survivors from the Arab force, action for which she allegedly received high honours from the caliph! This is a very long way from what seems to have

and sent many forces [102] to Armenia to burn, demolish, and destroy the churches of God in Armenia.<sup>219</sup>

Then the catholicos of Armenia, Sahak, who had been imprisoned by Abdla, became a hostage in Damascus. When he heard about the threats of Ōkba, he sought permission to go to him, so that perhaps he might be able to deter him. And he consented. Then when he reached Harran, he became ill. And he wrote the last of his words to Ōkba, recalling that death is common to all and the pains of hell and that his would be a strange death. And he ordered the transcript to be placed in his right hand so that when he came, Ōkba [704] would take it. Then Ōkba, when he heard of the death of the holy patriarch, ordered it be kept until his arrival. And when he came and saw the man of God, he shook his hand and greeted, saying ‘Salamalēk’. And through the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, [the man of God] shook his hand in front of him in supplication. Trembling at this, he took the letter, and on reading it said, ‘This request of yours has been fulfilled, O man of God.’ And he sent his body to Armenia and sent a letter of reconciliation to Armenia, forgiving their offences.<sup>220</sup>

Then after lord Sahak, in 158 of the Era, Eġia succeeded the throne, from the village of Arčēš, from Aliovit, from the office of bishop of Bznunik’, 13 years.<sup>221</sup> This man at the command of Abdmlēik convened the council at Partaw and had Nersēs Bakur, the anti-catholicos of Albania, conveyed to the caliph because he had tried to make Albania Chalcedonian.<sup>222</sup>

And after him lord Yovhannēs, a philosopher from the district of Tašir, from the village of Ōjun, 11 years.<sup>223</sup> This man convened [103] a council at the

happened, and reveals the flexibility of the historical record and its capacity for being appropriated and reworked. Ōkba/Okba: it is likely that this is ‘Uthmān b. al-Walid b. ‘Oqba. He was active across Armenia in the last decade of the seventh century and the first decade of the eighth, but the chronology of his command in Armenia is not secure. *amirapet*, caliph.

<sup>219</sup> YD XXI.5 [95.21–6].

<sup>220</sup> This long narrative is a full summary of YD XXI.6–13 [95.26–97.14]. Two features stand out. Firstly, Sahak died in Harran, where Šušan Kamsrakan, the daughter of Vahan *patrik*, had been martyred. It is also intriguing to see how much exposure Step’anos gives to a posthumous miracle associated with a catholicos.

<sup>221</sup> YD XXI.15 and XXII.9 [97.19–22 and 100.20–1], proposing 14 years. AE 158: 2.vi.709–1.vi.710. Although the duration of his time in office is consistent with other accounts, it is usually dated to the years from 703 until 717 CE. It seems that the Armenian Era date has been applied to this notice retrospectively, although how a 6-year discrepancy came about is much harder to determine.

<sup>222</sup> YD XXII.1–8 [99.6–100.19]. Although this brief summary broadly resembles the longer narrative supplied by YD, it is striking that Step’anos correctly identifies ‘Abd al-Malik (April 685–October 705 CE) as the caliph involved, rather than ‘Umar b. ‘Abd-al-‘Aziz (September 717–February 720 CE), and that he describes Nersēs Bakur as the anti-catholicos of Albania, *č’kat’olikos*, a phrase not found in YD. For a full account of the context, progress, and aftermath of the Council of Partav, see MD III.3–11 [293.1–311.5].

<sup>223</sup> YD XXII.10 and 31 [100.22–3 and 104.20–2], but YD titles Yovhannēs as *mec imastasērñ*, great scholar, rather than *p’ilosop’ayñ*. Furthermore YD does not identify his origins. Conventionally he is thought to have held office between 717 and 728 CE.

city of Manazkert on the frontier of Hark', comprising all the bishops of Armenia, amongst whom was the philosopher Grigoris, *k'orepiskopos* of Aršarunik', and 6 bishops from Syria, from the Jacobite tradition, at the command of their patriarch, in the days of the authority of Smbat, in order to expunge from this country the two-nature confession and tradition of the Chalcedonians, who corrupt the holy Sacrament with leaven and with water and the Lenten fast with fish and oil and wine and other prescribed days, practices which had persisted in the country of Armenia in the Greek sector from the days of Ezz until this one.<sup>224</sup> Rejecting all this like old leaven, they defined the confession of faith one nature of God the Word of God made man, and that the holy Sacrament should be performed without leaven and water, and that the days of fasts should be fulfilled to the end in a holy fashion. But for the sake of the conduct of the sick, and the worldly loving princes, they exempted Saturdays and Sundays, excluding [705] the covenant of the children of the church and the hermits of Christ.<sup>225</sup>

Yovhannēs himself was exceedingly handsome in appearance and filled with every virtue. He had a garment of goats' hair over which he was clothed and adorned in brightly coloured garments. He had tiny gold particles ground up, mixed with fragrant oil, and blown into the grey hairs of his beard.<sup>226</sup>

When the governor Vlit' saw him, he went to Baghdad and described to the caliph the magnificent appearance of Yovhannēs.<sup>227</sup> And he became eager to look on his appearance. He summoned him to the royal court and requested [104] that he should be arrayed in his customary finery and that he should appear to him. Then he [Yovhannēs] clothed himself in his finest elegance, even more brilliant and shining, and braided the hairs of his grey

<sup>224</sup> Several of these details are to be found scattered across Yovhannēs Öjun's description of previous church councils and the decisions of the Council of Manazkert: *GT*<sup>c</sup> I, 220.1–233.6; *GT*<sup>c</sup> II, 473.1–493.16. For example, the six Syrian orthodox bishops are also described as being *i Yakobik tanē*, from the Jacobite house [*GT*<sup>c</sup> I, 224.6–7; *GT*<sup>c</sup> II, 478.26]; see II.1 and n. 79. There are, however, several differences. Manazkert is described by Yovhannēs Öjun [*GT*<sup>c</sup> I, 223.28, *GT*<sup>c</sup> II, 478.10] as a *geawł*, village, not *k'alak'*, city; the six Syrian bishops were sent at the command of the archbishop of Antioch [*GT*<sup>c</sup> I, 224.13, *GT*<sup>c</sup> II, 479.2], not *patriargin*, patriarch; the reference to the era of Smbat is not found in Yovhannēs' account; nor is there any record of the practices being limited to the Greek sector, as Step'anos asserts.

<sup>225</sup> This section contains some echoes of Yovhannēs' account, but it does not match any part of that work. Significantly, the final sentence, noting exemptions for the sick and the worldly princes, does not feature in that text.

<sup>226</sup> This echoes the description found in YD XXII.13–14 [101.13–23]. It is striking that Step'anos elected to spend so long describing the appearance of the catholicos rather than his erudition.

<sup>227</sup> Vlit', al-Walid. Aside from YD XXII.17 [102.10–11], from which this derives, this governor is unidentified.

beard like a gold tassel, took his gold-painted crook in his hand, and entered the palace.

The caliph was amazed at him and ordered him to sit with great honour. And he questioned, ‘Why are you arrayed like this, because your Christ and his disciples enjoined an abject and simple life?’ And he said, ‘Our Christ, although he concealed his divine majesty in a body, yet the testimonies of his miracles revealed him as awesome to spectators. And his disciples, in performing similar miracles, astonished onlookers. Now whilst the demonstrations of miracles has diminished for us, yet through this awe-inspiring clothing we spur on ignorant onlookers to a fear of God, just as you kings, for the sake of appearing awesome to men, are arrayed in gold-embroidered cloth. But if you wish to view my clothing, watch piece by piece.’ And he divested himself of everything and showed him his very coarse hair-cloth. The caliph was astonished at this; he embellished him sevenfold, and with great-honoured treasure he sent him to Armenia.<sup>228</sup>

Then after Smbat, Ašot Bagratuni became prince of Armenia, son of Vasak, for 15 years.<sup>229</sup> The house of the Mamikoneans blinded this man out of jealousy at his authority, in the days of Mruan, *amir-al-mummin*.<sup>230</sup> [706]

[105] And after him Smbat, his son, for 22 years.<sup>231</sup>

Now in connection with the sequence of patriarchs, after Yovhannēs, lord David became catholicos, from the district of Kotayk<sup>՛</sup>, from the village of Aramonik<sup>՛</sup>, for 13 years.<sup>232</sup>

And after him, in 190 of the Era, lord Trdat from the district of Vanand, from the village of Ut<sup>՛</sup>mus, for 23 years.<sup>233</sup>

<sup>228</sup> This long account is very close to that in YD XXII.18–30 [102.10–104.20]. It is significant that Yovhannēs is at the heart of this political drama, negotiating directly with the unnamed caliph and impressing the latter through his splendour and piety. However, YD does not place the caliph in Baghdad. Arguably it was Step<sup>՛</sup>anos who made this erroneous assumption; Baghdad only rose to prominence after al-Manšūr began developing the site in 762 CE.

<sup>229</sup> Łewond 21 [112.12] for name and parentage and 26 [124.18] for years in power, 17 rather than 15. The common transposition of Ե and Է when used as numerals has been noted previously. It seems unlikely that this notice derives from these two isolated references.

<sup>230</sup> This provides a basic summary of Łewond 26 [121.14–124.23]. Mruan: Marwān II b. Muḥammad (December 744–February 750). Ašot’s Mamikonean rivals, Grigor and Mušel, do not feature in the sequence of princes of Armenia.

<sup>231</sup> Łewond 34 [138.20–1] does not specify his years in power. He was killed at the battle of Bagrewand in 775 CE: Łewond 34 [150.22–3].

<sup>232</sup> YD XXIII.1, 3 [104.23–25, 105.10–13]. The first notice gives his origins, the second his years in power. Conventionally he is thought to have held the office of catholicos between 728 and 741 CE.

<sup>233</sup> YD XXIII. 4, 6 [105.14–16 and 19–21]. Although YD and Step<sup>՛</sup>anos agree on his length of office, Step<sup>՛</sup>anos adds the detail that he came from the district of Vanand and correlates his accession with an Armenian Era date. AE 190: 25.v.741–24.v.742. Conventionally he held office between 741 and 764 CE.

And after him lord Trdat from Dasnawank', for 3 years.<sup>234</sup>

And then lord Sion, from the village of Bawōnk', for 8 years. In his days the massacre of T'alın occurred, and 700 souls perished and 1200 were captured.<sup>235</sup>

And after him, in 221 of the Era, lord Esayi from the district of Nig, from the village of Elipatruš, for 13 years. He was the only son of a widow, who through poverty became a beggar; with the child at her breast, she became attached to the house of the palace of the catholicos. And she did not enter under its roof but, afflicted with great heat and cold, she ministered at the doors of the church. The priests asked her, 'Why are you suffering in this way?' And she said, 'Do you not know that I am nourishing my young child for the sake of the office of catholicos?' He was brought up in the same church and became first bishop of Gołt'n, and then catholicos of Armenia.<sup>236</sup>

And after him lord Step'anos from the city of Dvin, for 2 years.<sup>237</sup>

And after him, in 240 of the Era, lord Yovab, 6 years, who was from Ostan, from the palace of the *kouropalates*.<sup>238</sup>

[106] And then lord Sołomon, from the *giwlak'alak'* of Gařni, for 1 year.<sup>239</sup>

And then lord Gēorg, from Aragac'otn, from the village of Aštarak, for 3 years.<sup>240</sup>

<sup>234</sup> YD XXIII.6 [105.21–4]. Trdat II headed the Armenian church between 764 and 767 CE.

<sup>235</sup> YD XXIII.8, 17–18 [105.24–6 and 107.7–13]. YD notes that there were also massacres in K'alın and Aren, whose locations are unknown; could they be Ałın and Mren (a simple misreading and transposition of U, for U) respectively 30 miles north-west and south-east of T'alın? Alternatively K'alın could be a repetition of T'alın. T'alın was the principal centre for the Kamsarakan house. This episode does not feature in Łewond's *History*, but it was evidently shocking and continued to resonate. Traditionally, Esayi (Isaiah) was appointed in 775 and was in office until 788 CE.

<sup>236</sup> This passage is very close to YD XXIII.19–25 [107.14–108.11], except that it offers a specific date. AE 221:17.v.772–16.v.772.

<sup>237</sup> YD XXIII.26 [108.11–13]. That Step'anos (788–90) should be the first catholicos to come from Dvin is intriguing. His election features in the final notice of Łewond's *History*: Łewond 42 [169.8–170.10]; Greenwood, 'Reassessment of the *History* of Łewond', 108–10; Martin-Hisard, *Łewond Vardapet Discours historique*, 218 and n. 1077.

<sup>238</sup> YD XXIII.27 [108.14–16]. The location of the palace of the *kouropalates* is unknown. It should probably be associated with either David Saharařni or Hamazasp Mamikonean, both clients of Byzantium in the middle of the seventh century who were granted this prestigious title. Ostan was the name of the district in which Dvin was situated, and it could have been located in the city. AE 240: 13.v.791–12.v.792.

<sup>239</sup> YD XXIV.10–11, 15 [110.13–15 and 111.10–11]. Step'anos does not discuss Solomon's links with the monastery of Mak'enoc'k' and his intellectual abilities: YD XXIV.11–14 [110.16–111.10]. MD III.13 [313.22–314.4] reports that the Catholicos of Albania, Mik'ayel (c.707–42 CE) sought assistance from the famous Sołomon, leader of the monastery of Mak'enac'ik', described as 'the glory of the Armenians at that time'. Gařni is close to Dvin.

<sup>240</sup> YD XXIV.16 [111.13–14], but no tenure is given. He was catholicos between c.792 and 795 CE.

And then lord Yovsēp', who was called *Karičn*, from the district of Araga-c'otn, from the village of St Grigor, for 11 years.<sup>241</sup>

And then lord David, from the district of Mazaz, from the village of Kakał, for 25 years.<sup>242</sup> [707]

And after him lord Yovhannēs, from the district of Kotayk', from the village of Ovayk', for 22 years.<sup>243</sup> In his time, Mamunik *amir* came to Armenia.<sup>244</sup>

Then in connection with the sequence of princes, after Smbat, son of Ašot, Ašot his son, who was called *Msaiker*, 20 years.<sup>245</sup> This man purchased the district of Aršarunik' from the house of the Kamsarakank' and transferred his court from Kogovit to Aršarunik'.<sup>246</sup>

And after this man, Smbat his son, who was called Aplabas, for 30 years.<sup>247</sup> This man was in childhood a hostage in Samarra at the court of the palace in

<sup>241</sup> YD XXIV.19 and 30 [111.22–25 and 113.10–12]. Again, notices which are separated in YD's *History* are combined in Step'anos' composition. *Karičn* means 'the scorpion', suggesting that Yovsēp' had an unusual and mysterious nickname. Mahé, 'L'Église arménienne', 489, suggests that he was known as *ktrič*, the brave, but this alternate reading is not given in any manuscript. More plausible, perhaps, is the possibility that he was called *karč*, the short. He was catholicos between c.795 and 806 CE.

<sup>242</sup> YD XXIV.31 [113.13–14] for origins and XXV.13 [115.6–8] for years in power, 27 rather than 25. The common transposition of Է and Ե as numerals has been noted previously; see n. 123. He was catholicos between c.806 and 833 CE. MD III.21 [330.4–8] reports that David died in AE 283 (2.v.834–1.v.835), and that at his death he cursed those who had pillaged from the dominion of St Grigor; the passages names three figures, and describes their brutal deaths with some relish. This implies that the landholdings of the catholicos had recently experienced further losses.

<sup>243</sup> YD XXV.14 [115.9–10] and XXVI.8 [125.6–10]. He was catholicos between c.833 and 855 CE.

<sup>244</sup> N. M. Lowick, *Early Abbasid Coinage: A Type Corpus* (London, 1996), nos. 746 and 749. Two dirhams bearing the designation Armīniya and the name of al-'Abbās b. Amīr al-Ma'mūn have been identified. No. 746 was minted in 217 AH (7.ii.832–26.i.833) and no. 749 was minted in 218 AH (27.1.833–15.i.834). Mamunik is a diminutive form, little Ma'mūn. Al-'Abbās was indeed the son of the caliph al-Ma'mūn.

<sup>245</sup> *msaiker*, meat-eater, usually interpreted as a soubriquet, 'the Carnivorous'. How he came by this is unclear—almost nothing is known about him—and it is possible that it was originally something else that became corrupted. This entry represents a significant chronological distortion. Smbat *sparapet* had been killed in battle in 775; see n. 231. By convention, Ašot's death occurred in 826 CE, but this seems to be based entirely on the date of the return of his son Smbat to Armenia, given in the following notice. Contrary to the impression afforded by this notice, it seems unlikely that Ašot succeeded his father Smbat or that he enjoyed 20 years in power.

<sup>246</sup> This notice is often cited but incapable of proof. The transfer of individual estates by written instrument is securely attested from the middle of the ninth century onwards through the remarkable collection of charters preserved by Step'annos Örbëlean. The earliest dated charter was executed in AE 320 (23.iv.871–21.iv.872): SÖ I, 40 [217.3–220.16]; SÖ II, 39 [158.7–160.30]. The sale and purchase of entire districts, however, is unprecedented and this notice may conceal a more forceful takeover.

<sup>247</sup> Smbat, son of Ašot. Aplabas: Abū'l 'Abbās, i.e. father of 'Abbās. This is the first instance in this composition of a Bagratuni prince bearing both an Armenian and an Arabic name. It is a particular feature of the ninth century: Greenwood, 'Reassessment of the *History* of Łewond', 133 and n. 148.

the days of Harun Rāšit.<sup>248</sup> When he was released, in 275 of the Era, he came to Armenia and constructed one building in the district of Aršarunik' and named it Agrčkōys.<sup>249</sup> In his days, in 290 of the Era, Xalt' ipn Ezit came as *amir* of Armenia and he crossed with a multitude into Iberia. And he died in Ĵawaxs, in the village which is called Xozabir.<sup>250</sup>

[107] In that time, during the patriarchate of lord Yovhannēs, and in 300 of the Armenian Era, a certain *ostikan* named Apusēt' was sent by the caliph Ja'far.<sup>251</sup> He went to Tarōn and seized the prince Bagarat and sent him to Ja'far. Then the inhabitants of mount Tōros gathered in one place, attacked in great numbers and killed the *ostikan* and his forces. The survivors departed and conveyed the bad news to Ja'far. And he roared like a lion in his fury. He assembled countless forces and entrusted them to the control of one of his servants, named Bughā, and dispatched them to Armenia. He ordered him to bring to him the princes of the country and to massacre their forces and if anyone should convert to the religion of Muḥammad, to honour and to bring with himself.<sup>252</sup>

He came to Tarōn and seized the three sons of Bagarat and massacred all the inhabitants of Xoyt', on the mountain which is called Vašginak.<sup>253</sup> And he advanced and seized all the princes of Armenia: the prince of Arcrunik', [708] Ašot, father of Derenik, and the *sparapet* of Armenia, Smbat, father of king Ašot, and Vasak, the prince of Siwnik', and Karičn, the prince of Gardman, and Atrnersēh, the prince of Xaç'en, and Esayi, the prince of Albania, and

<sup>248</sup> Hārūn al-Rašid was caliph between 786 and 809 CE. Smbat cannot have been a hostage in Samarra, however, because this new city was founded and developed by the caliph al-Mu'tašim (Hārūn's son, Abū Ishāq) during the 830s.

<sup>249</sup> AE 275: 4.v.826–3.v.827. *jeṛakert*, building. Its location is unknown, but it would appear to have been for secular rather than ecclesiastical purposes.

<sup>250</sup> AE 290: 30.iv.841–29.iv.842. Khālīd b. Yazīd was appointed governor of Armīniya for a third time by caliph Hārūn al-Wāthiq in 842, and died whilst on campaign against the emir of Tiflis, Ishāq b. Ismā'il. Ĵawaxs: the district of Ĵavaxet'i. The village of Xozabir was situated in the east of that district, around 130 miles west of Tiflis. This detail is also found in both the Armenian and Georgian versions of the Georgian Chronicles: see R. W. Thomson, *Rewriting Caucasian History: The Medieval Armenian Adaptation of the Georgian Chronicles* (Oxford, 1996), 259–60.

<sup>251</sup> AE 300: 28.iv.851–27.iv.852. *amirapet* Ĵap'r: Ja'far, the caliph al-Mutawakkil (847–61). Apusēt: Abū Sa'īd b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Merwazī was indeed a governor of Armīniya, but preferring T'A II.6 [116.7–118.29], it was his son Yūsuf, nominated in place of his father in 851, who seized Bagarat Bagratuni, prince of Tarōn.

<sup>252</sup> This paragraph combines YD XXV.26–8 and 30–2 [117.18–118.7 and 118.16–23]; only the description of Ja'far roaring like a lion is missing. Buła: Bughā al-Kabīr the Elder, a Turkish military leader.

<sup>253</sup> This sentence is not found in YD. YD XXV.33 [118.27–119.6] refers to only two sons of Bagarat, Ašot and David. Unlike T'A II.7 [119.4–120.17], YD does not identify those massacred by Bughā as the inhabitants of Xoyt', in the mountains of southern Tarōn. Neither T'A nor YD identifies the mountain of Vašginak, whose location is unknown but was apparently familiar to Step'anos.

Step'anos, the prince of Sewordik', whom they call Kon, who was crowned by Christ through martyrdom at the royal court in the city of Samarra. He transported all these and many others in iron chains to Samarra, and he enslaved this whole country.<sup>254</sup>

Moreover, he set his hand on the church in order to convert to their [108] erroneous religion, and he chose the handsome and the young and threw them into the torments of prison in order to deny Christ. Now these ones bravely endured outrages and torments, tortures and blows, and, disdaining afflictions, they endured many hardships and they went to death joyfully. The tyrant was infuriated at this and ordered everyone to be put to death; those who died bravely were crowned by Christ.<sup>255</sup>

There were among these ones seven men whose leader was called Atom, who was from the district of Aġbak, from the village of Osiran. And since they were of striking appearance and valiant in battle, they did not kill these with the others. But they attempted to convert to apostasy and offered many treasures of gold and silver—they promised villages and possessions from the royal treasury. Then the valiant champions were rendered still more brilliant through their confession in Christ. Therefore the tyrant, even more enraged, tortured them cruelly with torments which no tongue is capable of describing. However, the hope of eternity and the love of Christ and the joy of martyrdom gave relief for the intolerable afflictions. The tyrant was infuriated at this and ordered them to be crucified. Then the holy Atom, stretched out on the wooden cross, encouraged his companions, saying, 'Do not be afraid, brothers, because although we are suffering, we have communion with the living God.' And looking to the heavens, he said, 'I give you thanks, O Christ, my hope, because I had made a vow on this feast [709] of St Gëorg, to sacrifice goats and lambs [109] for the sake of your glory. Now I offer myself in place of the sacrificial victim, to you who offered for all. Receive, O Lord, and join us to the ranks of your saints.' And thus victorious in everything, they committed their souls and were crowned by Christ in 302 of the Armenian Era, more than 150 men, whose names are written in the Book of Life. And the patriarch Yovhannēs instituted a festival in their

<sup>254</sup> This passage picks out the key figures mentioned in the narrative preserved by YD, although not their individual circumstances or ordeals: YD XXV.38 and 44 [119.24–5 (Ašot) and 120.18 (Smbat *sparapet*)]; YD XXVI.1, 5 11–14 and 28 [125.25–7 (Vasak), 126.12–14 (Karič/Ktrič), 127.15–18 (Atrnersēh), 127.22–4 (Step'anos Kon), 127.25–7 (Esayi), and 130.25–131.3 (death of Step'anos)]. However, the narrative of YD does not identify Smbat as the father of Ašot, nor locate the royal court at Samarra. Conversely, Step'anos omits, or is unaware of, the collaboration of Smbat *sparapet* (YD XXV.44–6 [120.18–121.5] and the date of the martyrdom of Step'anos Kon 'in the 608th year of the Roman era' (YD XXVI.28 [131.5–6]). This equates to the year 856/7 CE (248/9 + 608). Intriguingly, Step'anos also employed this rare dating system; see n. 123.

<sup>255</sup> This passage loosely reflects YD XXV.47–56 [121.12–123.2], retaining the overall sequence of the narrative but drastically reducing its content.



memory, through an annual veneration on the 25th of the month *mehekan*, to the glory of the all-powerful God.<sup>256</sup>

And at the same time he advanced against Tiflis and raised on a cross Sahak, son of Ismayēl. And crossing to Partaw, he put to the sword Mokat'l Vanandac'i, who bore witness through an excellent confession of his faith which was in Christ.<sup>257</sup>

Then after the completion of the 25th year of the patriarchate of Yovhannēs, in 302 of the Era, he departed this world.<sup>258</sup> And the *sparapet* Smbat ordered the bishops to assemble and to consecrate as catholicos Zak'aria from the district of Kotayk', from the village of Jag, who occupied [the throne] for 22 years.<sup>259</sup> Prior to becoming patriarch, this man had not received the dignity of the priesthood nor the office of deacon, but he had lived an unblemished life; on one day he achieved the status of all these dignities.<sup>260</sup>

And Smbat *sparapet* went with Bughā to the caliph Ja'far.<sup>261</sup> And the blessed Ašot, son of Smbat became *sparapet* of Armenia, who later became king of Armenia.<sup>262</sup> [110] But the Armenian princes, those who had been

<sup>256</sup> In contrast to the above, this passage reproduces much of Yovhannēs' narrative: YD XXV.57–70 [123.2–125.10]. AE 302: 27.iv.853–26.iv.854. The inclusion of the day on which the martyrs were commemorated each year, 25 *mehekan*, implies that this account may derive from a contemporary *synaxarion* or *menologion*, preserving a series of saints' lives according to their days of commemoration during the liturgical year. According to the thirteenth-century *Synaxarion* of Vardan Arewel'ci, Smbat *sparapet*, a young man called Michael, and Kon were commemorated together with 250 (rather than 150) martyrs on 24 *mehekan*, but this is equated with 3 March: PO 21/1 (1930): 113–14. In 853 CE, 25 *mehekan* fell on 17 November. A second version records under 25 *mehekan*: 'On this day, the martyrdoms of the second Atom, Vasak, Mleh, Gēorg, and 250 Armenian martyrs and Smbat *sparapet*, those who were put to death by Buḡa for the sake of Christ': PO 21/1 (1930), 117, marked B.

<sup>257</sup> These details are not found in YD. MD III.21 [333.5–7] records the killing of Sahak Ismayelean in Tbilisi at the hands of Bughā, but does not mention Mokat'l.

<sup>258</sup> YD XXVI.8 [126.25–127.4], but 22 years rather than 25. AE 302: 27.iv.853–26.iv.854. His death is not dated by YD.

<sup>259</sup> YD XXVI.10 [127.8–14] for origins and XXVIII.12 [137.6–9] for years in office. By convention he is thought to have been in office between 855 and 877 CE.

<sup>260</sup> This is not found in YD. Most intriguingly, this passage appears to be describing the sudden elevation of Photios to the office of patriarch of Constantinople in 858, and not that of Zak'aria, with whom Photios enjoyed extensive correspondence: see I. Dorfmann-Lazarev, *Arméniens et Byzantins à l'époque de Photius: deux débats théologiques après le triomphe de l'orthodoxie*, CSCO 609, subs. 117 (Louvain, 2004); and T. W. Greenwood, 'Failure of a Mission? Photius and the Armenian Church', *Le Muséon* 119 1–2 (2006), 123–67, for different interpretations and sequences of that correspondence.

<sup>261</sup> This is a terse summary of YD XXVI.16–17 [128.8–20].

<sup>262</sup> YD XXVI.25, found only in manuscript E (M6537) according to Maksoudian, *Yovhannēs Draxanakert'ci*, 124 and n. 15. It is unclear whether or not Step'anos was responsible for this prefiguring of Smbat's accession, although book II does conclude with the revival of the Armenian kingdom.

made prisoner by Bughā, after some years were returned to their respective countries, apart from Smbat *sparapet* and Step'anos Kon, those who for the sake of their confession of Christ were killed in Samarra.<sup>263</sup>

Then, in 311 of the Armenian Era, Ahmat was installed as *amir al-mumin*.<sup>264</sup> And he gave the lands of Armenia to Ali, son of Yahē.<sup>265</sup> This man appointed as prince of princes Ašot, son of Smbat, who became [710] prince of princes for 25 years until 336 of the Era, and then he became king.<sup>266</sup>

In his days, in 312 of the Era, during the Forty days of Lent, in Holy Week, a terrible earthquake occurred and it killed many and ruined wonderful buildings and [the aftershocks] continued for a period of three months.<sup>267</sup>

And in this year Šahap, son of Sewada, came to the lands of Armenia with a tumultuous army, intent on ruining and enslaving the lands.<sup>268</sup> On reaching

<sup>263</sup> A very brief summary which reflects details in YD XXVI.18, 22–4, and 28 [128.20–131.8, 129.27–130.13, and 130.25–131.1]. This notice repeats the reference to the martyrdom of Step'anos Kon; see n. 254.

<sup>264</sup> AE 311: 25.iv.862–24.iv.863. Ahmat: the caliph al-Musta'in (June 862–February 865 CE). It is rare to find him referred to as Aḥmad.

<sup>265</sup> YD XXVII.10 [133.6–9], where he is named 'Alī Armanī. 'Alī b. Yaḥyā al-Armanī was appointed governor in Ramadan 248 AH (October–November 862), according to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, 13 vols. (Leiden, 1879–1901), III, 1508; tr. and comm. by G Saliba, *The History of al-Ṭabarī, Volume XXXV, The Crisis of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate* (Albany, NY, 1985), 7. He was killed while on campaign a year later in October–November 863 CE.

<sup>266</sup> *išxan išxanac'*, prince of princes, derived from *šahanšah*, king of kings, and identifying the principal Armenian client prince through whom the unpredictable Armenian elite could be monitored and manipulated, if not controlled. Step'anos places Ašot's accession in AE 336: 19. iv.887–18. iv.888. See Mat'evosyan, *Hišatakaraner*, no. 47: 'It was written at the beginning of the reign of Ašot Bagratuni, by the hand of the unworthy Grigor Maškeor, in the time of the patriarchate of the catholicos Ġeorg, who anointed Ašot as king of Armenia, in our era 333, and [day] 10 of the month *k'aloc'*.' This establishes the date of his coronation as Wednesday, 26 August 884.

<sup>267</sup> AE 312: 25.iv.863–23.iv.864, hence Easter week 864. *sora awurs*, his days, almost certainly Ašot Bagratuni. YD XXVII.13 [133.20–4] records this earthquake but does not offer a specific date, nor does it mention the three months of aftershocks. T'A III.22 [230.11–231.21] describes an earthquake which struck Dvin in the third year of the reign of Smbat I Bagratuni (892/3 CE), killing 70,000 people and destroying the city of Dvin. T'ovma then compares it to the earthquake which took place in the years of Zak'aria, after the seventh year of the captivity of the Armenians, i.e. c.861 CE, judging it to be more severe. MD III.21 [333.10–13] records an earthquake in AE 318 (23.iv.869–22.iv.870) which struck Dvin, killed 12,000 people, and was followed by a year of aftershocks.

<sup>268</sup> Šahap/Jaḥāf was the last member of the Jaḥāfid line of Arab emirs whose territorial interests ranged widely across central Armenia in the first half of the ninth century, including much of the northern shore of lake Van, Apahunik' (including Manzikert), and, for a time, the city of Dvin. His father was the prominent emir Sawāda who defeated and killed Šapuh Bagratuni, brother of Ašot Msaker, in battle in c.823. YD XXV.2–9 [113.14–114.27] records that Sawāda had married Aruseak from the Bagratuni house and that he fought against the Arab governor of Armīniya, Khālid b. Yazid b. Mazyad, in alliance with Smbat *sparapet*. Khālid b.

the district of Aršarunik', he went down to the banks of the Araxes, on the south bank at the place which is now called K'ārasunk'. Then the young Abas, *sparapet* of Armenia, trusting in God, went out from the *awan* of Kałzuan with 40,000 men, the whole Armenian force, valiant men and warriors; he went and attacked them.<sup>269</sup> He shattered the whole army, killing everyone with the sword and throwing them into the river. For this reason the name of the place is called K'ārasunk', according to the number of soldiers of Sebasteia, down to today.<sup>270</sup> Then Šahap with 26 men escaped by a hair's breadth, crossed, and departed in shame.<sup>271</sup>

[111] After this, in 324 of the Era, lord Zak'aria died.<sup>272</sup> And lord Gēorg was installed as catholicos with magnificent honour in the days of the feast of the circumcision of the Lord. And in the same year [there was] a terrible mortality across the whole country. This man was from the *giwtak'alak'* of Gaṛni, who occupied the throne of the patriarchate for 22 years.<sup>273</sup> And in his 12th year Ašot became king.

But we have acted after the fashion of travellers, those who are not able to carry off what they want at one go because they lack the strength but come back for the rest; in the same way, let us turn back once again to what remains for this discourse, including the sequence of kings of Persia, and *Amir-al-Mumnik'* of the Arabs, and then the emperors of the Greeks, so that the scope of the discourse shall be symmetrical.<sup>274</sup>

Yazīd was governor between 212 and 217 AH (2.iv.827–21.iii.828 and 7.ii.832–26.i.833) and came to terms with Sawāda. Šahap/Jahāf was therefore half-Armenian through his Bagratuni mother and related to his opponent Abas *sparapet*, the brother of Ašot Bagratuni, the future king. This episode does not feature in YD's *History*.

<sup>269</sup> Abas is described by T'ovma Arcruni as *arinn korovi*, an experienced soldier, and features in a subsequent military encounter with the Arab governor Aḥmad b. Khālid: T'A III.20 [221.20–222.23]. This suggests that *sparapet* retained its traditional meaning of military commander into the ninth century. The *awan* of Kałzuan: on the south bank of the Araxes, due south of Kars and west of Bagaran.

<sup>270</sup> Both the precise knowledge of the site's name and its association with Sebasteia (through its name, *K'ārasunk'* which means Forty, as in the Forty Martyrs) are unexpected features. These details could reflect the personal knowledge of Step'anos himself, but it is impossible to be certain.

<sup>271</sup> The source of this notice is unknown. The motif of an Arab commander retreating with a small number of survivors after a defeat is a familiar *topos* in Armenian historical writing: see Lewond 8 [25.9–25].

<sup>272</sup> AE 324: 22.iv.875–21.iv.876. His death is noted but not dated in YD XXVIII.12 [137.6–9].

<sup>273</sup> YD XXVIII.13 [137.10–14]. He is usually deemed to have held office between 878 and 898 CE, but this notice suggests that he took over in 875/6. His twelfth year: 886/7. YD does not refer to a year of plague or heavy mortality.

<sup>274</sup> This short connecting passage was evidently written by Step'anos himself; it describes the remainder of book II in the correct sequence.

## [711] Chapter 3

*The Sasanian kings of Persia, their names and times*<sup>275</sup>

Artašir	40 years.
Šapuh	53 years. <sup>276</sup>
Nersēh	14 years.
Ormizd	3 years. [112]
Šapuh	58 years.
Artašir	3 years.
Vram who had two names, also Krman	11 years.
Yazkert	20 years.
Vram	22 years.
Yazkert Ĵaxjax	19 years.
Peroz	27 years.
Vaḷarš	4 years.
Kawat	11 years.
Ĵamasp	4 years.
Kawat	31 years.

Xosrov who was baptized, 48 years. This man at the time of his death accepted the heavenly grace of faith in Christ and was baptized in the holy Trinity. And in his chamber he had the sacrament celebrated and he participated in the body and blood of the Lord.<sup>277</sup>

Ormizd, 12 years. In his time there was one Vahram Mehewand, prince of the region of the east of the country of Persia, who valiantly defeated the forces of the T'etals and forcibly took possession of Bahł and the whole land of the Khushans up to the far side of the great river which is called Vehrot and as far as the place which is called Gasbun. This Vahram fought with the king of Mazk'ut'k', defeated the multitude of his forces, and killed the king and plundered the treasures of his kingdom. [113] He sent some insignificant part from the magnificent riches to king Ormizd and distributed the rest to his forces.<sup>278</sup>

<sup>275</sup> The source of this list is unknown, but the *Anonymous Chronicle* also contains a free-standing list of Sasanian rulers and their years in office: P'ilon Tirakac'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 931.223–932.243; for an English translation, see T. W. Greenwood, 'Sasanian Reflections in Armenian Sources', *Sasanika* (2008), Appendix II <<http://sasanika.org/esasanika/sasanian-reflections-in-armenian-sources-2/>>. Intriguingly, the list in the *Anonymous Chronicle* also provides the corresponding patronyms as well, which may point to a Pahlavi original: 'Artšir i Sasanean, fifty, Šapuh yArtšrean, seventy-three, Nerseh i Šaphean, ten...'

<sup>276</sup> Several of the totals differ from the usually accepted figures, and the series is incomplete, omitting both short-lived and more established figures, such as Vahram II.

<sup>277</sup> This is based on Sebēos 9 [69.26–70.5], although Step'anos omits the involvement of the Nestorian catholicos of Eran. Arguably it was the product of Christian imagination rather than historical reality: R. E. Payne, *A State of Mixture: Christians, Zoroastrians, and Iranian Political Culture in Late Antiquity* (Oakland, Calif., 2015), 164–6.

<sup>278</sup> This is based very closely upon Sebēos 10 [73.16–74.3], with one additional detail, that Ormizd had 12 years in power. The extracts are frequently verbatim. Vahram Mehewand: better known as Bahram Čobin, who features prominently in a range of contemporary and later

Then when he received that, the king said angrily, 'I can see the signs from this portion that the feast was far greater. From so many magnificent treasures, did you only bring this to the court?' And he ordered his bodyguards to go and collect the treasures from the soldiers.<sup>279</sup>

The army was infuriated at this; they killed the bodyguards and made Vahram king and with one accord, they attacked Assyria with the intention of killing Ormizd.<sup>280</sup> When Ormizd heard this, he decided to flee; [712] he crossed the river Tigris using the pontoon bridge at Vehkawat. But his men and his staff officers and bodyguards conferred and reaching a decision, they killed Ormizd and installed his son Xosrov as king over the country of the Persians.<sup>281</sup>

And not many days later, Vahram came and arrived suddenly with all his forces, like swooping eagles. Then Xosrov as a fugitive along with his [supporters] crossed the great river Tigris. Vahram arrived and seized the royal house and treasure and was installed on the throne of the king.<sup>282</sup> ...

The force which was in Thrace rebelled and appointed Phokas as their king; and coming to Constantinople, they killed Maurice and his sons.<sup>283</sup> And when Xosrov heard this, he took the multitude of his forces and went to the regions of the west.<sup>284</sup> And first he captured the city of Dara and then [114] he sent Xořem, a commander who is [also] named Řazman, with forces through Syria and Ařdat through the borders of Armenia.<sup>285</sup> He [Ařdat] went and fought against the forces of the Greeks who were in Du and Ordu and he drove [them] in flight as far as Satala;<sup>286</sup> he also took the city of Karin and captured the catholicos Yovhan with all the vessels of the palace of the catholicos and all the inhabitants of the city and transported [them] to Ahmatan.<sup>287</sup>

sources, including the *Khuzistan Chronicle*, Ṭabari's *History*, and the *Shahnameh*: Sebēos Commentary, 168–73.

<sup>279</sup> Sebēos 10 [74.7–14]. Again this is almost verbatim, although Step'anos reports Ormizd asking a direct question.

<sup>280</sup> Sebēos 10 [74.15–19].

<sup>281</sup> An abbreviated version of Sebēos 10 [74.29–75.3], which nevertheless reveals a direct relationship between the two texts.

<sup>282</sup> Sebēos 10 [75.19–24]. In his note 87 Malxaseanc' observes that all the manuscripts broke off at this point: ST I, 360–2. Manukyan reports that the scribe of manuscript O reports: 'Two pages are missing from the original. Do not blame this thoughtless scribe': ST II, 712 and n. 9. Malxaseanc' offers his own reconstruction, based on extracts from the *History* attributed to Sebēos, which Step'anos was exploiting exclusively at this point, as well as additional details taken from T'ovma Arcruni's *History*. Dulaurier, on the other hand, elected to fill this lacuna by translating the narrative in T'ovma Arcruni's *History*: Dulaurier, *Histoire universelle*, 142–6; T'A II.3 [85.10–88.19]. Following Manukyan, I prefer to highlight the lacuna and leave it unfilled.

<sup>283</sup> Sebēos 31 [106.9–13].

<sup>284</sup> Sebēos 31 [107.1–3]. <sup>285</sup> Sebēos 33 [110.22–5 and 28–9].

<sup>286</sup> This is closely modelled on Sebēos 33 [111.11–17].

<sup>287</sup> This short passage combines a passing reference to the capture of Karin/Theodosiopolis in 606/7 CE (Sebēos 33 [111.23–25]) with the account of the deportation of the catholicos Yovhan, the vessels of the church, and the inhabitants of the city three years later (Sebēos 33 [112.1–4]). Sebēos 19 [91.21–4] records that the vessels were originally those of the church of St Grigor in Dvin, which were transferred to Karin following the appointment of Yovhan. Step'anos, however, identifies them as belonging to the catholicos, which is not quite the same thing.

Then Xořem passed through Syria and subjugated Amida, Urha, and Antioch. And Šahēn commander of the Persians took the city of Caesarea and stayed in it for one year.<sup>288</sup>

And crossing into Pisidia, Xořem took the city of Tarsus;<sup>289</sup> he besieged Jerusalem for 19 days, undermined the foundations of the city, and took it. And they burned it with fire and they slaughtered by the sword 57,000 and they captured 35,000. And they transported Zak'aria the patriarch and the holy Cross of the Saviour with all [713] the vessels of gold and silver to the royal court.<sup>290</sup> Then the king ordered those who had been captured to be returned to the city and to rebuild the city and to expel the Jews and to appoint Modestos as chief priest of the city, who wrote a letter to Armenia.<sup>291</sup>

And in the 29th year of the reign of Xosrov, Komitas demolished the martyrrium of St Hřip'simē, the one constructed by St Sahak. And he found there the body of St Hřip'simē, nine spans and four fingers [in height], sealed with the ring [115] of St Grigor and St Sahak. And having sealed it with his ring, he reconstructed the church and he placed the relics in the same place. And he raised the wooden roof of the holy cathedral and he built a stone roof. And Yovhan was priest of the monastery.<sup>292</sup>

Then Xořem, the Persian commander who captured Jerusalem, advanced with all his forces to Chalcedon. And he attacked Constantinople with ships; on one day, 4000 men from the Persian forces died.<sup>293</sup>

And then, when king Heraclius had made his son Constantine king in Constantinople, he himself went to Caesarea in order to assemble all his forces, 120,000 [strong]. He marched against the king of Persia and came to the city of Karin. He arrived at the city of Dvin and destroyed it. And he undermined from their foundations Naxčawan and Ganjak and Hedak. And he demolished the altars of the great fire which they used to call Vnasp.<sup>294</sup> He plundered the country of Persia and turned through Media. He came and arrived at P'aytakaran in the country of Kaspk'; he camped in the *awan* of Tigranakert. And the Persian commanders, Šahr-Varaz and Šahēn, were

<sup>288</sup> This sentence combines Sebēos 33 [110.31 and 111.5–6], substituting Urha/Edessa for T'ela, and Sebēos 33 [112.9–13].

<sup>289</sup> Again this short sentence manages to combine two separate notices in Sebēos 34 [113.27–8 and 115.2–4].

<sup>290</sup> This passage abbreviates Sebēos 34 [115.24–116.7], although there is no explicit reference in the underlying text to the transportation of Zak'aria into exile. 57,000: ԾԷՌ. 17,000: ԺԷՌ. The uncertainty stems from the similarity in the uncial form of the characters *ca* and *žē*. All the manuscripts of Step'anos read 57,000, but Sebēos reads 17,000.

<sup>291</sup> Sebēos 34 [116.8–13].

<sup>292</sup> This is a summary of Sebēos 37 [121.5–28], except that the underlying text specifies the 28th year of Xosrov and refers to the priest as Yovhanik, 'little Yovhan'. It has been suggested that this may have been Yovhan Mayragomec'i.

<sup>293</sup> This terse notice combines two extracts: Sebēos 38 [122.11–12 and 123.10–14].

<sup>294</sup> Sebēos 38 [124.6–10 and 22–7], but omitting Hedak. T'A II.3 [92.31–4] adds Ormi as well as Ahmatan and May but also has no reference to Hedak.

approaching with two armies, in front and behind Heraclius. And Heraclius turned backwards and [714] defeated Šahēn with his 30,000. And he himself retreated across Člukk' to Naxčawan; passing across the river Araxes at the *awan* of Vrnjunkt', he came to Bagrewand. And having crossed to Apahunik', he camped in [116] the village which is called Xarčtōnk'. And Šahr-Varaz devised an ambush for Heraclius and was installed in Arčēš with 6000 elite men. He attacked them at night. He set the city on fire and he slew with the sword those who came out from it. And having taken all the plunder, he passed through Caesarea to Amaseia in order to rest his forces.<sup>295</sup>

And again, he turned with his forces towards Armenia; he passed into Širak, taking the road through Kogovit to Hēr and the district of Zarewand, the direct route to Ctesiphon against Xosrov. He crossed on that side of the mountain Zarasp into the land of Assyria and, passing through the west, he came to Nineveh.<sup>296</sup> Heraclius wheeled against them with great power and the forces of the Persians did not apprehend that Heraclius had turned because the surface of the plain was covered in mist until they came and engaged one other. And the Lord assisted Heraclius on that day. The force of the Persians was defeated before him; even their commander was killed. And having spread out in attack, they plundered the country of Persia.<sup>297</sup>

And the emperor himself reached the gate of the city of Ctesiphon and he burnt all the royal palaces surrounding the city and turned to Atrpatakan. Then the Persian army and the nobles made Kawat, son of Xosrov, king and they killed Xosrov. And Kawat [117] sent envoys with presents to the emperor in order to [secure] peace. He also sent [envoys] in the same way and they made peace with one another.<sup>298</sup> And the same border was established which there had been between Maurice and Xosrov.<sup>299</sup>

Then Kawat died, having lived six months. And Artašir his son reigned, a young boy. Then the emperor Heraclius wrote to Xořem, the Persian commander, [715] who was in the vicinity of Alexandria, and summoned him to himself and made him king of the Persians. He requested from him the Cross

<sup>295</sup> This longer narrative is an abbreviated version of Sebēos 38 [125.2–126.10], with three minor discrepancies. The gloss on the location of P'aytakaran, the country of Kaspk', is not found in Sebēos. The name of the village in Apahunik' in which Heraclius camped is given by Sebēos as Hřmunk' and Xarčtōnk' by Step'anos, both unknown locations. Finally, Heraclius is recorded by Sebēos as marching to the region of Asia, far to the west, on the coast of Asia Minor, to rest his troops; Step'anos, however, identifies Amaseia, north-west of Sebasteia, and this seems far more likely.

<sup>296</sup> Mt Zarasp, south of the district of Hēr and west of Lake Urmia. Manukyan prefers Varasp, but it is clear which mountain is being named.

<sup>297</sup> Sebēos 38 [126.11–35]. The two passages are extremely close to one another in terms of sequence, content, and language.

<sup>298</sup> This is a highly abbreviated version of Sebēos 39 [127.8–10, 16, 23, and 34; 128.1–26].

<sup>299</sup> This short sentence, however, is a cast-forward to Sebēos 41 [131.24–6], which refers in passing to the eventual re-establishment of this boundary in 630 CE.

of the Saviour and he sent after him trustworthy men and a small force. Xořem came and killed the child Artařir. And he searched for the Cross of the Saviour and sent it to Heraclius. He received it and transported it to Jerusalem.<sup>300</sup>

At this point, the kingdom of Persia under the line of Sasan came to an end; it began in the third year of Philip, king of Rome, and ended in the 18th year of Heraclius, in 77 of the Era, and the Sasanean house had complete possession of the kingdom of the Persians in total for 386 years.<sup>301</sup>

Thereafter, many young men as well as young girls reigned every year for a few months, who are not worthy of mention. But these are their names: after Xořem, Bor reigned, the daughter of Xosrov, and then Yazkert, the son of Kawat [and] grandson of Xosrov, who reigned in Ctesiphon.<sup>302</sup>

### [118] Chapter 4

*The Amir al-Mumnik' of the Arabs, and whatever transpired in their days*

Shortly before the death of Xosrov, in the eighth year of the emperor Heraclius and in 68 of the Armenian Era, Muřammad emerged from the desert, son of Abdla, prophet of the Arabs.<sup>303</sup>

At that time, the Jews who had rebelled from the Greeks and secured themselves in the city of Edesia, since they were unable to resist the forces of

<sup>300</sup> This is an abbreviated version of Sebēos 40 [129.22–130.13], with the exception that Sebēos does not refer to Heraclius transporting the True Cross to Jerusalem in this passage; T'A II.3 [97.1–7] does include this final detail.

<sup>301</sup> It seems most likely that this chronological reflection was calculated by Step'anos. He sought to date the start of the Sasanian line by reference to the reign of Philip the Arab (244–9), which fits neatly with his earlier use of the Era of the Romans which began in 248/9, the fifth year of Philip's reign; see II.2 and n. 123. His third year: 246/7 CE. The 18th year of Heraclius: 5. x.627–4. x.628. Heraclius returned the True Cross in triumph to Jerusalem on 27 March 630. AE 77: 22.vi.628–21.vi.629. Time is therefore defined in terms of the Roman imperial sequence and the Armenian Era, offering an interesting insight into the chronological mind-set of Step'anos. It is significant that he correlates the end of the Sasanian line with the restoration of the True Cross rather than the eventual exile and murder of Yazdgerd III in Khurasan in 652 CE. The heading of Sebēos 42 [134.8] states that the Sasanian line held power for 542 years, and this figure is later reiterated in the text, Sebēos 48 [164.5–6]. This calculation: 244 + 386 = 630. From the coronation of Ardařir I in 224 CE to the demise of Yazdgerd III in 652 CE: a span of 428 years.

<sup>302</sup> This intriguing coda summarizes Sebēos 40 [130.15–34], and there is another version in T'A II.3 [97.28–98.7]. It suggests that Step'anos, or his source, did not consider the short-lived successors to Xořem as true heirs to the Sasanian line. The list is incomplete, and whilst it does refer to Yazdgerd III, it describes him as ruling in Ctesiphon. This reference, found across all three texts, is striking because Ctesiphon fell to the Arabs for the final time in 640 and Yazdgerd spent the rest of his life on the Iranian plateau conducting defensive operations. It implies that the source underlying Sebēos was completed before this date.

<sup>303</sup> 8th year of Heraclius: 5. x.617–4. x.618. AE 68: 25.vi.619–23.vi.620. This notice repeats an earlier notice, to which the same AE date was applied: see II.2 and n. 146. The identity of Muřammad's father, 'Abd Allāh, is not recorded in Sebēos but is noted in T'A II.4 [99.12].



the Greeks, they left and went to Arabia, to the sons of Ismael, 12,000 men, and they revealed to them their common ancestry and summoned [them] to [their] assistance.<sup>304</sup> And because Muḥammad had told them, that 'God has promised to give you a land and no one is able to resist you in battle,' the sons of Ismael, from Evila as far as Sur, gathered opposite Egypt. And [716] 12 tribes set off from the desert of P'aran, in accordance with their patriarchal line. They arrived at Ṛabovt' of Movab, in the region of Ṛuben, and fought with Theodosius, brother of Heraclius, and turned him in flight.<sup>305</sup> Once again the emperor Heraclius raised another force, 70,000 [strong], and sent [it] against them. On arriving at [119] the Jordan, they crossed into Arabia, advanced on foot, and they drew up against the camp of Ismael and were defeated by them and turned in flight. They crossed the Jordan and camped in Jericho. Then all the inhabitants of Jerusalem were frightened and dispatched the holy Cross, with all the vessels of the church, in ships to Constantinople.<sup>306</sup>

Then Muḥammad, after two years of hegemony, died, in the eleventh year of Heraclius. And Abubak'r, Ōt'man, and Amr took over control for 38 years.<sup>307</sup>

And when Constantine, son of Heraclius, was king, the Arabs ruled Judaea and Assyria and divided their forces into three parts.<sup>308</sup> One part left for Egypt and took possession as far as Alexandria; one part [went] through the northern region against the kingdom of the Greeks, and they took possession from the Mediterranean sea as far as the bank of the great river Euphrates and in that region of the river, Urha and all the cities of Mesopotamia. And one part [went] to the east, against the kingdom of the Persians;<sup>309</sup> they went to Ctesiphon and defeated the Persian forces and killed their king Ormizd, who was the grandson of Xosrov. And when they had ravaged Persia, they brought the royal treasure to their own country.<sup>310</sup>

<sup>304</sup> An abridged version of Sebēos 42 [134.21–32]. City of Edessa: *i k'alakn Edesia* in Step'anos and *yEdesac'woc' k'alak'n* in Sebēos 40 [134.21]. Neither employs the Armenian Urha for Edessa on this occasion. *Tačkastan*, Arabia.

<sup>305</sup> *yṚabovt' Movabu*, Rabbath Moab, east of the Dead Sea, in the land of Reuben.

<sup>306</sup> A summary of Sebēos 42 [135.1–136.33]. Step'anos retains the same sequence of events and employs the same vocabulary.

<sup>307</sup> *Łewond* 1 [3.4–9]. Step'anos reverts unexpectedly to *Łewond's History* for this chronological information. There is one discrepancy: for *Łewond*, Muḥammad enjoyed 20 years of hegemony, not 2, as Step'anos maintains. Eleventh year of Heraclius: 5.x.620–4.x.621. Muḥammad died on 8 June 632, two years after reoccupying Mecca, an episode which could be echoed in the 2 years of this notice.

<sup>308</sup> The belief that these events took place after the death of Heraclius is found in *Łewond* 1 [4.4–6] and not Sebēos, which, however, is the source for the tripartite invasion: Sebēos 42 [136.36–7].

<sup>309</sup> Sebēos 42 [136.37–137.3].

<sup>310</sup> This is a composite passage which fuses extracts from both Sebēos and *Łewond*. For the reference to the fall of Ctesiphon, see Sebēos 42 [137.6–7 and 26–9]; for the death of Yazdgerd (not Ormizd), grandson of Xosrov II and the capture of the royal treasure, see *Łewond* 2 [6.20–7.6].

[120] A great part of the force raided and ravaged Media, Golt'n, and Naxčawan. And one contingent raided [717] through the district of Artaz against the commander of the Greeks, whose name was Procopius, and they defeated him and ravaged his camp and went to their own country. And this occurred in [year] 22 of Abubak'r, Ōt'man and Amr, princes of Ismael.<sup>311</sup>

After a three-year hiatus, in year 26 of their hegemony, and in the third [year] of Constans, grandson of Heraclius,<sup>312</sup> the force of Ismael advanced from Assyria along the road of Jor, into the land of Tarōn; they poured through Bznunik' along the valley of Berkri into Ayraat. And they took the city of Dvin and they massacred the men found in it and they took into captivity women and children, 35,000 souls, which occurred on day 20 of the month *trē*, at the harvest of the vineyard. Then the prince of Armenia T'ēodoros, lord of Rštunik', who built up the island of Alt'amar, engaged them in Kogovit, but he was unable to overcome. And this occurred in the years of the catholicos Ezz.<sup>313</sup>

Now when the king of Ismael saw that the kingdom of Persia had been extinguished, he gave an order to all his forces to undertake war with the kingdom of the Romans so that they might seize Constantinople and destroy that kingdom as well.<sup>314</sup> And he wrote an insulting letter to the king in which was this statement, 'Your Christ, who did not save himself from the Jews, how is he able to deliver you from my clutches?' And [121] the whole army in the regions of the east, in Persia and in Xužastan and from the region of India and from Assyria and from the region of the Egyptians, was gathered close to Mu'āwiya, leader of the army who was installed in Damascus. They constructed warships in Alexandria and in all the coastal cities and they filled the ships with weapons and machines, 300 great ships with 1000 men in every ship, and 5000 [718] small ships with 100 men in every ship. And he sent them across the sea. And he himself took his forces and went by land to Chalcedon. The Greek army entered Constantinople as a garrison for the city, in year 13 of Constans.<sup>315</sup>

And when the force of Ismael arrived at Chalcedon, they sent the letter of the king to the emperor Constans. And the king took the letter and entered the

<sup>311</sup> This passage comprises details lifted from Lewond 2 [7.7–8.22]. For a study in how Lewond's narrative is related to, but different from, Sebēos 44–5 [145.6–147.2], see Greenwood, 'Reassessment of the *History* of Lewond', 133–42.

<sup>312</sup> Lewond 2–3 [8.22–9.3]. Once more, Step'anos turns to Lewond's *History* for chronological information. Lewond's notice reads *yerkrord ami*, second year, rather than *yerrord*, third of Constans II.

<sup>313</sup> The remainder of this narrative has been derived from Sebēos 42 [138.8–139.3], although the incidental detail that T'ēodoros, lord of Rštunik', had built on the island of Alt'amar is found in Sebēos 41 [134.5].

<sup>314</sup> This sentence combines two discrete notices: Sebēos 48 [164.7–8] and 49 [169.19–23].

<sup>315</sup> This passage comprises a full summary of Sebēos 50 [170.2–20]. Year 13 of Constans: September 653/4 CE.

house of God and fell upon his face and said, 'See, Lord.' And he wore sackcloth and he sat in ashes and proclaimed a fast.<sup>316</sup>

And the prince of Ismael ordered ships to be drawn up in battle-lines on the sea. And they moved towards the city. The Lord responded from heaven through the force of a powerful wind and the sea was whipped up from below with waves above and He smashed all the ships along with the forces and not a single one of them remained, because the sea swelled and foamed for 6 days. Then the army at Chalcedon took flight at night and went to their own places.<sup>317</sup>

And again in year 36 of the hegemony of Abubak'r, [122] Ōt'man, and Amr, their army attacked this country of Armenia. And they divided into three parts, to Vaspurakan and to Tarōn.<sup>318</sup>

And one division arrived in Kogovit and seized by night the fortress of Arcap'; but on that very day they became careless, behaving with obscene debauchery. The prince T'ēodoros attacked them with 600 men and he put them all to the sword—they numbered 3000—and he restored those who had been captured and seized the spoils. And Abubak'r and Ōt'man died.<sup>319</sup>

And after them, Mu'āwiya held the hegemony for 19 years. In his first year, in [year] 25 of Constans, the prince Smbat Bagratuni and the Greek commander, at the command of Constans, went out and fought with them, having crossed [719] over the drawbridge of the Euphrates. And when they were overcome, they turned in flight.<sup>320</sup>

And then they wrote a letter to Armenia in order to render them tributary to them. And the princes, along with the nobles and the catholicos Nersēs, agreed to pay 500 *dahekan* every year. And Mu'āwiya appointed Grigor as prince of Armenia and Iberia. And he died.<sup>321</sup>

And after Mu'āwiya, his son became prince of the Arabs, for 2 years. And after him, 'Abd al-Malik, son of Mruan, for 21 years.<sup>322</sup>

<sup>316</sup> Sebēos 50 [170.24–33].

<sup>317</sup> Sebēos 50 [171.6–24]. The coverage of this naval campaign against Constantinople is surprisingly full.

<sup>318</sup> The narrative shifts permanently from Sebēos to Łewond at this point. This passage supplies a summary of Łewond 3 [11.5–13]. However, the compression has in this instance produced uncertainty. In Łewond's *History* the three raiding parties are directed against Vaspurakan, Tarōn, and Kogovit, but Step'anos does not make it clear that the force attacking Kogovit is the third force.

<sup>319</sup> Łewond 3 [11.13–12.9].

<sup>320</sup> This notice provides a brief summary of Łewond 4 [12.11–14.3]. Mu'āwiya ruled from 661 until his death in April 680; 25th year of Constans: September 665/6. This synchronism is lifted from Łewond. For the significance of this short narrative, see Greenwood, 'Reassessment of the *History* of Łewond', 137; it seems to be outlining the final expulsion of Roman forces from Armenia in the aftermath of the first *fitna*, an event not otherwise recorded.

<sup>321</sup> Łewond 4 [14.4–20].

<sup>322</sup> Łewond 4 [14.23–27]. Mu'āwiya's son is named correctly by Łewond as Ezit/Yazīd I (April 680–November 683). He omits Yazīd's son, the sickly and short-lived Mu'āwiya II, and Marwān

Grigor, prince of Armenia, pacified this country of Armenia and built the church which is at Aruč. And he died at the hands of the peoples of the north.<sup>323</sup>

And Ašot *patrik* succeeded to the office of prince, a celebrated man, [123] a lover of learning and one filled with fear of God, who built the church of Dariwnk'. And he brought from the west the painted image of the Incarnation of Christ, and with magnificent power he placed it in it and he named the church in its name. And in his first year a fiery-tailed star appeared; it emitted after itself rays of light in the shape of a column. And this was a sign of famine, the sword, and great tribulation.<sup>324</sup>

Then, after 16 years in power, 'Abd al-Malik ordered his forces under the control of the commander Muḥammad to advance to this country of Armenia. When they came and saw the community of St Grigor in splendid clothes and using magnificent vessels, they plotted evil against it. And one group of impious ones went and lodged in its shelter; during the night they strangled one of their servants and cast him into a pit. At dawn they made a search and found the servant. And then, at the command of Muḥammad, they mutilated the monks of the monastery and suspended on a wooden cross more than 40 men and plundered the holy vessels of the church.<sup>325</sup>

Then Muḥammad went to Syria and appointed a prince from his own [relatives], who wanted to exterminate the nobility of Armenia.<sup>326</sup> [720] And [his] treachery was revealed to Smbat Bagratuni.<sup>327</sup> And he [Smbat] summoned to himself Smbat, son of prince Ašot, and Vard, son of prince T'ēodoros, and his brother Ašot. And they intended to go to the country of the Greeks. The forces of Ismael, [numbering] 5000 men, gave chase and they arrived at the *awan* of Vardanakert. And the Armenian forces [124] [numbered] 2000. And fighting in the morning, they overcame those of Ismael and put them to the edge of the sword. For they were frozen, having spent the night in the open, and those who escaped went out over the ice and were drowned in the river Araxes. Then Smbat sent the Arab horses and the noses of the corpses

b. al-Ḥakam, who died in April 685 and was succeeded by his son 'Abd al-Malik, who died in October 705.

<sup>323</sup> Lewond 4 [15.14–16.3]. See II.2, nn. 205 and 207.

<sup>324</sup> Lewond 5 [16.9–17.5].

<sup>325</sup> This supplies a brief summary of Lewond 7 [19.18–21.19], except that Lewond does not offer a figure for those killed. This detail does, however, feature in the version found in YD XXIV.7 [109.25], which is associated not with commander Muḥammad and the era of 'Abd al-Malik but rather the governorship of Yazid b. Mazyad at the end of the eighth century; see Greenwood, 'Reassessment of the *History* of Lewond', 110 and n. 50.

<sup>326</sup> *azatagund*, body or corps of nobles, hence nobility. The underlying passage in Lewond 8 [23.5] contains *azataxumb tohmn*, the collective noble line.

<sup>327</sup> The text reads *Ew yaytnec'aw nengut'iwnn Smbatay Bagratunwoy*, And the treachery of Smbat Bagratuni was revealed. However, the underlying text in Lewond's *History* supplies *yaytnec'aw nengut'iwn nora Smbatay*, His treachery was revealed to Smbat, which is somewhat different. Evidently *nora* has dropped out of the text of Step'anos, producing the opposite meaning to that intended.

to the emperor of the Greeks. And he received from the same the honour of the office of *kouropalates* and went to Tayk', to the stronghold which they call T'uxark'.<sup>328</sup>

And when 'Abd al-Malik, the prince of Ismael, heard about the repulse of his forces, he ordered his commander Muḥammad to attack Armenia with a multitude of forces. The catholicos of Armenia Sahak challenged him and brought about reconciliation through his death in the city of Xa'ran, as we have said previously.<sup>329</sup>

And when 'Abd al-Malik died, Walīd his son ruled the Arabs for 10 years.<sup>330</sup> In the first year of his hegemony this man decided to exterminate the nobility of Armenia from this country. He ordered the commander Muḥammad to accomplish this. And he ordered a certain Kasm who was governor of the regions around the city of Naxčawan to summon to himself the Armenian nobles together with their cavalry, as if to pass in parade and to receive a salary from the public treasury. In accordance with their credulous minds, they assembled there straightaway. And they ordered them to divide in two, some in the church of Naxčawan, and the other half in the church of Xram. And they set the churches on fire and so burned them [125] all, in 153 of the Era. They hung the leading nobles on a cross and executed [them]. There Smbat, son of Ašot [721] Bagratuni, and Grigor and Koriwn from the family of Arcruni were caught.<sup>331</sup> They led away their wives and children into captivity.<sup>332</sup> They took and brought up Vahan, son of Xosrov, lord of Goł'tn, a small child and taught him in accordance with their impious religion. After reaching the age of maturity, he received from the public treasury control over his ancestral possessions and he departed for Armenia. And he took upon himself the Christian faith<sup>333</sup> and monastic life; when he arrived at the royal court, he accepted the reward of martyrdom by the sword, in 186 of the Era, as the *History* teaches which speaks about the same.<sup>334</sup>

<sup>328</sup> This passage offers a very brief summary of Lewond 8 [23.2–26.16], which nevertheless manages to convey all the major elements of the longer narrative.

<sup>329</sup> Lewond 9 [28.8–31.6]. The earlier narrative occurs in II.2 and n. 220. It was copied from YD XXI.6–13 [95.26–97.14] rather than Lewond.

<sup>330</sup> Al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik was caliph between 705 and 715.

<sup>331</sup> This passage abridges Lewond 10 [31.17–34.27]. The section at 32.26–33.9 is followed very closely. However, Step'anos omits all reference to the nobles then being removed from the churches, tortured to reveal their wealth, and finally hanged; rather, the impression crafted by Step'anos is that both nobles and cavalry were burned alive in the churches. AE 153: 3.vi.704–2.vi.705. Intriguingly, whilst members of the Bagratuni and Arcruni families are named, Varazšapuh Amatuni and his brother are omitted.

<sup>332</sup> This short sentence is not found in Lewond's *History* but it could be implied from the narrative.

<sup>333</sup> *ew k'ristosakan hawatn*, Christian faith, omitted from ST I but present in manuscripts A and O and so included in ST II.

<sup>334</sup> The remainder of this passage is not found in Lewond's *History*. YD XXI.21 [99.1–6] refers in passing to the martyrdom of Vahan, lord of Goł'tn, in the time of caliph 'Umar II b.

After the burning of the princes, Smbat *kouropalates* and the other nobles who were with him escaped and went to the regions of the Egerac'ik'. The king of the Greeks gave to them the city of P'oyt', which they entered and settled. Later on they plundered the city and the vessels of the church and returned from there. And the emperor commanded to the archbishops and metropolitans to prescribe anathemas against them and to read [these] at the feast of Easter, when they had committed the crime.<sup>335</sup>

Then in place of Muḥammad, Walid sent one 'Abd al-'Azīz, who was deaf. He pacified this country of Armenia and rebuilt the city of Dvin more strongly and on a bigger scale than the previous one. For he said, 'The destruction of this city occurred by my hand and I [126] shall re-establish it. For I was', he said, 'a child of 12 years and I had a red tunic. When the force of Ismael attacked this city, I myself entered through a pipe and went out to the rampart and shouted to our forces in a loud voice. And all the guards of the first rank deserted the rampart and the force of Arabs was encouraged and they took the city.' And this [happened] in this way.<sup>336</sup>

Then once again the heart of the commander Muḥammad was provoked against the country of Čenk', and he asked the prince of Ismael for a force of 200,000; and passing through Assyria and through the country of Persia, he reached some part of the country of Čenk' and he camped at the bank of the river which is called Bōtis. And he wrote a formal letter to the king of Čenk', 'Why do you alone not enter [722] under submission to our prince, at whom all peoples trembled?' And the king of Čenk' replied, 'The king of the Babylonians who ruled the whole world and [the king of] the Macedonians and [the king of] the Persians, why were these not able to rule over us? I shall not give you tribute but only royal presents.' And again Muḥammad said, 'Give me', he said, '30,000 girls and I will leave you'; for he had coveted the beauty of the attractive maidens of the Čenk'. The king of Čenk' prepared wagons with coverings of brocade and on these [wagons he hid] 40,000 fully armed men and he went to the bank of the river. He himself was situated some little distance from the wagons, and he said to Muḥammad, 'Gather up

'Abd al-'Azīz (717–20), but does not include any of the detail included by Step'anos. A separate hagiographical text composed by Artawazd/Abraham, abbot of Erašxawor, records his life and death: L. Ališan, *Hayapatum*, 2 vols. (Venice, 1901, 1902), II, 11–19 (no. 202). Two versions of the colophon attached to this text were published by Mat'evosyan, *Hišatakaranner*, no. 38. They both assert that Vahan was martyred in the city of Rucap' (Resafa, formerly Sergiopolis) in the year 186 AE (26.v.737–25.v.738). Moreover, they record that Armenia received or drank from the cup of wrath in 152 AE (4.vi.703–2.vi.704), implying that this was when Vahan was removed from Golt'n and taken into captivity. This justifies the inclusion of the narrative at this point. The *History* referred to by Step'anos would therefore appear to be *Patmut'iwn Vahanay Golt'nac'woyi*. ST I, 125.5, reads Vardan, but Vahan is found in manuscripts A, C, E, and O and should be preferred: ST II, 721, n. 4.

<sup>335</sup> A short account comprising two extracts from Łewond 10 [35.11–16 and 36.2–15].

<sup>336</sup> Łewond 10 [35.18–23 and 36.23–37.8].

your honourable men equivalent to the number of my girls, 30,000, and cross to this side of the river, so that we may divide the girls by lot and so that your forces do not come to blows.' And Muḥammad took 30,000 [127] of his leading men and he crossed in ships to that side. And the king of Čenk' gave an order to his forces to fall upon them. And those hidden in the wagons under the coverings came out and surrounded them and put them to the edge of the sword. And Muḥammad jumped into the river with a few men and went in flight.<sup>337</sup>

And when Walīd had been in power for 10 years, he died and Sulēyman took possession of the hegemony for 3 years.<sup>338</sup> In the third year of his hegemony he gathered forces under the command of Maslama,<sup>339</sup> they went to the city of Darband, defeated the forces of the Huns, and gave chase. And while they were destroying the rampart, they found a stone in the foundations on which was written, 'Marcian, autocrator, emperor built this city and these towers with many talents from his treasures. And in later times, the sons of Ismael will destroy this and from their own treasures they shall rebuild.' And when they found the text, they stopped the demolition and restored again the rampart which had been overthrown.<sup>340</sup>

Then after 'Umar, Yazīd became prince for 6 years. This man was inspired by the wickedness of the devil [723] and fought against Christian peoples. He gave an order to pulverize the painted images of the true Incarnation of the Lord and his disciples; he also broke up images of the Lord's Cross of Christ which had been established in various places for the purposes of worshipping the consubstantial Trinity; and then [128] he commanded pigs to be killed and that they be purged from the land. And he himself died, strangled by the violence of the devil.<sup>341</sup>

And in his place Hishām ruled for 12 years. This man increased the tax imposition on this country of Armenia.<sup>342</sup> After a little [time, he began] to insult Leo, emperor of the Romans, that he should go to him in submission and that he was liable for tax payment. And when he refused, he was enraged

<sup>337</sup> This longer passage is closely modelled on Łewond 11 [37.10–40.7]. Whilst this is an entertaining anecdote, the reason for its inclusion by Step'anos is hard to fathom.

<sup>338</sup> As noted previously, Al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik was caliph between 705 and 715 CE. His successor, Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik, lasted 2 years, from 715 to 717. Łewond stipulates 2 years and 8 months, suggesting that Step'anos may have rounded up this figure.

<sup>339</sup> *Mslim*, Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik.

<sup>340</sup> Again this is very closely modelled on Łewond 12 [40.11–41.8]. Its inclusion is also puzzling.

<sup>341</sup> This passage is very closely based on Łewond 16 [99.16–100.15]. Step'anos makes no reference to the long letter written in the name of Leo III to 'Umar II inserted into Łewond's *History* at this point: Łewond 14 [45.10–98.24]; for a recent translation and commentary, see J.-P. Mahé, 'La Correspondence d'Omar et de Léon', in Martin-Hisard, *Łewond Vardapet Discours historique*, 343–460.

<sup>342</sup> Łewond 17 [100.20–1] states that Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik ruled for 19 years, which is correct (724–February 743 CE), rather than the 12 indicated by Step'anos. The increase in taxation: Łewond 17 [101.1–2].

and sent Maslama his brother with a huge force to the country of the Greeks. He crossed through Cilicia to the country of Miwsigon, which is translated *Mijerkreayk*;<sup>343</sup> when they reached Bithynia they defeated the force of the Greeks and plundered their land. And they returned to their land.<sup>344</sup> And when their great prince of Ismael saw the victory, he assembled his force again and entrusted it into the control of the commander Maslama, his brother, and sent it against the emperor of the Greeks. He swore an oath not to return to him until he had destroyed Constantinople and St Sophia.<sup>345</sup>

And he advanced and reached the shore of the sea of Pontus and wrote a letter to the emperor Leo: ‘What is this obstinacy of yours, you who have not come into obedience to us? Have you not heard about the evil which we have brought over all the kingdoms which have resisted us? We have crushed [them] like a vessel made of baked earth. The promise which was made to our father Ismael has been fulfilled. Now I have sworn an oath not to return to my land until I shall wipe out your kingdom and shall destroy your walled city; [129] and the so-called Sophia which is your house of worship, I shall turn into wash-houses for my forces, and your wooden cross which you worship, I shall dash and break into pieces on your head.’<sup>346</sup>

When the emperor read the letter of derision, he rushed to [724] St Sophia with the patriarch and the whole multitude of the city and he unfolded the insulting letter before the Lord and for three days they carried out worship of prayers constantly, remaining without food. And then he composed a response to the commander Maslama: ‘Why do you glory in wickedness, you who are powerful in impiety? For if the staff of Moses which was the precursor for the Cross of Christ, drowned Pharaoh, how much more completely will this symbol of the holy Cross destroy you. Now if you withdraw from there,<sup>347</sup> you are choosing well for yourself and your forces. But if not, do what you are obliged in your thoughts.’<sup>348</sup>

And the commander Maslama, when he read this letter, was enraged and in a fury he gave the order to his forces to embark on the ships which he had prepared. And he left and approached the city. And when the emperor Leo saw the tumultuous mass which had become a forest over the sea, he gave the order to set up the fortifications made of iron bars and to shut the chained

<sup>343</sup> *Miwsigon*, presumably a transliterated form of the Greek *μεσόγαλιος*, i.e. ‘inland’ or ‘Middle land’, whence the Armenian calque *Mijerkreayk*, ‘the lands between’ or ‘Middle land’, used for Asia Minor, between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean.

<sup>344</sup> *Łewond* 19 [103.7–15 and 104.19–21]. *Biwt’ania*, Bithynia.

<sup>345</sup> *Łewond* 20 [105.2–9].

<sup>346</sup> This passage follows the narrative of *Łewond* 20 [105.14–106.17].

<sup>347</sup> *andrēn*, there, preferring ST II, 724, n. 14, and the readings of manuscripts A, B, D, and O, to *Malxaseanc*, who offered *yinēn*, from me.

<sup>348</sup> This is an abridged version of *Łewond* 20 [106.20–108.23].



door of the fortress and he forbade anyone to engage with the enemy. Rather, trusting in God, he waited for an intervention from on high.

[130] And the king himself took the invincible symbol upon his back, and the patriarch and the whole mass of the community, with candles and with the perfume of incense, lifted up blessings. And going out through the gate of the city, the king struck the water of the sea with the symbol of the Cross, saying: 'Help us, Christ, Saviour of the world.' And at the same time, the depths of the sea shook and submerged the forces of Ismael. And half, beaten by the surging sea were carried to the country of the Thracians, and the rest [were carried] to distant islands, because they were more than 50,000 men.<sup>349</sup>

And they seized Maslama and brought him to the king. And the king said, 'The Lord has rendered justice in my favour. I shall not lay my hands on you. Go to your land and report the miracles of God.' [725] And he went in shame to his own land and he never again sought to lift his sword against anyone.<sup>350</sup>

At that time the prince of Ismael, Hishām, sent Marwān, son of Muḥammad, over the people of Armenia. He appointed Aṣot, son of Vasak Bagratuni, as *patrik* over Armenia.<sup>351</sup>

And then, when Hishām had died, Walīd ruled in his place for one and a half years. At the command of the Quraysh, his nobles killed him and in his place they set Sulaymān.<sup>352</sup>

When he heard about the death of Walīd, straightaway Marwān gathered his forces and crossed the river Euphrates; he fought with Sulaymān, overcame and killed him, and he ruled himself for 6 years. And he besieged Damascus and took it. They bound the inhabitants of the city, the sons [131] of Ismael, to four stakes and planed their faces with the tools of a carpenter; the pregnant women they split in two and the young men they enclosed between walls; and the young women they led away into captivity. And the prophecy of Amos was fulfilled, 'On account of the three iniquities of Damascus, and on account of the four, I shall not abate from them.' Being sick in mind and understanding, they carried out the deadly deeds, murder and desire for possessions and sexual desire; and fourth, because they did not have an expectation of the scrutiny of God.<sup>353</sup>

<sup>349</sup> This is a summary of Łewond 20 [109.1–110.14].

<sup>350</sup> Łewond 20 [110.25–111.13 and 112.4–5]. Once more, it is hard to fathom why Step'anos decided to include this long narrative, entertaining though it is.

<sup>351</sup> Mruan, son of Mahmet: Marwān b. Muḥammad, the last of the Umayyad caliphs. This is taken from Łewond 21 [112.7–14].

<sup>352</sup> Łewond 23 [115.2–20]. Al-Walid II b. Yazid was caliph between February 743 and April 744 CE. Step'anos follows Łewond in identifying the *kuṛayk'* as responsible for his death. They are described by Łewond as *hawatarims hawatoyñ iwreanc'*, trustworthy men of their religion. This seems to be an Armenian transliteration of Quraysh, whose leadership role is commended in *ḥadīth*, traditions associated with the Prophet. Sulēyman: Sulaymān b. Hishām.

<sup>353</sup> This is an abridged version of Łewond 24 [116.2–118.9]. For this use of Amos 1:3–5, see Greenwood, 'Reassessment of the *History* of Łewond', 146–7.

At this time, Ašot *patrik* was the prince; he held power for 15 years in glorious fashion; then the blinding of his eyes by Grigor Mamikonean; and after that he lived a further 14 years and died and was placed in a tomb in the village of Dariwnk.<sup>354</sup>

And while Marwān held power and was fighting with his own people, a force was organized in Khurasan with a certain ‘Abd Allāh as their leader; it crossed the Tigris to the great camp of the Arabs at Akoła [726] and fought with and slaughtered 300,000 from the forces of Marwān; when they apprehended Marwān, they killed him.<sup>355</sup>

And ‘Abd Allāh ruled in place of Marwān. And he sent his brother, the other ‘Abd Allāh, to travel through all the countries of his dominion, to extract tax from the living and the dead according to the number of men.<sup>356</sup> [132] He ill-treated everyone with many afflictions and troubles and he reduced [them] to poverty. He compelled the priests to reveal the number of dead so that relatives could pay the tax, and he placed seals of lead on the necks of everyone.<sup>357</sup> And he went from Armenia to Khurasan, and to Egypt and to Pentapolis and he performed the same evil. And he left as *hramanatar* of Armenia Yazid, son of Usayd. And Yazid appointed as prince of Armenia, Sahak son of Bagarat Bagratuni, a man of handsome appearance and aware of the fear of God.<sup>358</sup>

And ‘Abd Allāh died after 3 years and his brother took his dominion, the other ‘Abd Allāh, for 2 years.<sup>359</sup> In his days, the emperor Constantine, son of

<sup>354</sup> This short notice repeats the final part of Lewond 26 [124.18–23], although Lewond stipulates that Ašot was prince for 17 years and lived for 13 rather than 14 years after being blinded. Step’anos certainly had access to the whole chapter, because the reference to the blinding of Ašot appears earlier in the narrative [124.1] and is not mentioned in the concluding notice.

<sup>355</sup> ‘Abd Allāh: Abu’l-‘Abbās al-Saffāh, the first ‘Abbasid caliph (749–54). In fact he sent his uncle, ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī, to defeat Marwān. This is taken from Lewond 27 [125.2–127.6]. Akoła: Kūfa.

<sup>356</sup> The other ‘Abd Allāh: ‘Abd Allāh Abū Ja’far b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, the brother of the caliph Abu’l-‘Abbās al-Saffāh and his successor.

<sup>357</sup> The edition of Šahnazareanc’ breaks off at this point, *i paranoc’s amenec’un*, and lacks the remainder of this chapter, along with II.5 and II.6. This substantial lacuna is a feature of manuscripts B and D. Dulaurier, *Histoire universelle*, 204, noted this substantial lacuna and sought to address it by consulting manuscript O (V869). However, Dulaurier did not appreciate that this chapter contains two very similar phrases in close proximity to one another, *i paranoc’s amenec’un* and below, *yamenec’un paranoc’s*. His correspondents in Venice supplied him with the missing sections from the location of the second phrase rather than the first, thereby generating a further lacuna, one that Dulaurier could not have known. For comments by Malxaseanc’, see ST I, 370–1, nn. 99 and 100.

<sup>358</sup> This paragraph is an abridgement of Lewond 28 [127.10–128.22]. Izit, son of Usaday, Yazid b. Usayd al-Sulamī, governor, *hramanatar* of Armenia on three occasions: 134–5 AH [30.vii.751–6.vii.753], 141–8 AH [14.v.758–15.ii.766], and 158–63 AH [11.xi.774–5.ix.780], although these dates remain putative.

<sup>359</sup> Lewond 28 [129.3–5], except that Lewond allocates 22 years to the caliph al-Manšūr, ‘Abd Allāh Abū Ja’far b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, which is correct (June 754–October 775).

Leo, advanced into the east; he took the city of Karin and he destroyed its circuit wall and opened its treasury, and transferred the inhabitants of the city, the Sařakinos, to the country of the Greeks with their belongings. Then at the coming of another year, Yazīd rebuilt the city of Karin and he settled other Arabs in it.<sup>360</sup>

And then one group from the Ismaelites, whose commander was named Sulaymān, made an incursion from the regions of Persia into the country of Vaspurakan. The princes of Arcruni, Sahak, and Hamazasp attacked it, and employing the sword, they slaughtered many from the enemy. Hamazasp was seriously wounded, fell from his horse, and was killed by the enemy. [133] When Sahak saw that, he ran and he killed many and he himself died in the same [place]. These were sons of Vahan.<sup>361</sup>

And their brother Gagik rebelled against the Ismaelites; he secured himself [727] in the fortress of Nkan. He went out with his forces and ravaged the country of the Persians. In response, an Ismaeli force came and invested and besieged the fortress for one year. And since they were unable to accomplish anything, using a treacherous stratagem, they invited [him to discuss] peace. And he was set in prison and died in the same. And his sons Hamazasp and Sahak succeeded their father.<sup>362</sup>

During the dominion of the other 'Abd Allāh, when Yazīd was *hramanatar*, the collar of the yoke of tax-collection of this land of Armenia grew much heavier, because the collection was not in accordance with property but in accordance with heads of population, to the extent that the nobles and the greatest were reduced to utter penury. Although the prince Sahak and the patriarch Trdat complained about this on many occasions, they profited nothing because the punishment was from the Lord; He was enraged by our sins and brought hail and locust[s] and drought as punishment for us.<sup>363</sup> And during the dominion of Musē, Sahak and Hamazasp were martyred, their

<sup>360</sup> A summary of Łewond 29 [129.7–130.8] except that Łewond calls those who repopulated the city *ars yordwoc'n Ismayeli*, men from the sons (or children) of Ismael, whereas Step'anos employs *ayl Tačiks*, other Arabs. Sařakinos, Łewond's rendering of Saracen, copied by Step'anos.

<sup>361</sup> This passage abridges Łewond 30 [130.14–131.12], although on this occasion, Step'anos describes the raiding party as comprising *yIsmayēlac'woc'*, Ismaelites; Łewond, however, calls them *ordik'n Beliaray*, sons of Beliar, and *ordik'yanč'anac'*, sons of sinfulness.

<sup>362</sup> This is a brief summary of Łewond 32 [133.20–135.5], to which Step'anos has added the detail that Gagik was the brother of Sahak and Hamazasp, mentioned previously in Łewond 30 [131.13]. Łewond identified the fortress as Nkan, but the manuscripts of Step'anos all read Ołokan and this was followed by Malxaseanc'. This looks to be a corrupt reading of *orum Nkann* found in Łewond. It seems most likely that this is a reference to the fortress of Ęrnkan in the mountainous district of Albak, east of lake Van and west of lake Urmia.

<sup>363</sup> This passage offers a summary of Łewond 33 [135.7–136.19].

heads were removed by the sword and they were suspended on a cross, in 234 of the Era.<sup>364</sup>

And when Musē had held power for one year, he perished, and his brother Aharon came after him. This man gave Atrpatakan and Armenia with Iberia and Albania to his brother Awbet'la. This man sent Ipn Dōlk from the people of [134] Rome as tax-collector to Armenia. When he came to the city of Dvin, he oppressed the inhabitants of the land with an excessive tax-collection. All the nobles and the catholicos Esayi gathered before him and they begged him to lighten the heavy collar of the tax which he was collecting. And they obtained nothing. But again he dispatched tax-collectors to collect double the previous [assessment] and he had seals of lead placed on the necks of everyone,<sup>365</sup> and for each one he collected many *zuzēs* until the population was reduced to extreme poverty from the intolerable afflictions from the wicked torturer.<sup>366</sup> And 30,000 men emigrated to the country of the Greeks; Šapuh from the family of Amatunik' led them and Hamam his son. And their enemies gave chase and reached the borders of Koła. [728] And they turned in battle and put the Arab [force] to flight and they themselves crossed the river Akamsis, which originates in Tayk', flows north-west, and enters Pontus. And when the emperor Constantine was informed, he settled them in an excellent and fertile land. Then the remainder, those who had stayed in the country of ours, in utter destitution surrendered themselves in submission to the children of Ismael, becoming their woodcutters or water-carriers.<sup>367</sup>

At that time the catholicos of Armenia Esayi [135] ended his life in good conduct. And Ibn Dōlk, using threats and out of dread, had all the treasure and vessels of the church brought before him and took whatever seemed to him desirable. And through many bribes, Step'anos succeeded to the throne of the patriarchate.<sup>368</sup>

<sup>364</sup> This brief notice derives from the full account of their martyrdom in Łewond 40, specifically 165.3–7 and 165.25–27. Musē, Mūsā, the caliph al-Hādī. He became caliph in August 785 but died a year later, in September 786 CE. AE 234: 14.v.785–13.v.786. Łewond records AE 233 [14.v.784–13.v.785], which does not tally with the rule of al-Hādī, and AE 234 has usually been preferred. The error may be explained by the proximity between the numerals 4 and 9. It is striking that Step'anos offers no account, however brief, of the Armenian rebellions in the mid-770s under Mušel Mamikonean and others, as recorded at length in Łewond 34 [137.19–152.3].

<sup>365</sup> *jameneč'un paranoc's*, on the necks of everyone; see n. 357.

<sup>366</sup> This passage is an abridgement of Łewond 41 [166.8–167.23]. Aharon: Hārūn al-Rashīd, caliph between September 786 and 809 CE. Awbet'la: 'Ubayd Allāh b. al-Mādī, brother of Hārūn. Ipn Dōlk: see Lowick, *Coinage*, nos. 696 and 697, for dirhams minted in Armīniya in 174 AH [20. v.790–9.v.791] bearing the name Daqla; see Greenwood, 'Reassessment of the *History* of Łewond', 127 and n. 122.

<sup>367</sup> This is an abridgement of Łewond 42 [168.12–169.8].

<sup>368</sup> Łewond 42 [169.11–170.7]. The final sentence is based on the final sentence in Łewond's *History*, confirming that Step'anos had access to the full text.

## Chapter 5

From another historian. The Amir-al Mumnik' of the Arabs<sup>369</sup>

As we have said before, in 68 of the Era Muḥammad the prophet of the Arabs appeared, being head, 2 years.<sup>370</sup>

Abubakr	60 years. <sup>371</sup>
Omar	11 years.
Ōt'man ipn Ap'an	10 years.
Mawia senior	23 years.
Izit	6 years.
Mawia ipn Yizit	1 year.
Mruan	1 year.
Abdlmelk' ipn Mruan	20 years.

Vlit' ipn Abdlmelk' 9 years, until 163 of the Armenian Era.<sup>372</sup>

Then after Vlit', Mruan became *amir al-mumin*, in 192 of the Era.<sup>373</sup>

Abdla died in 219 of the Era.<sup>374</sup> Mahdi became [136] *amir al-mumin*. Aharon died in 255 of the Era.<sup>375</sup> The other Abdla ipn, who entered Rome.<sup>376</sup> Aharon

<sup>369</sup> Dulaurier, *Histoire universelle*, 204, argued that this list was derived from the previous chapter. However, this is clearly not the case; even a cursory comparison reveals differences in the caliphal sequence, their years and their patronyms. As Step'anos himself indicates, this list derives from another source. Freestanding lists of caliphs are found in both T'A II.4 [103.35–105.34] and MD III.2 [291.4–292.14], but neither of these matches the list supplied here. The list of chapter headings at the start of book II includes an additional phrase in this heading which is omitted here: 'and their double-name appellations'.

<sup>370</sup> This repeats two earlier notices in II.2 and II.4, identifying AE 68 as the year; see II.2, n. 146 and II.4, n. 303.

<sup>371</sup> This list stretches from the emergence of Muḥammad to the promotion of Ašot Bagratuni as prince of princes. It is incomplete and often inaccurate. In addition to 'Alī, both Umayyad and 'Abbasid caliphs are missing, Sulaymān, 'Umar II and Hishām being the most prominent of the former and al-Hādī, al-Amin and al-Wāthiq of the latter. Moreover, the 60 years accorded to Abū Bakr should be reduced to 2. Yet at the same time, 'Uthmān is correctly identified as b. 'Affān and the little-heralded and short-lived Mu'awiya b. Yazīd is included. Collectively these details suggest that the original list was in Arabic.

<sup>372</sup> Al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik (October 705–23 February 715) was caliph for 9 years. AE 163 (1.vi.714–31.v.715) was the year in which he died, making this correlation between caliphal sequence and Armenian Era accurate.

<sup>373</sup> It seems that the caliphs al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik and al-Walid b. Yazīd have been conflated. Marwān b. Muḥammad succeeded the short-lived Yazīd b. al-Walid in December 744, which strictly did not fall in AE 192 (25.v.743–23.v.744), although one could make the case that Marwān II was considered to be caliph after the death of al-Walid in April 744 CE.

<sup>374</sup> Al-Mansūr was also known as Abū Ja'far 'Abd Allāh, and died on 7 October 775. AE 219 (18.v.770–17.v.771) is therefore quite some way out, although al-Mahdi did indeed succeed him.

<sup>375</sup> Hārūn al-Rashid died on 24 March 809; AE 255 (9.v.806–8.v.807) is therefore proximate, not precise.

<sup>376</sup> This notice does not make sense; no caliph ever entered Constantinople or Rome. In my view it is a straightforward scribal error. Instead of *Abdlay miws ipn or i Hořoms emut*, I would suggest *Abdlay miws ipn Aharon Mamun*, i.e. 'Abd Allāh b. Hārūn al-Ma'mūn, Hārūn al-Rashid's son who was caliph between September 813 and 9 August 833 CE.

whose brother [was] Ja‘far died in 298 of the Era.<sup>377</sup> Ja‘far in 311 [729] of the Era.<sup>378</sup> Ahmat, who sent Ali, son of Yahē, as *amir* of Armenia and made Ašot prince of princes, in 311 of the Era.<sup>379</sup>

Although we have laboured hard in the historical compositions of previous [authors], in order to compose succinctly the narrative of events (and the things stated are true), however, we have found the names and dates of certain *amir al-mumnik*‘ in the histories to be different. I do not know if these ones were double-named or if, appearing individually awesome and magnificent, they seemed to be autonomous rulers, whose names they then recorded in writing.<sup>380</sup> However, we ourselves have written here everything in writing, lest there might appear to be a lack of work at this juncture. But you should know that it has been proved that in 68 of the Era, and in the eighth year of the reign of Heraclius,<sup>381</sup> Muḥammad appeared and thereafter their tyranny or rather kingdom happened over the world, and it lasted until 364 of the Armenian Era and the 24th year of king Smbat,<sup>382</sup> who was suspended on a cross, down to the time when Leo, son of Basil, was king of the Greeks.<sup>383</sup> Now up to this point, no other nation previously had ruled over them, but they themselves divided among themselves and opposed one another. For it was not only those who possessed celebrated cities who became [137] tyrants but also those who were princes of minor cities and tyrants of fortresses, they too became bitterly antagonized against one another.

<sup>377</sup> Hārūn al-Wāthiq, caliph from 5 January 842 to 10 August 847, was indeed succeeded by his brother, Ja‘far b. al-Mu‘tašim, who took the title al-Mutawakkil and was caliph until 11 December 861. AE 298 (28.iv.849–27.iv.850) therefore relates to the death of al-Wāthiq.

<sup>378</sup> Ja‘far b. al-Mu‘tašim, al-Mutawakkil was caliph until his death on 11 December 861. The attempted correlation with AE 311 (25.iv.862–24.iv.863) is therefore proximate.

<sup>379</sup> This is an intriguing reference to Aḥmad b. al-Khašib, the *wazir* appointed by al-Mutawakkil’s son al-Muntašir following his accession. Ali son of Yahē: ‘Ali b. Yahyā al-Armanī, named governor by the caliph al-Musta‘in in October/November 862 CE, according to Tabarī III, 1508, but killed in battle a year later, in October/November 863 CE: Tabarī III, 1509–10. Ašot Bagratuni was the son of Smbat Aplabas, and was crowned as king of Armenia on 26 August 884 CE.

<sup>380</sup> This frank admission bears all the hallmarks of having been written by Step‘anos himself.

<sup>381</sup> This correlation has appeared previously in II.4, n. 303.

<sup>382</sup> AE 364 (12.iv.915–11.iv.916) seems to be at least one year too late; 24th year of Smbat I Bagratuni fell in 914/15 although there remains uncertainty over the exact date of his death.

<sup>383</sup> Leo VI, son of Basil I, died on 11 May 912 CE. This third element to the synchronism imparts further uncertainty to the date of Smbat I’s death, and most commentators include a range of dates, from 912 to 915.

## Chapter 6

*The Emperors of the Greeks from Constantine to the present: their names and years in office*

In the third year of Diocletian, Trdat was reigning as king of Armenia. Now in addition to the three [years], Diocletian reigned a further 17 years.<sup>384</sup> And then Constantine for 32 years. This man in the second year of his reign transferred the royal residence from Rome to the island of Biwzandia, and encircling it with a wall as a great city, he named in his own name, Constantinople.<sup>385</sup> He brought with himself some fragment from the relics of St Peter and Paul for the sake of the security of the kingdom; later he built the great [730] and celebrated church in the universal capital city which he named with the appropriate name 'the Apostles'.<sup>386</sup> And in his third year he convened a council of 318 patriarchs at Nicaea in Bithynia in connection with Arius the Alexandrian, who said the son of God [was] a created being.<sup>387</sup> And in his seventh year he sent his mother to Jerusalem in search of the venerable holy Cross [138] of Christ.<sup>388</sup> This man sought and obtained the original crown of the prophet David from Šapuh, king of the Persians, which king Nebuchadnezzar had lifted from the head of Jehoiakim, son of Josiah, as the History of Šapuh Bagratuni teaches us, son of Ašot *ant'ipatrik*.<sup>389</sup> In his twenty-first [year], it was year 291 from the vivifying Passion of the Lord.<sup>390</sup>

<sup>384</sup> The *Anonymous Chronicle* accords Diocletian 20 years and notes that he appointed Trdat as king of Armenia, but does not date this event: P'ilon Tirakac'i, *Zamanakagrut'awn*, 945.173. However, this reference to Trdat's accession in the third year of Diocletian is found in the *History of Uxtanēs*, I.67 [501].

<sup>385</sup> This echoes a sentence in the *Anonymous Chronicle*: P'ilon Tirakac'i, *Zamanakagrut'awn*, 945.193. Its closest analogue is found in the *History of Uxtanēs*, I.75 [508]. Uxtanēs' chapter heading states that the narrative was from the *History of Šapuh*, son of Ašot *apahi patraki*. Whilst it is possible that Step'anos lifted it from the *History of Uxtanēs*, it seems more probable that both historians were drawing upon Šapuh's lost *History*, a source previously acknowledged by Step'anos in I.1, n. 18.

<sup>386</sup> This sentence is very close to a sentence in the *History of Uxtanēs*, I.75 [508], and it is likely that it also derives ultimately from Šapuh's lost *History*.

<sup>387</sup> Again this loosely echoes the *Anonymous Chronicle*: P'ilon Tirakac'i, *Zamanakagrut'awn*, 946.196–8. However, the *Anonymous Chronicle* does not offer any summary of Arius' teaching, as here. The reference to the 'third year' is unknown. The *History of Uxtanēs* I.71 [505] refers to the 318 patriarchs meeting at Nicaea, but is undated and does not comment on Arius or his teaching.

<sup>388</sup> Again this sentence is found only in the *History of Uxtanēs*, I.72 [505], but without a chronological marker, suggesting this may have been in Šapuh's lost *History*.

<sup>389</sup> This notice is not found in the *Anonymous Chronicle* or either Armenian recension of Socrates' *Ecclesiastical History*. However, a much-extended account appears in the *History of Uxtanēs*, I.75 [508–9] and must again have derived ultimately from Šapuh's lost *History*. That Šapuh was called son of Ašot, *apahi patraki*, in Uxtanēs' chapter heading at I.75 [508] suggests that there was some uncertainty on the part of both Uxtanēs and Step'anos as to his correct title; it was *apo hypatos*.

<sup>390</sup> The source of this synchronism is unknown, but it is possible that it was devised by Step'anos himself.

And after him his sons reigned, Constantine and Constans and Constantius were kings of the Greeks and the Romans, for 24 years.<sup>391</sup>

In their days, Andrew, brother of bishop Mangnos, organized the compilation of the calendars. And Cyril of Jerusalem wrote a letter to him concerning the appearance of the Symbol.<sup>392</sup>

And then Julian, nephew of Constantius, for 2 years. In his days the blessed Athanasius, patriarch of Alexandria, was in Scythia, having been expelled on two occasions by Arians.<sup>393</sup> This man died in Persia and was buried in Tarsus, as Socrates says.<sup>394</sup>

Jovian, for 1 year.

Valentinian and Valens, for 11 years. The latter exiled St Nersēs patriarch of Armenia to the island of Patmos, and many other fathers, who were sustained by the fish which the sea threw them of its own accord.<sup>395</sup> In their eleventh year the blessed Athanasius died in Alexandria, having returned from [139] exile.<sup>396</sup> And in their days were the holy *vardapets*, Basil of Caesarea and Gregory of Nyssa, brother of the same, and Gregory of Nazianzus the theologian.<sup>397</sup>

Gratian, for 5 years. In his time Epiphanius, bishop of Cyprus, wrote his Treatise against heresy.<sup>398</sup>

St Theodosius, for 15 years. This man convened a council in Constantinople of 150 fathers in connection with Macedonius, who fought against the Spirit and had died beforehand.<sup>399</sup> [731]

<sup>391</sup> This sentence summarizes the entry in the *Anonymous Chronicle*: P'ilon Tirakac'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 947.200–3, although this work allocates 23 years, not 24. His sons: here Costandnos, Costas, and Costandianos.

<sup>392</sup> Again these sentences are very close to entries in the *Anonymous Chronicle*, except that their sequence is inverted in that text: P'ilon Tirakac'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 947.204–948.206.

<sup>393</sup> This combines two sentences from the *Anonymous Chronicle*: P'ilon Tirakac'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 948.207–10.

<sup>394</sup> This is not found in the *Anonymous Chronicle*, although the entry on Julian refers to him being sinful, 'as the History says'. It is only through this reference that the author of that History is identified as Socrates. His burial in Tarsus is referred to in both the Armenian versions of Socrates' *Ecclesiastical History*, III.26. As Thomson notes in his translation, this is the only specific reference to this work: Thomson, *Socrates Scholasticus*, 102 and n. 78.

<sup>395</sup> The *Anonymous Chronicle* accords Valentinian and Valens 13 years. It records that Nersēs was exiled to the island of Ovkianos, not Patmos, and omits the intriguing detail about the provision of fish: P'ilon Tirakac'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 948.213, 215.

<sup>396</sup> Again this occurs in the *Anonymous Chronicle*, but before the previous notices rather than after them: P'ilon Tirakac'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 948.214.

<sup>397</sup> This is linguistically proximate to the entry in the *Anonymous Chronicle*, save that the sequence of Basil of Caesarea and Gregory of Nyssa (Grigor Niwsac'i) has been switched: P'ilon Tirakac'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 948.216.

<sup>398</sup> This entry is very similar to that in the *Anonymous Chronicle*, save that the title of the work recorded by Step'anos, *Parunakaxōssn*, appears as *Parunakakan xōssn* in the latter: P'ilon Tirakac'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 949.218–19. This is the famous *Panarion* or *Medicine Chest*.

<sup>399</sup> Again this is closely related to, although different from, the entry in the *Anonymous Chronicle*: P'ilon Tirakac'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 949.220–2. The attribution of *surb*, 'saint', to Theodosius is unique to Step'anos.



Arcadius and Honorius, sons of Theodosius, for 24 years. In their days flourished John Chrysostom and Epiphanius of Cyprus and Amon of Alexandria, who fashioned the indices of the Gospels,<sup>400</sup> and Euthalius of Alexandria, who with an admirable structure arranged prefaces and chapters and divisions and cross-references and readings for the holy Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles.<sup>401</sup>

Theodosius the Less, son of Arcadius, for 42 years. This man convened a council in Ephesus of 200 holy fathers, in connection with Nestorius, who said that Mary was the mother of a man and not the mother of God; he was condemned and excluded from the council.<sup>402</sup> In his days St Sahak was the patriarch of Armenia, in whose time the letters for the Armenian language, 29 characters, were fashioned by Daniel, a scholar of Syria; then, as a result of prayer, the blessed Mesrop Tarōneč'i [140] received from God the seven characters that were missing.<sup>403</sup>

Marcian, for 7 years. In the third year of his reign he convened a council at Chalcedon; taking revenge for the dismissal of Nestorius, it commanded Nestorius to be brought back from Xužastan. But the wrath of God overtook him and, becoming full of worms, he perished.<sup>404</sup>

Leo the great, for 17 years.

Ontonos Leo, for 1 year.<sup>405</sup>

Zeno the first, for 1 year.

Basiliskos, for 1 year.

Ontonos Zeno, for 12 years. This man was gluttonous, and on the day before Lent he gorged himself, eating and drinking until the dawn of the day of the

<sup>400</sup> This list of Church Fathers is not found in the *Anonymous Chronicle*, although there is a reference to Yovhan Oskeberan—an Armenian calque on Chrysostom, i.e. Golden-mouth—under Theodosius the Great: P'ilon Tirakac'i, *Žamanakagrut'iw'n*, 950.223. Amon of Alexandria could be a scribal error for Timothy of Alexandria who is also referred to in the same section, but there is no record of this scholarship, nor to whom it should be attributed.

<sup>401</sup> Evt'ał: Euthalius. This is very closely related to the entry in the *Anonymous Chronicle*: P'ilon Tirakac'i, *Žamanakagrut'iw'n*, 951.231.

<sup>402</sup> This sentence is a much-reduced and simplified version of a long account in the *Anonymous Chronicle*: P'ilon Tirakac'i, *Žamanakagrut'iw'n*, 951.237–953.251. Theodosius is accorded 37 years in the *Anonymous Chronicle*.

<sup>403</sup> These sentences appear in almost identical form, although separate from one another, in the *Anonymous Chronicle*: P'ilon Tirakac'i, *Žamanakagrut'iw'n*, 951.234.

<sup>404</sup> This summary combines three separate passages found in the *Anonymous Chronicle*: P'ilon Tirakac'i, *Žamanakagrut'iw'n*, 955.267–8, 270, and 271. However, rather than becoming full of worms, the *Anonymous Chronicle* reports that his stomach burst, citing other instances of this fate.

<sup>405</sup> The *Anonymous Chronicle* omits the short-lived Leo II, the first brief reign of Zeno, interrupted by the twenty-month regime of Basiliskos. The inclusion of these figures indicates that Step'anos was not using the *Anonymous Chronicle*, at least not in its surviving form. The meaning of *Ontonos* is obscure. It may be an incomplete Armenian transliteration of θανάσιμος, deceased, or more probably a transliteration of the Latin [*sec*]undus, given that Zeno's second reign is identified similarly.

fast. Then when he rose from sleep, he found some fragment of meat in his teeth, because the Romans do not have the custom after food of washing and cleaning the mouth, especially with cleansing instruments called soapwort, but they rinse only with water. Therefore he ordered, with the sanction of the patriarch and with many anathemas, to make the day before Lent the last for dairy products.<sup>406</sup> This man composed a letter to the whole country of the Greeks and Romans which is called the *Henotikon*, in which he condemned the Council of Chalcedon and those who say [there are] two natures in Christ. This man restored Timothy to Alexandria, who had been banished by Zeno; he died in the second year.<sup>407</sup> [732]

Anastasius, for 25 years. This man stood united to the same orthodox belief of Zeno.<sup>408</sup>

Justin, for 9 years. This man accepted [the doctrine] of the Chalcedonians.<sup>409</sup>

[141] Justinian, for 37 years. In his fourteenth [year] the Armenian Era was established at the Council of Dvin,<sup>410</sup> and in his 23rd year the Alexandrians established the nineteen-year cycle, the fourteenth of Easter using the 28[-year] rotation and the cycle of 532 years.<sup>411</sup> This man was expelled by his forces as a result of some trivial reasons; he went to the *xak'an*, the king of the Khazars, and he took his daughter in marriage, and the city of Iħrit'a as his inheritance; with the assistance of the forces of Khazars he returned to the royal city of Constantinople, and he was re-established on the throne of his kingdom.<sup>412</sup> And then he built the great and magnificent church of St Sophia.

Justin, for 11 years, orthodox.<sup>413</sup>

<sup>406</sup> The source of these intriguing details is unknown. Zeno's lack of self-restraint is commented upon generally by Evagrius Scholasticus in his *Ecclesiastical History* III.1, 99–100; Whitby, *Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius*, 130–1 and n 1. *ōsnan*, soapwort.

<sup>407</sup> These two sentences are closely related to notices in the *Anonymous Chronicle*: P'ilon Tirakac'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 959.308, 960.313.

<sup>408</sup> This is similar to the notices in the *Anonymous Chronicle*, save that the latter allocates a 27-year reign to Anastasius: P'ilon Tirakac'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 960.313–14.

<sup>409</sup> This is a very brief summary of a short notice in the *Anonymous Chronicle*: P'ilon Tirakac'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 960.317–18.

<sup>410</sup> The *Anonymous Chronicle* dates this to the 20th year of Justinian, and does not identify the Council of Dvin as the occasion when this occurred: P'ilon Tirakac'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 963.344.

<sup>411</sup> Again this differs from the notice in the *Anonymous Chronicle*, which dates it to his 34th year: P'ilon Tirakac'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 963.34.

<sup>412</sup> These two sentences refer not to Justinian I (527–65) but to Justinian II (685–95 and 705–11). This conflation is not found in the *Anonymous Chronicle*, whose final notices refer to the second year of Justinian II (September 686/7) and day 10 of the month *sahmi* in AE 133 (10 August 685): P'ilon Tirakac'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 969.415. According to Theophanes, *Chronographia* 372–3, AM 6196, Justinian II married the Khakan's sister; the name of the city is unknown but may render a Greek form.

<sup>413</sup> *ullap'ar*, orthodox. This terse, enigmatic comment on Justin II is not found in the *Anonymous Chronicle*, which includes a long narrative co-opting St Simeon Stylites as an anti-Chalcedonian and asserting that Justin II was about to repudiate Chalcedon when he died: P'ilon

Tiberius, for 4 years. In his time there was a council in Constantinople of Armenians and Romans on the subject of the definition of Chalcedon, in which the Armenians were defeated.<sup>414</sup>

Maurice, for 20 years. They say that this man was from the land of Armenia, from the province of Aragac'otn, from the village which is called Ōšakan, who was mindful of his own village in Constantinople. And this explains the saying which they tell: 'From here incense is sent to Ōšakan.'<sup>415</sup> In his time Ormizd the Persian king was killed and Vahram became king. Then Xosrov, son of Ormizd, escaped in flight to Maurice and he was baptized in Christ and through the assistance of Maurice he became king of Persia.<sup>416</sup>

Phokas, for 8 years, who killed Maurice. And Xosrov began to seek revenge for the killing of Maurice and he ravaged the land of the Greeks with the sword and captivity.<sup>417</sup> He took [142] the holy city of Jerusalem and he made prisoner and transported the holy Cross to Persia.<sup>418</sup>

Heraclius, for 31 years. This man in the 18th year of his reign killed king Xosrov and brought about the return of the holy Cross from Persia,<sup>419</sup> which was year 77 of the Armenian Era.<sup>420</sup> The total amount of time from the 19th year of Tiberius, the Crucifixion of the Saviour, until the 18th year of Heraclius and the return of the redeeming Cross, comes to 595 years; now from Adam, it is 5907.<sup>421</sup>

Constantine, for 3 years. In his time the Arabs took possession of Syria and rendered Jerusalem under tax.<sup>422</sup>

Tirakac'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 963.354–965.366. The confession within which Justin II was deemed to be orthodox is not stated.

<sup>414</sup> This is identical to the notice in the *Anonymous Chronicle*, save that Tiberius is allocated 7 years, not 4, in the latter: P'ilon Tirakac'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 965.370–1.

<sup>415</sup> The source of this short notice connecting Maurice with Ōšakan in Aragac'otn is unknown; see N. Adontz, 'Les Légendes de Maurice et de Constantin V, empereurs de Byzance', *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales (Mélanges Bidez)* (1933), 1–14; repr. in his *Études arméno-byzantines* (Lisbonne, 1965), 125–33. Manukyan prefers *arak'i*, is sent, to the reading of Malxaseanc', *araji*, before: ST II, 732, n. 15.

<sup>416</sup> Some of these details also occur in the *Anonymous Chronicle*: P'ilon Tirakac'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 965.372–3. It does not assert that Bahram Čobin became king, nor that Xosrov became a Christian, only that he was 'sealed as his [i.e. Maurice's] son'.

<sup>417</sup> This is close to the entry for Phokas in the *Anonymous Chronicle*, aside from the specific reference to the 'land of the Greeks': P'ilon Tirakac'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 966.376–7.

<sup>418</sup> This entry, whilst related to a sentence in the *Anonymous Chronicle*, is placed under the entry for Heraclius, not Phokas: P'ilon Tirakac'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 966.379.

<sup>419</sup> This is very close to the entry in the *Anonymous Chronicle*, save that it is dated to the 17th year of Heraclius: P'ilon Tirakac'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 966.380.

<sup>420</sup> AE 77: 22.vi.628–21.vi.629. The source of this date is unknown.

<sup>421</sup> The source of this complex synchronism is likely to have been Step'anos himself.

<sup>422</sup> This is related to the entry in the *Anonymous Chronicle*, except that the latter specifies that it was the churches of Jerusalem which were taxed: P'ilon Tirakac'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 967.382–3. The expansion of the reign of Constantine from three months to three years also features in MD III.15 [316.18–317.2], but it also repeats verbatim the entry in the *Anonymous*

Constans, son of Constantine, grandson of Heraclius, 19 years. In his second year Dvin was taken by Arabs.<sup>423</sup> [733]

Constantine III, for 13 years.<sup>424</sup>

Justinian, son of Constantine III, for 7 years. In his first year the people of the north who are called Khazars became masters of Armenia, Iberia, and Albania.<sup>425</sup>

Leo, for 3 years.<sup>426</sup>

Aksimarus, for 7 years.<sup>427</sup>

T'uar, for 6 years.<sup>428</sup>

P'ilippos, for 2 years.<sup>429</sup>

Artem, for 2 years.<sup>430</sup>

Theodosius, for 1 year.<sup>431</sup>

Leo, for 24 years. In his 12th year, the Arabs came to Nicaea.<sup>432</sup>

Constantine, for 33 years. In the 21st year of his reign he took the city of Karin in 204 of the Armenian Era. [143] In the following year, in 205 of the Era, Yazīd, *amir* of Armenia, rebuilt the city of Karin.<sup>433</sup>

Leo, for 5 years.<sup>434</sup>

Constantine and Irene, his mother, for 10 years. In their days there occurred a reconstruction of images in Rome, in 237 of the Era.<sup>435</sup> Concerning these, they say that when they saw one large tomb of marble, great in size, they were impressed at its greatness and gave an order for the cover of the tomb to be

*Chronicle*. That Constantine ruled for some time is implied in the opening chapter of Lewond's *History*.

<sup>423</sup> This is very close to the entry in the *Anonymous Chronicle*, save that the latter correctly accords Constans II 29 years: P'ilon Tirakac'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 967.384–5.

<sup>424</sup> This numbering of Constantine as the third follows the *Anonymous Chronicle*, and his years in power are also the same: P'ilon Tirakac'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 968.395.

<sup>425</sup> The short notice reflects the wording of the final entry in the *Anonymous Chronicle*: P'ilon Tirakac'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 969.413–14.

<sup>426</sup> The source for the remainder of this chapter is unknown. Leontios did indeed rule for 3 years (end 695–end 698).

<sup>427</sup> This is Tiberius III Apsimar (end 698–summer 705).

<sup>428</sup> Behind this enigmatic corruption lies the figure of Justinian II (summer 705–11.xii.711). Manuscripts A and O read Kuar: ST II, 733, n. 8.

<sup>429</sup> Philippikos Bardanes: 11.xii.711–3.vi.713.

<sup>430</sup> Artemios, renamed Anastasius: 4.vi.713–November 715.

<sup>431</sup> Theodosius: end 715–18.iv.716.

<sup>432</sup> Leo III: 18.iv.716–18.vi.741. The source of this notice is unknown. For 12th year, read 2nd.

<sup>433</sup> Constantine V: 19.vi.741–23.ix.775. These brief notices repeat details given previously in II.4; see n. 360. However, in the earlier chapter these events are not dated. The synchronism between the 21st year of Constantine V (19.vi.761–18.vi.762) and AE 204 (22.v.755–22.v.756) does not work. The city of Karin is Theodosiopolis.

<sup>434</sup> Leo IV: 14.ix.775–18.vi.780.

<sup>435</sup> Costandin and Erinē: Constantine VI and Irene: 9.xi.780–September 790. The restoration of images was sanctioned at the seventh Oecumenical Council, held at Nicaea, between 24 September and 23 October 787. AE 237: 13.v.788–12.v.789. Rome: presumably New Rome, Constantinople.

removed. They found written on it on the inside: 'Why is it profitable for you to cover me, because in the time of Constantine and Irene his mother, the sun will see me?'<sup>436</sup>

Nikephoros, for 9 years.<sup>437</sup> This man in 260 of the Era entered Bulgaria, and he himself perished along with his multitude.<sup>438</sup>

Michael, for 2 years. In his time Thrace was ravaged.<sup>439</sup>

Leo, for 5 years. The enemy came to the Golden Gate and took many cities and the capital city of the Macedonians, Adrianople, was captured.<sup>440</sup> And Leo rejected images. This man built Bizye and Arcadiopolis and Kamařax, in 265 of the Era.<sup>441</sup>

Michael, for 9 years. In his time Thomas the corruptor came and disorder and the downfall of Christians.<sup>442</sup> Then in [734] 272 of the Era, king Michael fought with Thomas, and on seizing him, cut off his feet and hands and lifted him up to a cross.<sup>443</sup> And then Michael fought against the Arab [144] force and he slaughtered many from them in the *awan* of Kuřn and he defeated them and Ankiwřian.<sup>444</sup>

<sup>436</sup> The source of this intriguing notice is unknown. For the prophetic qualities of statues in Constantinople, see A. Cameron and J. Herrin, *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century: The Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* (Leiden, 1984), 31–4, and, by way of illustration, cc. 64–5.

<sup>437</sup> Nikephoros I: 1.xi.802–25.vii.811. The sequence omits the sole rule of Constantine VI (September 790–15.viii.797) and that of Irene (15.viii.797–31.x.802).

<sup>438</sup> AE 260: 8.v.811–7.v.812. Nikephoros was killed on 26 July 811 by the Bulgar khan Krum.

<sup>439</sup> Michael: 2.x.811–10.vii.813. According to Theophanes, *Chronographia* 496, AM 6304, the Bulgars extended their power over Thrace and Macedonia in 812.

<sup>440</sup> Leo V: 10.vii.813–24.xii.820. According to the final entries in Theophanes' *Chronographia*, 503, AM 6305, Krum arrived outside the walls of Constantinople six days after Leo's assumption of office and displayed his forces from Blachernai to the Golden Gate. Krum also performed foul demonic sacrifices in the coastal meadow of the Golden Gate and asked the emperor to affix his spear to the Golden Gate itself. The final notice reports that Krum returned home after besieging and taking Adrianople. These references to the Golden Gate and the capture of Adrianople indicate that a work of Byzantine history underlies this passage.

<sup>441</sup> Biwzu: Bizye, modern Vize, in Thrace, approximately 20 miles north-east of Arcadiopolis. In autumn 823 Anastasius, the illegitimate son of Thomas the Slav, took refuge here but was betrayed by his troops to Michael II: Theophanes Cont. II.19 (70.20–71.3) and Genesis II.8 (301.60–63). Arkadupolis: Arcadiopolis, modern Lüleburgaz, in Thrace, on the military road between Constantinople and Adrianople, some 80 miles north-west of the capital. It was used by Thomas the Slav as his headquarters. He was captured here after his defeat in autumn 823: Theophanes Continuatus, II.19 [68.11–69.12] and Genesis, II.8 [30.28–31.51]. Kamařax: unidentified but almost certainly in Thrace, perhaps to the south-west of Arcadiopolis. AE 265: 6.v.816–5.v.817.

<sup>442</sup> Step'anos places the revolt of Thomas the Slav firmly in the reign of Michael II: 25.xii.820–October 829. For the most recent study, see J. Signes Codoñer, *The Emperor Theophilus and the East, 829–842* (Farnham and Burlington, Vt., 2014), 40–59 and 183–200.

<sup>443</sup> AE 272: 5.v.823–4.v.824. According to Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, 40, he was captured and led around on an ass before his hands and feet were cut off.

<sup>444</sup> This reference is hard to interpret, but one, or perhaps both, of Kuřnawan and Ankiwřian could be a corruption of Ankyra, a city in Phrygia. According to Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, 41, Michael II managed to regain control (by bribery) of the fortified towns of Kavala, north of Ikonion in Lykaonia, and Saniana, close to Ankyra in Galatia, both of which had been held by men loyal to

Then, in 278 of the Era, Michael died, and his son Theophilos became king for 13 years.<sup>445</sup> In his days there occurred the coming of the Hořomider to the district of Basean, and they massacred many with the sword and attacked the *komopolis* of Gomajor.<sup>446</sup> Then Theophilos went to Chaldea<sup>447</sup> and went ashore [using] a bridge and captured many of the Armenians with their families, and he conferred the honour of the office of *hiwpatavor*, that is to say, the office of *apuhiwpat patrik*, upon Ařot, son of řapuh, and he was left in the district of Sper.<sup>448</sup> And he himself, on receiving tax from the inhabitants of Theodosiopolis, returned from there.<sup>449</sup> And then the men of Hořomid came to Vanand, to the village of Kaćkak'ar; they were destroyed by Sahak, son of Ismayel.<sup>450</sup> And in the same year Theophilos entered Syria and took the city of Urbeli and fought with the Arabs at Ařmuřat and triumphed.<sup>451</sup> This man,

Thomas the Slav. This notice reveals that Michael campaigned in person in the east and that he defeated an Arab force at Ankyra.

<sup>445</sup> AE 278: 3.v.829–2.v.830. T'ēovp'ilos, Theophilos became emperor in October 829 and ruled until 20 January 842.

<sup>446</sup> This entry records the coming of the Hořomider, the Khurramiyya or Khurramites, to the district of Basean, located to the east of the city of Theodosiopolis. The location of the *komopolis* of Gomajor, the valley of Gom, is not known unless it is a corrupt form of Okomi which is in Basean. *Hořomider*: a transliteration from Greek as well as a very early example of a medieval Armenian plural in *er*. For a very full analysis of Nař and Theophobos the Khurramites, see Signes Codoñer, *The Emperor Theophilos*, 139–80.

<sup>447</sup> Xaltik': a reference to the theme of Chaldea, stretching along the south-eastern shore of the Black Sea. This suggests that Theophilos used a naval force to transport his army eastwards. According to N. Oikonomides, *Les Listes de préséance byzantines des IX<sup>e</sup> et X<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris, 1972), 349, the earliest reference to a *strategos* of this theme dates to 863 CE, but its creation must pre-date this. He suggested it may already have been in existence by 824 CE, and this isolated reference supports its establishment by the reign of Theophilos: for a full analysis of the campaigns of Theophilos, see Signes Codoñer, *The Emperor Theophilos*, 245–62, disentangling a series of different actions in the years 834–6.

<sup>448</sup> This is the earliest attested grant of an imperial honour to an Armenian prince who stayed in his own district outside the borders of the empire. Ařot Bagratuni, son of řapuh, is traditionally identified as the prince of Sper, a small mountainous region immediately to the east of the theme of Chaldea.

<sup>449</sup> The city of Theodosiopolis had been targeted by Constantine V in 755 CE during the third *fitna*; see II.4, n. 360 and II.6, n. 433, where, however, the city is called by its Armenian name, Karin. T'A III.14 [203.10–27] notes that when Gurgēn Apupelć Arcruni decided to go over to Byzantium in AE 308 (26.iv.859–25.iv.860), he resolved to travel to imperial territory via Theodosiopolis, and that the current emperor, Michael III, was informed of his arrival in that city. Since it was not under imperial control at the time, and would not fall until 949 CE, this would suggest that there were Byzantine agents operating in the city at the time. This episode is unique to Step'anos and may be dated to the year 835: Signes Codoñer, *The Emperor Theophilos*, 246–50.

<sup>450</sup> The district of Vanand was situated to the north-east of Basean and was centred on Kars. The location of Kaćkak'ar is unknown. Sahak, son of Ismayel: Ishāq b. Ismā'il, emir of Tiflis from 833 until his death in 853 CE at the hands of Bughā; Signes Codoñer, *The Emperor Theophilos*, 250–9, dates this campaign to 836.

<sup>451</sup> Urbeli: unknown. Samuēl Anec'i, *Žamanakagrut'awn*, 163, s.a. 828: 'Theophilos entered Syria and took the city of Zupata; he went to Armenia and took the stronghold of Palin and Meckert and Ankl in the district of Degis and Xozan.' Although Malxaseanc' and Manukyan

during his march in an easterly direction to the borders of Armenia, took Cmu, the fortress of Armenia, Asaġin and Meckert and Alberd in the district of Gefam; and he rendered Xozan and Fourth Armenia deserted by man and beast.<sup>452</sup>

And after him Michael, his son, was king [145] for 24 years. And he was killed by Basil secretly, whom he had made king with him.<sup>453</sup>

And moreover Basil reigned for 22 years.<sup>454</sup> This man built the great church in Constantinople and adorned it with gilt decoration and named it the Holy Commanders.<sup>455</sup> They say that this man was from the district of Tarōn, from the village of T'ġil.<sup>456</sup> And in his days the holy patriarchate flourished in abundance and in literature.<sup>457</sup>

In his days Ašot became king of Great Armenia.<sup>458</sup> Here the Second volume of this book finishes. It begins again in the third with the restoration of this kingdom of Armenia, turning to this new book.

prefer Almulat, the reading in manuscripts A and O is Ašmušat, Arsamosata, and this should be preferred. Theophilus captured this key site in 837; see Signes Codoñer, *The Emperor Theophilus*, 263–78. The misreading of 1 (*liwn*) for 2 (*ša*), and the evident lack of recognition of the location on the part of later copyists, lie behind this corruption.

<sup>452</sup> Several of the places listed remain unidentified, despite considerable and longstanding efforts. It is clear that the short passage preserved in the *Chronicle* of Samuēl Anec'i and cited in the previous footnote is directly related. Cmu could be a corrupt form of *zamur*, 𐌌 (*za*) having become 𐌐 (*ca*). Thus the original read 'the strong fortress of Armenia'. For Asaġin, read Paġin. Paġin, Meckert, and Xozan/Khozanōn are clustered near to one another 50 miles north-east of Melitene in the small district of Paġnatun, north of the river Arsanias. For Alberd, read Anġl, following Samuēl, located south of the river Arsanias in Angel-tun; for Gefam, which is impossibly far to the east, perhaps read Degis, following Samuēl again. The districts of Paġnatun, Balahovit, and Degik all lay in the centre of the region of Fourth Armenia.

<sup>453</sup> Michael III acceded on 20 January 842 and was killed on 24 September 867 CE.

<sup>454</sup> Basil I became sole emperor on 24 September 867 and died on 29 August 886 CE, a reign of almost 19 years. He was raised to the rank of co-emperor by Michael III on 26 May 866, and this additional period may have been included in the calculation.

<sup>455</sup> Basil I is celebrated for his construction of the Nea Ekklesia within the imperial palace. This was dedicated to Christ, Michael the archangel, Elijah, the Mother of God, and Nicholas. It is not clear whether or not this is the church being referred to here. According to Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, 161–5, he was also responsible for the restoration of many other churches, including the Holy Apostles.

<sup>456</sup> T'ġil: east of Muš, in Tarōn. There is no evidence to support this claim, although his Armenian ancestry seems assured: see T. W. Greenwood, 'Basil I, Constantine VII and Armenian Literary Tradition in Byzantium', in *Reading in the Byzantine Empire and Beyond*, ed. T. Shawcross and I. Toth (Cambridge, forthcoming).

<sup>457</sup> *patriargarann*, house of the patriarch. This seems to be a reference to the patriarchate of Constantinople, and specifically the era of patriarch Photius, whose two periods in office coincided with the reign of Basil I: 25 December 858–September 867 and 26 October 877–29 August 886.

<sup>458</sup> Ašot I was crowned king on 26 August 884; for this date, see I.1 and n. 20.

[149] HISTORY OF STEP'ANOS  
TARŌNEC'I RECORDING THE TIMES  
OF PERSONAL EXPERIENCE<sup>1</sup>

**Third Book**

*List of Chapters of the Third Book*

1. Preface {and the accession of Ašot Bagratuni as king}.<sup>2</sup>
2. The reign of Ašot Bagratuni and his time.
3. The accession of Smbat as king and whatever transpired in his days.
4. The death of Smbat and the destruction of this country of Armenia by the impious Yūsuf, son of Abusač.
5. The martyrs who were killed in the city of Dvin by the impious Yūsuf.
6. The flight of the two sons of Smbat and their return here and the accession of Ašot as king. [150]
7. The accession of Abas as king and whatever transpired in his days. And the lives of hermits and coenobitic monks.
8. The reign of Ašot, son of Abas, and whatever transpired in his days and the construction of places of holiness.
9. The catholicosate of lord Xač'ik and the building of the church and the house of the residence of the catholicos in the village of Argina. [736]
10. The battle of the Greeks at Amida and the appearance of a star and the death of king Kiwī-Žan.<sup>3</sup>
11. The accession of Smbat, son of Ašot, as king and the building of the circuit wall of Ani with the church and the coming of the *kouropalates* David to Širak.
12. The coming of the *amir* Ablhač to Armenia and afterwards the eclipse of his power and his death by strangulation.

<sup>1</sup> *žamanakac' ink'naxōsut'ean*: an unusual phrase which may be a personal reflection on the part of Step'anos, indicating how he conceptualized book III. For districts and monasteries of Armenia referred to in book III, see Map IV; for locations in Armenia referred to in book III, see Map V.

<sup>2</sup> This chapter does not in fact refer to Ašot I Bagratuni. Given the almost identical wording in the heading of the following chapter, this duplication looks to be a scribal error.

<sup>3</sup> Amit': Amida. Kiwī-Žan: the emperor John Tzimiskes. It has been suggested that this represents a transliteration of *Kύρ[ως] Ιωάν[νης]*, 'Lord John' in Greek, but this is problematic and unresolved; see also III.7 and n. 143.



13. The slaughter of Vaspurakan and the arrest of the princes by Abutulp', *amir* of Golt'n.
14. The accession of Basil as king of the Greeks and [151] the usurpation of Bardas and the destruction of the country of the Greeks.
15. The end of the war of the Greeks and the flight of the usurper Bardas.
16. The *amirate* of Ibn Xosrov and his intelligence.
17. The accession of Abas as king in Kars and his good works and his construction of the monastery of Širim in his name.
18. How Ablhač, the son of Āovid, came to the city of Dvin and on receiving taxes from Armenia he departed.
19. Again Ablhač came to the country of Vaspurakan and his death and the accession as *amir* of Mamlan his son.
20. The transfer by king Basil from this gathering of Armenians to the country of Macedonia and the persecutions at the hands of the metropolitan of Sebasteia.
21. The reply to the letter of the metropolitan of Sebasteia written at the command of lord Xač'ik, catholicos of Armenia.
22. How, by means of a very cruel death, the metropolitan of Sebasteia died; and in relation to the kings of the Bulgars, those who killed him. [737]
23. How the king of the Greeks, Basil, travelled with his forces [152] to the country of the Bulgars and, on being defeated, he returned from here in flight.
24. The departure of the usurper Bardas from Baghdad and his entry into the country of the Romans.
25. The expedition of Bardas Phokas and the seizing of king Bardas and his own accession as king.
26. The coming of Bardas Phokas to the shore of the sea with his forces and the advance of Basil and killing him.
27. The appearance of a star and the shaking of Constantinople and the death of the rebel Č'ortuanēl.
28. The expulsion of Theodosius from the kingship of Abkhazia and the elevation of Bagarat, son of Gurgēn, as king.
29. The evil deeds of Smbat and his death.
30. The accession of Gagik as king and whatever transpired in his days.
31. The death of lord Xač'ik.
32. The catholicosate of lord Sargis.
33. How king Basil travelled a second time to the country of the Bulgars and he took the city of Vēra.
34. The sending of Žan *patrik* to the country of the Bulgars and his detention.

35. The expedition of the Arab force of Egyptians to the country [153] of the Greeks and the fighting, once and twice, and the campaign of king Basil against them.
36. The earthquake in Fourth Armenia.
37. Again the expedition of the force of Egyptians and in relation to Babylon and the death of Dalasanos. [738]
38. The death of *amir* Bat and the capture of Manazkert and the coming of Mamlan and the encounter with David *kouropalates*.
39. How the nephew of Bat became *amir* and he expelled the Arab inhabitants from Np'rkert and his death in Amida.
40. Massacre of the Iberian force in the city of Xlat'.
41. The great battle of Persians and Christians in the district of Apahunik'.
42. The entrance once more of Basil into the country of the Arabs, into the region of Syria.
43. The death of the great *kouropalates* David and the coming of Basil, king of the Greeks, to the country of the East.
44. The coming of Gurgēn to the land of Tayk' and the forces of the Greeks in the district of Basean.
45. How Gagik pillaged the district of Tašir and the Iberian plain. [154]
46. The ancestry of Arcrunik', who in our times ruled as kings in Vaspurakan.
47. The building by king Gagik in the city of Ani of the great church in the name of St Grigor.
48. The extinction through death of the princes of P'arisos.

[155] HISTORY OF STEP'ANOS TARŌNEC'I

**Third Book**

*Chapter 1*

*Preface {and the accession of Ašot Bagratuni as king}*

The perpetual and infinite outpourings of divine grace onto us<sup>4</sup> from the Supreme Being, perfectly complete and with a splendour which extends everywhere, from century to century and from age to age, has surpassed the innermost thoughts of wise men and has remained beyond the comprehension of human understanding; not only has [God] endowed us with speech in

<sup>4</sup> This phrase is very close to that found in the opening chapter of the first book of the *History* of Movsēs Xorenac'i: MX I.1 [5.7].

accordance with [739] reasoning intelligence<sup>5</sup> but he has also adorned our appearance in the image of his formlessness<sup>6</sup> with a princely aspect, [156] with a continual disposition to contemplate, reaching for a knowledge of the ineffable descriptions of the future, and to record for those that are to come accurately reported historical narratives.

Being rendered glorious through the triple light of the Trinity, we shall narrate unclouded and infallible accounts of three periods—the past, the present, and the future. In relation to the past, we shall not follow the false statements of false-named philosophers, those who described the world as existing by itself and without Providence and the generating of everything by itself. In relation to the present, we shall not fall into the false faith of heretics and we shall not pass by good deeds. And we shall not stray into the false words of heathens, those who deprive themselves of the hope of resurrection and who do not rely upon the righteous judgement of Christ. Rather, having our eyes upon the candle of the precepts of the Lord and the light of knowledge, we understand that everything that has occurred came into being from nothing by the being of God and was protected through his Providence; and the forefathers and the righteous who were found praiseworthy across the centuries were honoured by God, glorified through the written record. Now those who went astray from the will of God, have received divine wrath and [their] infamous reputation is reported down to today.

Using the same light of understanding, in the present times we discern the way of truth, which is Christ himself. Through him we are guided to the Father, removing ourselves completely from heathen infidelities and from the corruption of much-deceived heretics. And through the same light [157] of future hope, we see before our eyes the things that are to come with clear-sighted vision, the day of renewal of created things. This is the mystery of the Christians, through which we report the past and predict the future according to God the giver of grace.

## Chapter 2

### *The reign of Ašot Bagratuni and his time*

Now it is clear to everyone that three lines ruled as kings of Armenia across three periods, I mean the Haykazunik<sup>7</sup>, and the Aršakunik<sup>8</sup>, and the

<sup>5</sup> Malxaseanc' reads *baniw ěndimanal i banakansn*, but Manukyan prefers manuscripts B and E, *baniw ěnd imanali banakansn*: ST II, 739 and n. 34.

<sup>6</sup> This echoes MX I.1 [6.1].

<sup>7</sup> According to YD I.1–III.29 [11.1–23.19], the eponymous Hayk was the son of T'orgom [Togarmah], who was the son of Tiras, who was the son of Japheth, and there were 2297 years from Hayk to Valaršak, the brother of Aršak. Strangely, however, this first royal genealogy is not rehearsed in book I.

<sup>8</sup> The sequence of Aršakuni kings from Aršak to Trdat is recited at I.5.

Bagratunik'.<sup>9</sup> For this reason we have divided the discourse of our history into three parts. [740] The first begins with the first-created being,<sup>10</sup> including within it the times of dark ignorance, [and extends] down to the accession of Trdat as king and the illumination of Armenia [by conversion]. The second [runs] from the same illumination of Armenia and the reign of Trdat down to the second restoration of this kingdom of Armenia by Ašot Bagratuni, which occurred in the days of Basil, king of the Greeks, and with his consent,<sup>11</sup> in 336 of the Armenian Era,<sup>12</sup> and 888 [years] from the coming of our Saviour Lord God,<sup>13</sup> in the days of lord Gēorg in the 12th year of his patriarchate.<sup>14</sup>

This Ašot, son of Smbat, who was called Abdlabas, *sparapet* of Armenia, was from the stock of Abraham.<sup>15</sup> [158] In the time of Israel's captivity, his ancestors were sought by our Haykazean crowned ones from king Nebuchadnezzar of the Babylonians.<sup>16</sup> And in the days of Vałaršak Aršakuni they were appointed to the crown-placing office of *aspet* and they were tortured greatly by our idolatrous kings on account of their piety;<sup>17</sup> and in the era of conversion, superseding the Mosaic law, they received the grace of the Gospel in this faith of Christ. And on many occasions they accepted the authority of

<sup>9</sup> Ašot I Bagratuni was crowned king on 26 August 884; see also I.1, n. 20, and II.6, n. 458. Again it is striking that Step'anos omits the Arcruni kings. Writing in AE 407 (1.iv.958–31.iii.959), Anania Mokac'i observed that he became catholicos in AE 390 (5.iv.941–4.iv.942), 'in the days of the two brave and noble-lineaged kings of Armenia, powerful and independent, the crowned-by-Christ lord Gagik Arcruni, king of Armenia, and lord Abas Bagratuni, peace-loving and sweet-tempered, powerful king of Great Armenia': Anania Mokac'i, 'Yałags apstambut'ean tann Ałanic', *Ararat* (1897), 129; repr. *Matenagirk' Hayoc'* 10, 256.6; repr. and tr. Boisson, in *Mélanges Jean-Pierre Mahé*, 789.6.

<sup>10</sup> Again this reference to Adam is at odds with the contents of I.1, which opens at the 75th year of Abraham. The periodization is not based on that of Movsēs Xorenac'i, whose second book ends with the death of Trdat, not his conversion.

<sup>11</sup> According to YD XXIX.13 [140.16–18], Basil I offered terms of peace, harmony, and friendship to Ašot but not the crown or royal title, both of which were given previously by the caliph to Ašot and conveyed to him by the governor 'Isā b. Shaykh: YD XXIX.4–6 [138.4–139.14].

<sup>12</sup> AE 336: 19.iv.887–17.iv.888.

<sup>13</sup> This is a very rare date calculated from the Incarnation; for others, see the Introduction, II.2, and III.47. Dating from the Crucifixion/Passion is more frequent.

<sup>14</sup> By convention, Gēorg became catholicos in 876, producing a date of 888 once more. This, however, is not securely attested.

<sup>15</sup> The practice of double-naming, one Armenian, one Arab, was prevalent in the ninth century. Smbat established a close relationship with Bughā al-Kabir which protected him during the latter's devastating campaigns across Armenia in 852: YD XXV.44–6 [120.18–121.4], although YD does not call him Abdlabas. *sparapet*: derived from Phl. *spāhbed*, OP *spadapati*, and denoting the commander-in-chief, although its precise meaning seems to have shifted over time. Stock of Abraham: i.e. a Jewish ancestry.

<sup>16</sup> Although this is found in YD III.6–8 [20.24–21.6], it seems more probable that it was lifted from MX I.22 [68.4–8].

<sup>17</sup> MX II.7 [110.1–6], previously cited at I.5 and n. 187. For their torture, see MX II.14 [128.5–12].

headship of Armenia, contending against Persian fire-worship and then against the impious legislation of the Arabs, given by Muḥammad. They formed a genealogy, son from father, down to this Ašot.<sup>18</sup>

This one before his kingship was for a period of 30 years prince and prince of princes of Armenia and Iberia, and conqueror of all these surrounding peoples. He glorified the covenant of the holy church and adorned the churches of Armenia, because he was an agreeable man, mild and innocent. He lived an irreproachable life and he did not sin outside the rules of nature and was pleasing to God in everything, with spotless behaviour.<sup>19</sup>

In his days [lived] Sahak, *vardapet* of Armenia, who by surname was called Apikurēš; he wrote [741] a reply to the letter of Photios the patriarch of the Greeks, which was filled with wisdom and knowledge.<sup>20</sup> And Hamam [159] Arewelc'i, who wrote a commentary on Proverbs<sup>21</sup> and expounded the 'Who is it?' of Job,<sup>22</sup> and one book on the blessings which are spoken at the headings of psalms,<sup>23</sup> and one book *Ambicsn*,<sup>24</sup> and a commentary on grammar.<sup>25</sup>

This Ašot, when he had lived 32 years and been king for 5 years, was translated to Christ in death.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>18</sup> This brief summary appears to have been written by Step'anos himself. That he elects to stress their piety and resistance to hostile oppressors is therefore revealing.

<sup>19</sup> Although YD XXVII.6–12 [132.4–133.5] and XXIX.1–14 [137.15–140.24] comment generally on the good character and achievements of Ašot I Bagratuni, this passage is not taken from that composition.

<sup>20</sup> Sahak's letter to Photius survives and has been published: N. Akinean and P. Tēr-Polosean, 'Patasxani t'It'oyn P'otay greal Sahakay hayoc' vardapeti hramanaw Ašotay iŝxanac' iŝxani hayoc', *HA* 82 7–9 (1968), 451–64. For translation and discussion, see Dorfmann-Lazarev, *Arméniens et byzantins à l'époque de Photius*, 32–53 and 85–6. For an alternative view, see Greenwood, 'Failure of a Mission?', 159–64.

<sup>21</sup> Hamam's commentary survives and has been published and translated: see Hamam Arewelc'i, *Meknut'iwn Aṛakac'*, ed. M. Saribekyan (Erevan, 1994); R. W. Thomson, *Hamam Commentary on the Book of Proverbs* HUAS 5 (Leuven, 2005) supplies a diplomatic edition (transcribed from M151), an English translation, and commentary.

<sup>22</sup> Job 38:2. Thomson, *Hamam*, 2, n. 11 notes that this work remains unpublished but is preserved in V879.

<sup>23</sup> Macler, *Histoire universelle*, 9 and n. 8, suggests that this refers to a commentary on Psalms 119–33 which are titled *ōrhnut'iwnk' aštičānac'*, blessings of ascents. This work has not yet been identified and may be lost.

<sup>24</sup> Psalm 118 opens *Eraneal en anbick' i čanaparhi*, Blessed are the blameless on the road. In light of the previous identification, this too is a reference to a commentary on this, the longest psalm. It too has not yet been found.

<sup>25</sup> As Thomson, *Hamam*, 2, n. 12 observes, this commentary on Dionysius Thrax has not survived but was extensively cited by later authors; see N. Adontz, *Denys de Thrace et les commentateurs arméniens* (Louvain, 1970).

<sup>26</sup> The figure 32 does not tally with the earlier total of 30. The length of reign suggests that he died in AE 338 (18.iv.889–17.iv.890).

## Chapter 3

*The accession of Smbat as king and whatever transpired in his days*

Then after Ašot, in 340 of the era, Smbat his son succeeded as king, for 24 years, with the consent of Leo, king of the Greeks;<sup>27</sup> because when Basil had reigned for 19 years, he died and left in his place Leo his son, who reigned for 26 years,<sup>28</sup> a man peaceful and well-intentioned for the whole earth, liberal in gifts and in distributing, not mean as the Romans—because it is not the custom of Romans to be generous, and generous is not a word in their language—but that man was the son of an Armenian and more liberal than an Armenian.<sup>29</sup>

In the days of Smbat, in 346 of the era, lord Gēorg, catholicos of Armenia, died [160] and the man of God Maštoc' succeeded to the throne of the patriarchate.<sup>30</sup> This man was originally from the district of Aragacotn, from the village of Elivard. From childhood he lived on a diet of grass as a hermit.<sup>31</sup> He made his dwelling on the island of Sewan, in the sea of Gelam; he built the church on it which is named the Apostles. A multitude of brothers came together and assembled around him, [742] using the Rule of the statutes of St Basil, thus becoming one community in the house of God; they obtained a multitude of holy books so that their spiritual eyes might become illuminated in contemplation of the Way of the Lord in accordance with his infallible guidance.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>27</sup> AE 340: 18.iv.891–16.iv.892. YD XXXI.1–2 [158.15–159.2] refers to good relations, gift exchange, and the affectionate term of address 'beloved son'; it does not, however, suggest that Leo VI gave his consent. Indeed, YD XXX.24 [146.25–147.4] confirms that the crown came once more from the caliph, this time via the Sajid *ostikan* Afshin.

<sup>28</sup> Basil I: 24 September 867–29 August 886, a total of 19 years; see, however, II.6, when Basil I is accorded 22 years. Leo VI: 19 September 886–11 May 912, a total of 26 years.

<sup>29</sup> The eulogy to Leo VI, and in particular his generosity, is surprising and its source is unknown. For earlier Armenian views on Roman greed and parsimony, see Greenwood, 'Life and Mathematical Problems of Anania Širakac'i', 169–70. There is a long debate on the ancestry of Basil I, for which see Adontz, 'L'Âge et l'origine de l'empereur Basile I', in *Études arméno-byzantines*, 47–109; M. E. Shirinian, 'Armenian Elites in Constantinople: Emperor Basil and Patriarch Photius', in *Armenian Constantinople*, ed. R. Hovannisian and S. Payaslian (Costa Meza, Calif., 2010), 53–72; and Greenwood, 'Basil I, Constantine VII and Armenian Literary Tradition in Byzantium', in *Reading in the Byzantine Empire and Beyond*, ed. T. Shawcross and I. Toth (Cambridge, forthcoming).

<sup>30</sup> AE 346: 16.iv.897–15.iv.898. The accession of Maštoc' is reported in YD XXXVI.1 [181.10–19] but is undated.

<sup>31</sup> YD XXXVI.5–6 [182.3–14] offers a brief study of the life and background of Maštoc', but Step'anos has exploited a different source. For a substantial biography of Maštoc', composed in 893 CE by one of his pupils, the unworthy monk Step'anos, see Mat'evosyan, *Hišatakaraner*, no. 50.

<sup>32</sup> The Rule of St Basil of Caesarea was translated into Armenian at the end of the fifth or beginning of the sixth century: see G. Uluhogian, *Basilio di Caesarea. Il libro della domandea (Le regole)*, 2 vols. CSCO 536, 537 (Louvain, 1993), I, ix.

At this time father Gagik, the leader of the community of St Atom, was resplendent in virtue; he collected the record of the martyrs in a book which was named *Atomagir*.<sup>33</sup> Maštoc', man of God, lasted one year in the patriarchate and was transferred to God; the remains of his bones were buried in Garni, near to the summer residence of Xosroviduxt, which Trdat, king of Armenia, had built.<sup>34</sup>

And after him, lord Yovhannēs was seated on the throne of the patriarchate in 346 of the Era, from Dvin, an orator and historian, for 22 years.<sup>35</sup> In his days, Smbat the leader of the T'ondrakac'i appeared, from the village of Zarehawan in the district of Calkotn, an opponent of all Christian institutions.<sup>36</sup>

[161] When Smbat became king, he ruled the whole of his patrimony, Armenia and Iberia, taking possession of the cities of his opponents. In his days, and during the dominance of his father, there was prosperity and peace in this country of Armenia, according to the prophecy that each one shall rest under his vine and his fig-tree.<sup>37</sup> Thus estates became towns and towns became cities, through an increase in population and wealth, to the extent that shepherds and herders wore silk garments.<sup>38</sup> This man built the

<sup>33</sup> This work, named after the monastery in which it was compiled rather than the compiler, has not been discovered. The earliest extant Armenian synaxarion was compiled by Tēr Israyēl in 1240 CE, but it remains unclear whether or not there is any relationship between the *Atomagir* and that text or indeed any of the other Armenian synaxaria: see N. Adontz, 'Note sur les synaxaires arméniens', *ROC* 24 (1924), 211–18.

<sup>34</sup> Yovsēp'ean, *Yiṣatakarak'ī*, no. 34 reproduces the inscription from the tomb of Maštoc': 'In 346 of the Era, lord Maštoc' was translated to Christ.' For the detail about Garni, see MX II.90 [241.19–242.2].

<sup>35</sup> AE 346: 16.iv.897–15.iv.898. This is Yovhannēs V Draxanakertc'i the historian. 22 years: in fact, it seems very likely that Yovhannēs was catholicos for 26 years, judging by the final entries in his *History* which date from 924 CE.

<sup>36</sup> This is mistaken. Following Garsoïan, Mahé, and others, the appearance of Smbat should be dated to the second quarter of the ninth century. In his *Refutation of the T'ondrakians*—a work commissioned by the catholicos Anania Mokac'i, now lost but used extensively by Grigor Narekac'i in his letter to the abbot of Kčaw—Anania Narekac'i observed that the T'ondrakians were massacred by the sword of Aplvard: *GT' I*, 498.21; *GT' II*, 618.1–2; for its translation and commentary, Mahé and Mahé, *Grégoire de Narek, Tragédie*, 54–6 and Annexe III, at 787–92. This is Abū'l Ward, the first Qaysite emir, who was in the process of establishing his family's interests in Apahunik'; the village of T'ondrak lay to the south-west of Manzikert; see A. Ter-Ghewondyan, *The Arab Emirates in Bagratid Armenia*, tr. N. Garsoïan (Lisbon, 1976), 51–3. The catholicos at that time was Yovhannēs IV Ovayec'i (833–55), whom Step'anos, or his source, has confused with Yovhannēs V Draxanakertc'i. Significantly, Yovhannēs IV Ovayec'i had a reign of 22 years and the village of Ovayk' was situated close to Dvin. It seems certain, therefore, that the two figures have become conflated. For a complete study, see N. G. Garsoïan, *The Paulician Heresy* (The Hague and Paris, 1967), 140–50.

<sup>37</sup> 3 Kingdoms (1 Kings) 4:25.

<sup>38</sup> An intriguing passage which develops the eulogies to the reign of Ašot I in YD XXVII.7–9, 18–19 [132.15–133.5 and 134.15–135.2] and XXIX.1–3 and 7–9 [137.15–138.4 and 139.14–140.2], but does not derive from them. The equating of prosperity with urbanism and the wearing of silk clothing is particularly striking.

church of St Saviour's in Širakawan, with a very high dome and walls of smooth stone.<sup>39</sup>

At this time Dvin rebelled. The king battled against it; he took the city on Good Friday.<sup>40</sup> Then Smbat fought with Ahmat and was defeated by him, turning in flight with many losses.<sup>41</sup> And when the *amir* Afshīn, son of Sač, heard all this—who was *ostikan* in Persia and who [743] had crowned Smbat—he was particularly irritated with the good relations between Smbat and the emperor of the Greeks.<sup>42</sup> Afshīn attacked this country of Armenia and took the fortress of Kars; he captured and took away the *azats* with their wives and children and brought them, in a piteous manner, to the city of Dvin.<sup>43</sup> This is the same Afshīn who captured and transported lord Gēorg, whom Hamam, king of Albania, redeemed.<sup>44</sup> Now Šapuh, the younger brother of king Smbat, placed himself in the middle of [162] death and life and went to Afshīn. He was honoured with great glory by him and secured the return of all the Armenian captives. He received from him a crown of kingship which he brought and placed on the head of his brother Smbat, consolidating his kingship.<sup>45</sup> This country of Armenia was at peace and [enjoyed] prosperity and abundance, as previously, for several years.

<sup>39</sup> YD XXXVI.12–13 [183.25–184.9] refers to this foundation but the passages are not proximate. Širakawan: 20 miles north-east of Ani, on the Axurean river. For a study of this large church, including photographs, see N. Marr, *Ani, rêve d'Arménie*, trans. A. Tcharkhtchian (Paris, 2001), 204–5. Bouniatov's architectural drawings indicate that this was a domed hall, similar to the seventh-century church at Aruč.

<sup>40</sup> Capture of Dvin: YD XXXI.9–13 [160.11–161.4] but lacking any reference to the day on which the city fell.

<sup>41</sup> See YD XXXIV.11–24 [174.1–176.16] for a much fuller narrative. Ahmat: Aḥmad b. 'Isā b. Shaykh al-Shaybāni, see *El*<sup>2</sup>. He established himself in the northern Jazīra and attempted to expand northwards into the Armenian district of Tarōn. He died in his capital, Amida, in 898 CE. This battle is conventionally dated to 895 CE.

<sup>42</sup> Ap'šīn: al-Afshīn, Muḥammad b. Abi'l-Sāj, appointed governor of Āzarbayjān by Abū Aḥmad al-Muwaffaq in 889/90 but increasingly independent and founder of the Sajid emirate. Persia: an intriguing application of this term for Āzarbayjān, given the origins and ambitions of the Sajids. They came from Ushrūsana to the east of Samarkand, and this is reflected in their use of the royal title, al-Afshīn. See YD XXXI.3–6 [159.2–160.2]. For the Sajids, see Kennedy and Greenwood, 'The Sajids in Arabic and Armenian Sources', *Journal of Abbasid Studies* (forthcoming); for the coins of the Sajids, see A. Vardanyan, *The Coins as Evidence for the History of Armenia and Adharbayjan in the Xth Century AD* (Tübingen, 2013), 16–117.

<sup>43</sup> A brief summary of YD XXXV.4 and 8 [178.18–27, 179.20–180.2]. In both texts, Kars is described as *berdn*, fortress, rather than *k'alak'*, city. The dating of this campaign cannot be established but is likely to have occurred between 895 and 897 CE.

<sup>44</sup> This is a cast-back, to 894: YD XXXIII.16–24 [169.12–171.11]. *Aluank'*: Albania.

<sup>45</sup> YD XXXVI.2–4 [181.19–182.2] supplies a similar narrative, except that Šapuh did not secure the release of all the prisoners, despite having become Afshīn's father-in-law; rather, it was one of Afshīn's own men, the 'great eunuch', who later returned Smbat's eldest son, Ašot, and one of his daughters-in-law (the wife of Ašot's brother Mušel): YD XXXVII.17 [188.5–12]. Nor does YD record the bringing of another crown by Šapuh.



Then we grew fat, we became bloated, we expanded,<sup>46</sup> and we rebelled, forgetting God the beloved, the creator of peace and the giver of all goodness—priests and people, the greatest and the least, slandered Him in the overabundance of food and in the excess of wine, according to the prophet.<sup>47</sup> And because we did not acknowledge God for the good things, heeding the voice of his precepts, he did not listen to our voices in our misery and suffering when we implored him, but he handed over this country of ours to the forces of the Ismaelites, for ruin and plunder using the sword and captivity.<sup>48</sup> [163]

#### Chapter 4

##### *The death of Smbat and the destruction of this country of Armenia by the impious Yūsuf, son of Abusač*

At that time Afshīn died and Yūsuf his brother succeeded him as *amir* of Persia and Atrpatakan.<sup>49</sup> Smbat did not want to submit to him but wrote a letter accompanied by gifts to the caliph of Babylon, that he should free him from the impious son of Sač, which he did.<sup>50</sup> When Yūsuf heard this, he hastened and went to Partaw and from there he slipped away to Tiflis and entered Tašir. When Smbat realized, [744] he guarded his paths with many forces. He, like a bandit, traversed the mountain heights and descended into Širak and travelled to Dvin. Smbat pursued him with a very large multitude and Yūsuf, afraid, sought peace; and crowning Smbat a second time with many items, he went to Persia.<sup>51</sup>

Smbat seized the king of Egerac'ik', Constantine, and forcing him to submit under his control, he left. Atrnersēh, the king of Iberia, was outraged at this. He separated from him and plotted evil against him.<sup>52</sup> The impious Sač rebelled against the caliph and rose against [164] him. The caliph gave an order to the distant boundaries of his lordship, to take revenge from the same; he wrote also to Smbat to assemble a force against him. Smbat sent a multitude

<sup>46</sup> An echo of Deuteronomy 23:15.

<sup>47</sup> Ezekiel 16:49. The chapter describes God envisaging Jerusalem, representing God's people, as an adulterous wife and a sister to Sodom, to whom v. 49 specifically relates.

<sup>48</sup> This reflection on the fatal consequences of greed, gluttony, and sinfulness is not found in YD.

<sup>49</sup> Yūsuf b. Abi'l Sāj, who moved quickly and prevented his nephew, Dīvdād b. Muḥammad b. Abi'l Sāj, from taking over from his father Afshīn following the latter's death from plague in 901.

<sup>50</sup> YD XXXIX.1–2 [193.1–13]. *amirpet*: probably the caliph al-Mu'taḍid, who died in 902, rather than his son al-Muktafi.

<sup>51</sup> A summary of YD XL.1–17 [195.9–198.25].

<sup>52</sup> A more detailed narrative is preserved in YD XLI.1–13 [200.8–202.25]. Constantine III was king of Egrisi/Abkhazia between 898/9 and 916/17 CE, extending his influence south and east into Virk'/Iberia. Atrnersēh/Adranase *kouropalates* was king of Iberia (Virk'/K'art'li/Georgia) between 888 and 923 CE, his interests extending from K'art'li into Klarjet'i and Tayk'. Despite ties of kinship through marriage, Smbat, Constantine, and Atrnersēh competed for control of the same districts and their allegiances shifted repeatedly.

of forces unwillingly, informing Yūsuf, 'I have sent assistance to you.' Then Yūsuf, submitting to the caliph,<sup>53</sup> gathered a multitude of forces against Smbat; he arrived with a huge force in this country of Armenia, in 356 of the Era.<sup>54</sup>

Atrnersēh, king of Iberia, and Gagik, prince of Vaspurakan, who was a nephew of Smbat and Ašot, son of Šapuh, brother of Smbat, went to him [Yūsuf].<sup>55</sup> They combined all their forces with him, completely abandoning king Smbat. Their act of treachery was precipitated by envy at the prosperity of this country of Armenia. When king Smbat realized their treacherous intent, he went with the lords of Armenia and all the forces to the district of Tašir, to the village of Ōjun, and crossed from there to Abkhazia. Yūsuf pursued him as far as the stronghold of Kua and attacked the fortress of Kuēl and took it. After that, he crossed to Tiflis.<sup>56</sup> Then the king returned from there to Širak.

At the coming of another year, Yūsuf advanced with an even greater force [745] to these lands of Armenia. The whole force of Smbat and his two sons, Ašot and Mušeł, attacked them in the district of Nig; and they fought [165] with each other at the place which is called Jknavaçar; here the force of Armenians was defeated and turned in flight.<sup>57</sup> They seized Mušeł, son of Smbat, and conveyed him to Dvin; and there with deadly potions they killed him. His corpse was brought back to Bagaran and buried.<sup>58</sup> Then king Smbat fled and fortified himself in the stronghold of Kapoyt.<sup>59</sup> The Arab force went in pursuit; they came to the district of Bagrewand and took the fortress of Vałaršakert, in 359 of the Era, and then they left and arrived at the stronghold of Kapoyt.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>53</sup> For this passage, see YD XLII.1–8 [203.4–204.21].

<sup>54</sup> YD XLIII.14, 20 [213.1–5 and 214.3–6], except that YD dates these events to AE 358. AE 356: 14.iv.907–12.iv.908. Manukyan, following manuscripts A, B, C, and O, prefers AE 365, but this seems impossible.

<sup>55</sup> YD does not refer to Atrnersēh joining Yūsuf, but he does indicate that both Gagik Arcruni and Ašot, son of Šapuh, switched sides: YD XLIII.3 [209.13–26] and XLIV.3 [215.20–5].

<sup>56</sup> Unusually, this passage contains far more detail than YD's *History*, which reports that Smbat sought refuge in the inaccessible strongholds of Kłarjk'/Kłarjet'i: YD XLIII.25 [214.26–215.2]. Neither Kua nor Kuēl have been identified with any confidence, if indeed they are distinct from one another. However, whilst the district of Kłarjk'/Kłarjet'i is located north of Tayk', the route reported by Step'anos logically runs north from Ōjun to Tiflis, far to the east of Tayk'. And whilst the district of Kołbop'or lies to the north-east of Tašir, the district of Koł lies in Tayk'.

<sup>57</sup> YD XLV.2–7 [218.7–219.7], but omitting the location of the battle, which literally means 'fish-market', and so was presumably on the banks of a river (the K'asał?).

<sup>58</sup> A combination of details found in YD XLV.9 [219.11–16] and XLVI.7 [225.3–10]. Bagaran: 40 miles downstream from Ani on the Axurean river, close to its confluence with the Araxes, in the district of Aršarunik'. It was particularly associated with Ašot I Bagratuni. YD describes it as *tagaworanist*, the site of the royal residence, and notes that it was where Ašot I was buried: YD XXX.6 [143.7–17].

<sup>59</sup> YD XLVIII.11 [234.16–18].

<sup>60</sup> YD XLVII.9–10 [231.1–11], although Vałaršakert is not described by YD as being in the district of Bagrewand, nor is any date supplied. AE 359: 13.iv.910–12.iv.911. Manukyan, following mss A, C, D, E and O prefers AE 363.

Then the king, frightened by the deceit of the *azats* who had remained with him, took a stick in his hand and went to Yūsuf, son of Abusač.<sup>61</sup> The impious Yūsuf travelled with the king to Dvin; and he went and attacked the fortress which they call Ernĵak, in which the wives of the *azats* and their treasures had been secured.<sup>62</sup> He seized the fortress and returned from there to Dvin.<sup>63</sup> And he suspended king Smbat on a tree and killed him in the city of Dvin, in 364 of the Era.<sup>64</sup> [166]

### Chapter 5

#### *The martyrs who were killed in the city of Dvin by the impious Yusup'*

He questioned many and put them to the test of torture because of their confession to Christ; he attempted to convert them to the Qur'an of Muḥammad.<sup>65</sup> But Christ who had turned many to his vivifying will, through the divine fire, inflamed their minds to holy love and valiant faith.<sup>66</sup> Those who crushed the sting of death and were killed by the sword received the crown of light. They also seized others at another time and handed them over to torture.<sup>67</sup> [746]

And when they saw that they ran as sheep to the slaughter for the sake of Christ,<sup>68</sup> they reserved for themselves one who was in the flower of youth, named Michael, from the country of Gugark', so that he would not die with the others; perhaps they could seduce him through the attractions of greatness. Then he with a lament and full of tears raised his eyes up to God and strengthened himself with heavenly assistance. He escaped and separated himself from them and rushed over to his companions and offered his neck to the sword. And in this way they were martyred together in the sweet perfume of God the Father.<sup>69</sup> [167]

<sup>61</sup> This sentence reflects details found in YD XLVIII.8–10 and 16 [233.25–234.16 and 235.20–1], although there is no reference to Smbat holding a stick in his hand, *c'up i jern areal*.

<sup>62</sup> A conflation of two notices: YD XLIX.1 and 3 [237.4–7 and 17–26].

<sup>63</sup> The fall of Ernĵak (20 miles east of Naxčawan, and hence bordering Golt'n): YD L.1–3 [241.7–242.1].

<sup>64</sup> The execution of Smbat: YD XLIX.5–17 [238.3–241.6]. In a long description, YD records that Smbat underwent many different tortures before being decapitated; his body was crucified only after death. Step'anos indicates that this was the means of execution. AE 364 (12.iv.915–10. iv.916). This corresponds to the year of his accession and the duration of his reign recorded in n. 27: from AE 340, 24 years. Cf. YD XLXIX.12 [240.6–7], which reports 22 years.

<sup>65</sup> YD LI.24–25 [250.25–251.3]. *Kurann Mahmeti*, the Qur'an of Muḥammad.

<sup>66</sup> YD LI.21 [250.1–5]. This change to the sequence of notices found in YD nevertheless supplies narrative coherence.

<sup>67</sup> YD LI.23–24 [250.20–6]. *zxayt'oc' mahu*, the sting of death: 1 Corinthians 15: 55; *zpsakn lusoy*, crown of light: compare Isaiah 28:5, *psak yusoy*, crown of hope and James 1:12, *zpsakn kenac'*, crown of life.

<sup>68</sup> Romans 8:36.

<sup>69</sup> This appears to be closely modelled on a longer narrative: YD LI.29–34 [252.6–253.3].

There were at that time two brothers, from the house of Gnumik<sup>70</sup>, great and honourable men, Gurgēn and David, who had been seized by the executioners and brought before Yūsuf. He promised them with a great oath that he would give them half of his lordship, as well as magnificent clothes of various sorts and collars of gold and swift horses richly adorned. Placing his hand around the neck, he embraced [them] and with flattering lies he invited [them] to deny Christ. They were inspired through divine love and replied resolutely, using a sound declaration of faith, ‘We are Christians and we are not going to exchange the light of the knowledge of God which has immortality within it for your death-bringing falsehood which is nothing and counts for nothing.’<sup>70</sup>

When the evil one saw this, that they were standing firm in the love of Christ, he ordered them to be killed with the sword. Then they offered supplications that were full of tears to God, to join them to the rank of martyrs, those who had shared the cross with him. And when the executioner arrived, the elder brother insisted that the younger brother be killed first, being afraid at his young age, and said, ‘Dear brother, present yourself first to Christ, our hope, as a living sacrifice, for he died for our sake and he has destined us for life.’ And in this way he went first; then afterwards they crowned the elder with blood.<sup>71</sup>

Thus many martyrs died in the city of Dvin at the hands of the impious *ostikan* Yūsuf. The name [168] of each one was written in the register of life; in their memory [747] an annual festival is accomplished on the 20 *mareri*,<sup>72</sup> because they overcame the evil one through sincere faith and they pruned the branches of his death-producing fruit, because there is no fear where the Father’s love is.<sup>73</sup> They were inspired and trampled on death; and receiving the crown of light, they were enrolled as sons of light in heavenly Jerusalem. Some, however, were deceived and attracted by the promises of the evil one and were deluded because they were humiliated in the flesh through famine and insults and were stripped of eternal light.<sup>74</sup>

This was a dark time for Armenia. This Yūsuf [was] a second Theudas and the first rebel against the *amir-al Mumnik*<sup>75</sup> of the Arabs.<sup>75</sup> In his time this land

<sup>70</sup> Again this passage is very close to YD LI.32–34 [252.6–253.3].

<sup>71</sup> A summary of YD LI 35–41 [253.4–254.6]. For the martyrdom of brothers, see also Hamazasp and Sahak Arcruni in Lewond 40 [161.21–165].

<sup>72</sup> YD LI.42 [254.10–11] specifies 27 *mareri*. Maksoudian, 295, n. 42 notes that this corresponds to 2 February according to the calendar known to YD. Intriguingly, in the *Synaxarion* of Grigor Anavarzec’i, the martyrdoms of David and Gurgēn Gnumi were celebrated on 20 *mareri*, which was equated with 27 May. However, they were executed by the impious prince of Ismael, Bughā, *anōrēnn Bulay iṣṣann Ismayeli*, not by Yūsuf b. Abī’l Sāj: G. Bayan, *Le Synaxaire arménien de Ter Israel*, PO 21/4 (1930), 502–3. For the devastating campaigns of Bughā, see II.2.

<sup>73</sup> The manuscripts read *zi č’ik’ ahawor ur sērñ hareal ē*; however, YD LI.43 [254.15] reads *zi č’ik’ inč’ ahawor ur sēr Hōr ē*, and this should be preferred.

<sup>74</sup> YD LI 45–47 [255.1–24].

<sup>75</sup> T’evdas: Acts 5:36 records Gamaliel describing how one Theudas had risen up claiming to be someone and had attracted 400 men, but that he had been killed and his followers dispersed.

of Armenia became uninhabited and ruined, cities were demolished and the towns were plundered, the inhabitants of this country were scattered to other tongues and to foreign peoples, the churches were deserted and, being empty of the covenant of worshippers and congregations, they were stripped of all the wonderful decorations.<sup>76</sup> The catholicos himself, lord Yovhannēs, fled to the land of the Greeks, to the burial-place and monastery of our holy Illuminator, on the mountain which is called the Caves of Manē, in the district of Daranaḡik', in the community of Gaṛnik.<sup>77</sup>

When Gagik Arcruni, who had been the guide of Yūsuf, appreciated this, he fled in the night [169] and escaped across to the country of Korduk' and he sent the Vaspurakan country abroad to Syria until the passing of the evil storm.<sup>78</sup> Then he restored again the country, becoming king of a part of Armenia, Vaspurakan.<sup>79</sup> But Smbat's nephew, Ašot, who had been an accomplice with the same evil-tongued dragon, was crowned by him in place of his uncle.<sup>80</sup>

Thus when the *amir* Yūsuf had stayed for 7 years in Armenia, he overcame this country employing the sword and famine and captivity.<sup>81</sup> [748]

This analogy is not found in YD's *History*. *Amir al-Mumnik'*: the Armenian transliteration of *amir al Mu'minim*, the commander of the believers, i.e. the caliph.

<sup>76</sup> This is a highly abbreviated version of YD LII.1–LIII.33 [256.13–265.11]. The underlying text lacks the above stress on displacement (beyond that of YD himself).

<sup>77</sup> YD LV.7–15 [286.14–288.11], for an extended narrative of his flight. Yovhannēs fled first to the wise Atrenerseh of Iberia: YD LIII.34 [265.12–15]. Only later did he flee to the monastery of the Caves, north-east of the *komopolis* of Gaṛni: YD LXVI.4–5 [338.25–339.1], lacking any reference to Daranaḡi.

<sup>78</sup> A composite passage. The first reference to the flight of Gagik from Yūsuf b. Abi'l Sāj appears at YD XLVIII.21 [236.21–6]. For his connection with Korduk', see YD LI.1–3 [245.11–27]. For his flight to protect his people, see YD LIV.20–1 [270.9–21], although this was to Mokk' and Korduk', not Asorestan.

<sup>79</sup> Gagik was first appointed king in 908 CE; see III.2 and n. 7. Whilst the positioning of this notice makes narrative sense, following Smbat's death, it does not accord with the chronology of events supplied by YD. For Gagik's subsequent, third coronation by the caliph, see YD LX.1–2 [306.8–17].

<sup>80</sup> For the coronation of Ašot, son of Šapuh, see YD LVI.5–6 [293.15–25], although he is given a more sympathetic representation than here, being portrayed as engaging with the evil-tongued dragon, *č'araxorh višapin*, Yūsuf b. Abi'l Sāj, for the sake of his family.

<sup>81</sup> This may be Step'anos' own summary. The regular confusion between ٥ and ٧ means that we cannot be certain if 5 or 7 years is intended; the preponderance of the manuscripts read 7 but Malxaseanc' and Manukyan prefer 5. Yūsuf b. Abi'l Sāj was in detention in Baghdad between 919 and 921, but it is impossible to determine from what date Step'anos was counting. *Srov ew sovov ew gerut'eamb*: a conflation of Jeremiah 14:11, *srov ew sovov ew mahueamb*, and Jeremiah 15:2b, *ayspēs ašē Tēr, ork' i mah, i mah, ew ork' i sur, i sur, ew ork' i sov, i sov, ew ork' i gerutiwn, i gerut'iwn*.

## Chapter 6

*The flight of the two sons of Smbat and their return here and the accession of Ašot as king*

Ašot and Abas, the two sons of Smbat, survived. Ašot fled to Constantinople to the door of the emperor of the Greeks, Leo.<sup>82</sup> But Abas went to the country of Iberia and became a son-in-law to them [the princely family]; he returned to our country after the return of his brother Ašot from Constantinople.<sup>83</sup>

This Ašot was called Erkat' on account of his stalwart bravery. When he had performed many deeds of valour in Constantinople and in the country of the Greeks, at the command of Leo, he returned to our country and met [170] the servants of his father who had been king.<sup>84</sup> He named himself *šahanšah*, that is to say, 'king of kings', and he expelled the force of Ismaelites from this country of Armenia; in battle against them, he did not lack forces but he took part in the fighting in person.<sup>85</sup>

After Leo, Alexander his brother became king of the Greeks for 1 year. And then Romanos became king of the Greeks, in 365 of the Armenian Era, for 22 years.<sup>86</sup>

In the second year of his reign this man assembled a large force and sent the *demeslikos* to the city of Dvin, which belonged to *amir Spuk'*.<sup>87</sup> He had placed

<sup>82</sup> Leo VI died on 11 May 912. This entry suggests that Smbat I Bagratuni was executed prior to that date, and so contradicts III.4 and n. 64. Inserted into his *History* is a letter addressed to YD composed by the patriarch Nicholas Mystikos urging unity against the unrighteous sons of Apusič: YD LIV.2–15 [265.25–269.10]. Nicholas was reinstated as patriarch by Alexander in place of Euthymius immediately after Leo's death. A second letter was sent by YD to the emperor Constantine seeking military assistance and asylum for himself: YD LIV.25–69 [271.17–284.11]. This implies a date after the death of Alexander (6 June 913). For Ašot being invited to Constantinople under care of the *basilikos* T'ëodoros, see YD LV.1–6 [284.12–286.5].

<sup>83</sup> This is not reported by YD in these terms. Whilst he refers in passing to the marriage of Abas (YD LIX.11 [304.2–7]) to the daughter of Gurgën, prince of Iberia, there is no indication of the timing of his return in relation to Ašot's own return.

<sup>84</sup> YD never identified Ašot as *erkat'*, iron, nor did he include any account of his sojourn in Constantinople. For his return with Roman forces, see YD LVI.1–3 [292.18–293.11].

<sup>85</sup> YD LXI.5 [315.3–8] records that Ašot was granted the former Sasanian title of *šahanšah*, king of kings, by the *ostikan* Sbuk (Subukī), an erstwhile supporter of Yūsuf b. Abi'l Sāj, but acting on this occasion as the representative on the caliph during the latter's absence in Baghdad. Far from expelling Ismaelites, however, Ašot appears to have been closely aligned to them.

<sup>86</sup> This is not found in YD. Alexander died after a reign of thirteen months (6 June 913). Step'anos, however, jumps straight to the formal accession of Romanos I Lecapenos (24 December 920), omitting the long minority of Constantine VII, when there was a regency council headed by his mother, the empress Zoe. Constantine was born on 3 September 905. As he approached his fourteenth birthday, and following the disastrous defeat at the hands of the Bulgars at Achelous on 20 August 917, Romanos emerged as the leading political figure, expressed through the marriage of his daughter Helen to Constantine on 4 May 919. AE 365 (11.iv.916–10.iv.917) is therefore mistaken. 22 years: in fact 24 (20.xii.920–16.xii.944).

<sup>87</sup> This campaign took place in 922; it is not reported by YD. Arm. *Demeslikos*, Greek *domestikos tōn scholōn*, commander-in-chief, at this time John Kourkouas, who held this office for 22 years. YD LXIV.23 [330.24–26] observes that Našr Subukī was appointed *ostikan* of

his ally Ašot *šahanšah* in the city.<sup>88</sup> The Greek forces came and besieged Dvin, but when they were not able to take possession they returned from there.

After the death of lord Yovhannēs, in this second prosperity of Armenia, lord T'ēodoros became catholicos, for 11 years.<sup>89</sup>

When Ašot had lived 15 years after the death of his father, and been king for 8 years, he died, in 378 of the Era.<sup>90</sup> [171] [749]

## Chapter 7

*The accession of Abas as king and whatever transpired in his days. And the lives of hermits and coenobitic monks*

After the death of Ašot, Abas his brother was king for 24 years.<sup>91</sup> In his days, after lord T'ēodoros, lord Elišē his brother became catholicos for 7 years.

And after him lord Anania Mokac'i, the leader of the holy community of Varag, became patriarch of Armenia for 22 years.<sup>92</sup>

Abas was the author of peace and prosperity for this country of Armenia, on account of his agreeable conduct and powerful authority through which he overcame his immediate neighbours. He put a stop to the raiding of the Iberians and the Sarmatians into this country of Armenia.<sup>93</sup> One day Bēr,

Armenia by Yūsuf b. Abi'l Sāj following his release (in 922). YD also reports the death of the *ostikan* Subukī: YD LXIV.26 [331.13–22].

<sup>88</sup> See III.6 and n. 83. At the end of his narrative, YD seems to record a falling out between Ašot *šahanšah* and one Bishir, appointed *ostikan* of Dvin by Našr Subukī, who campaigned unsuccessfully against Ašot: YD LXVII.2–16 [354.4–357.18]. This took place in 923 or 924.

<sup>89</sup> See III.3 and n. 35. The date of Yovhannēs V Draxanakertc'i's death is not securely established but is likely to have been in 924. The final entries in his *History* refer to the autumn of 923, and his subsequent journey to Gagik Arcruni: YD LXVII.16–20 [357.19–358.24]. Step'anos has no reference to the short-lived catholicos Step'anos II Rštuni, who lasted a year, and jumps to T'ēodoros I Rštuni (925–36). *yerkrord šinuteans*, second prosperity: a reference to the revival of the Armenian kingdom; see II.6 and III.1.

<sup>90</sup> AE 378: 8.iv.929–7.iv.930. This notice implies that Smbat I was executed in 914 and so contradicts III.4 and n. 64. The reference to his reign lasting 8 years is mysterious, implying that his elevation to king only occurred in 920/21. YD LV.3–6 [285.3–286.5] records how Ašot *ark'ayordin*, son of a king, was taken to Constantinople after his father's death at the invitation of the emperor and was recognized as having royal status. It is, however, worth recalling that Ašot was appointed *šahanšah* whilst Yūsuf b. Abi'l Sāj was in detention in Baghdad; if Step'anos was counting from the award of this royal title, then 8 years becomes less improbable—as well as revealing what Step'anos considered to be a royal title.

<sup>91</sup> Conventionally, Abas ruled from 929 until 953 CE. Anania Mokac'i states unequivocally in his own treatise that he became catholicos in AE 390 (5.iv.941–4.iv.942): 'Yałags apstambut'ean tann Ałuanic', *Ararat* (1897), 129; repr. *Matenagirk' Hayoc'* 10, 256.6; repr. and tr. Boisson, in *Mélanges Jean-Pierre Mahé*, 789.6. Therefore Elišē succeeded his brother in AE 383 (7.iv.934–6.iv.935). Anania also reported that Abas died 'in the thirteenth year of our throne-occupation', which corroborates the conventional dating.

<sup>92</sup> If 22 years is accurate, Anania occupied the office until AE 412 (31.iii.963–29.iii.964); see III.8 and n. 155. The community of Varag: 5 miles east of the city of Van in Vaspurakan.

<sup>93</sup> This combination implies a northern threat. Sarmatia and Abkhazia appear to be virtually interchangeable.

the prince of Abkhazia, in haughty fashion like Bēl, left the country of Sarmatia, on the far side of the Kovkasean mountains, with a mixed army comprising innumerable forces.<sup>94</sup> He marched and came with a numberless multitude to the bank of the river called Kur, intending to lay waste this country of Armenia.<sup>95</sup> He sent a messenger to the king of Armenia, that he was not to consecrate the church in accordance with the orthodox faith [172] of St Grigor because he said that he was coming to do this using the Chalcedonian definition.<sup>96</sup> (For the king had constructed the holy cathedral in the city of Kars which had stone columns, granite blocks polished by steel [tools] and a magnificently decorated dome, a vault similar to heaven.)<sup>97</sup> {This man built the little cathedral of Ani and St Grigor on the city plain.<sup>98</sup>}

When king Abas heard this message, he gathered together the cavalry forces of Armenia; on arriving at the river Kur, he camped opposite the camp of Bēr. Then both forces made forays and every day galloped on this side and on that side along the bank of the river. One day a raiding party of Abkhazians crossed the river Kur and reached the Armenian camp. The noise of the uproar reached the king. Swiftly he called for his horse, and putting on his armour and taking up in his hand his double-edged sword, he charged after the raiding [750] party. When he caught up with it in the middle of the river, he scattered them with blows of his right hand. They were struck to the ground from their horses, half-dead, and the water hastened them to their deaths. He himself emerged onto the bank of the river and in a loud voice invoked God as his support and said his name. At this, the northern people became terrified and turned in flight.<sup>99</sup>

<sup>94</sup> Evidently this was not the king of Abkhazia, Giorgi II, who reigned between 921 and 955 CE. Bēl is another name for the figure of Nimrod, against whom the eponymous Hayk fought. Hayk overcame the tyrannical giant Nimrod in single combat. For a full account, see YD II.1–5 [15.3–16.3], itself based on MX I.10–11 [32.15–37.10]. The etymological proximity is matched by a narrative correspondence. Kovkasean: the Caucasus, north of the river Kur.

<sup>95</sup> The river Kur lay to the north of the limits of Abas' territory; envisaging Armenia as extending to this boundary is therefore an interesting insight into the thought-world of Step'anos but does not reflect political realities during the reign of Abas.

<sup>96</sup> The confessional dimension to this confrontation is unexpected and suggests that the underlying fable has been reworked to suit a new purpose. Step'anos contrasts Armenian orthodoxy, with its roots in the faith of St Grigor the Illuminator, and Chalcedonian heterodoxy.

<sup>97</sup> This is the Church of the Apostles in Kars. Anania confirms that Abas commanded churches to be built and that with great labour and expenditure he restored the house of God in the royal seat, the *śahastan* of Kars: *Ararat* (1897), 133; repr. *Matenagirk' Hayoc'* 10, 259.43; repr. and tr. Boisson, in *Mélanges Jean-Pierre Mahé*, 797.43.

<sup>98</sup> This marginal comment in M2865 fol. 196b has recently been published by Mat'evosyan, 'Yovhan grč'i', 109. Macler, *Histoire universelle*, 26, n. 6, also identified this as a later addition.

<sup>99</sup> The description of this liminal encounter—involving cavalry forces, a river crossing, and a raid repelled through the actions of the hero—has strong epic and literary dimensions but has usually been treated as sober historical reportage. For comparison, see MX II.50 [177.10–178.20], in which king Artašēs defeats the Alans at the river Kur.



The Armenian forces, with stalwart strength, gave chase and put them all to the sword. They plundered their camp and seizing the haughty [173] Bēr, they brought him to the city of Kars. The king said to him, 'Look upon this beautifully built church because you will not see another.' And he ordered that his eyes be torn out. Then his people redeemed the blinded figure again with silver and established a peace treaty with the Armenians, [promising] under oath that there would not be another war between them.<sup>100</sup>

At this time lord Anania was on the throne of the patriarchate, revered for his holiness and cherished for his grace by his flock.

In this time the order of monastic institutions flourished and shone in this country of Armenia, and in several places monasteries were built and those united in their love for Christ came together.<sup>101</sup>

The first [was] the very renowned community of Kamrjajor in the district of Aršarunik'.<sup>102</sup> Its leader was father Yovhannēs who had been expelled from the western country, from the district of Egerac'ik', by Chalcedonian man-confessing heretics who accepted only the humanity of Christ.<sup>103</sup> He brought with him the flaming symbol of the Lord.<sup>104</sup> Wherever he passed, many miracles and signs and healings occurred as a result of the venerable Cross; similarly in our own time, with our own eyes we can see that many sick and unwell people have been healed. It still exists and it continues to accomplish its miracle-working.<sup>105</sup>

<sup>100</sup> Again the literary qualities of this passage are evident. But there could also be an oblique reference to the unfortunate Theodosius III of Abkhazia, who was blinded by his brother Demetrius III in the course of a civil war. Theodosius succeeded his brother briefly, c.975–8 CE, but was forced to abdicate by David *kouropalates* of Tayk' and replaced by his nephew Bagarat III. See III.28 and n. 490.

<sup>101</sup> This marks a clear change in direction away from political history to monastic and intellectual history.

<sup>102</sup> Some 60 miles due south of Kars and west of Bagaran, on the south bank of the Euphrates, close to Kalzuan. The district of Aršarunik' straddled the river Araxes, with Vanand to the north and Bagrewand to the south. For the location of this and other monastic communities, see Map IV.

<sup>103</sup> Maksoudian, 'A Note on the Monasteries', 212, proposes that this expulsion was from Abkhazian, not Byzantine territory. For correspondence between the patriarch Nicholas Mystikos and Giorgi II, *exousiastes* of Abasgia/Abkhazia, see Nicholas I, Patriarch of Constantinople, *Letters*, DOT 2, trans. R. J. H. Jenkins and L. G. Westerink (Washington, DC, 1973), nos. 46 and 162. This connects thematically with the preceding narrative involving Bēr. There is no evidence to suggest that Romanos I Lecapenos persecuted Armenian miaphysites. Such confessional tension was a feature of the second half of the tenth century: Mahé and Mahé, *Grégoire de Narek, Tragédie*, 9 and n. 20. It is possible, therefore, that the actual reasons behind the movement of the community have been reimagined to suit a new context.

<sup>104</sup> Mahé and Mahé, *Grégoire de Narek, Tragédie*, 10 and n. 21, propose *hrašazēn*, symbol of miracles, in place of *hrazēn*, fiery symbol.

<sup>105</sup> This appears to be a personal aside by Step'anos attesting the present miracle-working properties of the cross. Such an aside, however, could also be a feature of an underlying source or a later gloss.

He came and settled in the aforementioned place Kamrjajor, employing as the rule of the order the regulation of [174] St Basil the great patriarch, itself based upon the apostolic foundation that ‘everything was in common for them’.<sup>106</sup> Around 300 hermits gathered around him. [751]

After him, the man of God Polykarpos became the leader of the same community and guardian of the true faith. After him there was the scholarly Samuēl, who was particularly gifted in knowledge of the holy Scriptures and in chants of music.<sup>107</sup>

Next, in the district of Širak, the monastery called Hořomos was built by Yovhannēs, who was embellished with every virtue and charitable qualities.<sup>108</sup> He shared out of charity and virtuous conduct, to the extent that he stripped off all his clothing whenever he met beggars. He prepared the site as a place of rest for travellers and wayfarers, to the extent that strangers were looked after as if they were in their own homes.<sup>109</sup> The same mark of charity is evident in that house even today.<sup>110</sup>

Also at this time, Narek was built, in the district of Rštunik’, under the same regulation, with multi-talented singers who added brilliance to worship, and learned scholars.<sup>111</sup>

<sup>106</sup> For the rule of St Basil, see III.3 and n. 32. The biblical quotation: Acts 2:44.

<sup>107</sup> Pōlikarpos: Polykarpos. Although Polykarpos is unknown outside this text, Samuēl Kamrjajorec’i was a famous theologian who compiled the *Tōnapatčar*, a treatise establishing the feast days in the Armenian church calendar; see J.-P. Mahé, ‘Connâitre la Sagesse: le programme des anciens traducteurs arméniens’, in *Arménie entre Orient et Occident* ed. R. Kévorkian (Paris, 1996), 43. In 986, at the command of the catholicos Xaçik’, Samuēl also composed an important letter responding to a letter from Theodore, metropolitan of Melitene. This is preserved in the *GT* I, 302.1–322.29; *GT* II, 550.1–579.16, and may be compared with the letter addressed to the metropolitan of Sebasteia inserted into this text, at III.21. Prior to his appointment as catholicos in 973 CE, Xaçik’ had served as bishop of Aršarunik’; see III.9 and n. 158.

<sup>108</sup> The monastery of Hořomos was in Širak, 10 miles north-east of Ani on the Axurean river. It is not clear if this is the same Yovhannēs who founded Kamrjajor. See A. T. Baladian and J.-M. Thierry, *Le Couvent de Hořomos d’après les archives de Toros Toramanian*, Monuments Piot 81 (Paris, 2002), 9–13; and K. Mat’evosyan, ‘History of the Monastery of Hořomos’, in *Hořomos Monastery: Art and History*, ed. E. Vardanyan, Centre de recherché d’Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance Monographies 50 (Paris, 2015), 17–23.

<sup>109</sup> The implication is that the monastery was on a thoroughfare.

<sup>110</sup> Again, the inclusion of a short notice indicating the current situation is striking.

<sup>111</sup> The monastery of Narek was founded by Anania Narekac’i and his fellow disciple Petros in c.935, on the southern shore of lake Van, close to the island of Alt’amar. Mahé and Mahé, *Grégoire de Narek, Tragédie*, 40 and n. 159, following T’amrazyan, proposed that Anania came from Ayrarat, since he was brought up initially in the monastery of Ant’ak in Hawnunik’ and then in Xawarajor in Aršarunik’. The historian Uxtanēs of Sebasteia was one of Anania’s pupils. In dedicating his *History* in three parts to Anania, Uxtanēs referred specifically to his teacher’s musical talents: ‘Now we have seen the things written by you are perfect, and shining with divine grace, and filled to the brim with knowledge through the gift of the Holy Spirit, pre-eminent above everyone in melodies of spiritual song...’: *History* of Uxtanēs, I.1 [451.38]. It is striking that Step’anos does not identify the founder of the monastery or name its leading scholars in the academic disciplines for which it had become famous. The accusations of heresy against Anania late in life could be behind this, yet he is referred to approvingly, later at n. 133.

Similarly, in the district of Derjan, the monastery known as Xlajor [was built] which was called after its martyrrium St Grigor's.<sup>112</sup> It was founded by father Sion,<sup>113</sup> a diligent and ascetic servant of Christ who approached the limits of purity and was translated from this life, leaving in his place [175] as director of the community the elderly Petros, who laboured by day and night in the ministry of the Lord, working with his hands and singing psalms with his mouth, stretching out his arms all night; he spent his days in tear-filled laments.<sup>114</sup> When his eyes grew weak in old age, with the approbation of everyone, he handed over the leadership to the father Barseł, who became all for all.<sup>115</sup> He met the needs of everyone and [gave] direction with a wise and thoughtful intelligence. When he died in life, he proclaimed life in death; he became a model of good conduct for those far and those near. A multitude of righteous men assembled beside him, ascetic, humble, elegantly embellished in the delights of fasting, only eating once a day and refreshed by drinking water on Saturday and Sunday during the days of Lent. I was with them [752] during the days of Lent;<sup>116</sup> I wrote these words in his memory and I calculated the measure of the times according to my ability.<sup>117</sup>

At the same time, in the country of Lykandos,<sup>118</sup> in the Nahrnear places,<sup>119</sup> in the district of Karberd,<sup>120</sup> the monastery was built by father Movsēs, which

<sup>112</sup> Derjan: a district of Armenia to the west of Theodosiopolis, on the upper Euphrates. It became the Byzantine theme of Derxēne, which is first attested in the *DAI* c. 53.507, indicating that it was created before 952 CE. Therefore, by the time that Step'anos was compiling his *History* this monastery had been on Byzantine territory for over 50 years. Its location is unknown.

<sup>113</sup> Although Malxaseanc' and Manukyan preferred to correct his name to *Simovni*, I agree with Mahé and Mahé, *Grégoire de Narek, Tragédie*, 11 and n. 26, in retaining the original *Siovni*, Sion, an otherwise unknown ascetic.

<sup>114</sup> Whether intentionally or not, this passage is reminiscent of Koriwn's description of the asceticism practiced by Mesrop Maštoc': Koriwn, *Vark' Maštoc'i*, c. 5 [40–1]. Petros is otherwise unknown.

<sup>115</sup> 1 Corinthians 9:22.

<sup>116</sup> The repetition of *yawurs surb k'arasnordac'n*, during the days of Lent, could be a scribal error although it does make sense.

<sup>117</sup> Another short personal reflection apparently by Step'anos recalling his visit to this monastery and, perhaps, the chronological research he undertook there. If so, it means that he crossed into Byzantine territory.

<sup>118</sup> *Likantion*: the Byzantine *kleisoura* of Lykandos, located to the west of Melitene, was established by the Armenian Melias in 908 CE and had been converted to a theme by 916: G. Dédéyan, 'Mleh le Grand, stratège de Lykandos', *REArm* 15 (1981), 73–102.

<sup>119</sup> *Nahrnear telisn*: a mysterious phrase which Malxaseanc' and Mahé both treat as a collective noun in the plural *near* from *naxir*, a herd of cattle, so 'the places of the herds': ST I, 175 and Mahé and Mahé, *Grégoire de Narek, Tragédie*, 11 and n. 28. The *Kletorologion* of Philotheos, preserved in Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Ceremoniis Aulae Byzantinae*, CSHB, 2 vols., ed. J. J. Reiske (Leipzig, 1829 and 1831), II, cc. 52–3, at 713, 718, and 728, refers to the *logothetes tōn agelōn*, of the herds. It would be impossible to prove any connection, but Lykandos had been a theme for several decades.

<sup>120</sup> Karberd: usually identified as Xarberd or Kharpert, Gr. Kharpetē, to the east of Melitene. Xarberd and Lykandos are not obviously connected to one another. Furthermore, this is the only entry to identify two regions—one Byzantine, one Armenian—as well as a specific location.

is called by his name,<sup>121</sup> following a well-organized rule, with a multitude of brothers who displayed a range of brilliant, scholarly gifts. Movsēs, the man of God, was from the people of the district of Tarōn; he became a source for good for all the western country, multiplying the ranks of monks.<sup>122</sup> He became akin to [176] a guardian of tradition for our monks and he remained active until our days.

Of the same sort and following the same discipline, the monastery of Hunjk' in the district of Karin, [was built] by father Sargis, filled with every godly precept.<sup>123</sup> Also the elegantly embellished place which is named Kaputak'ar, in the district of Aršarunik',<sup>124</sup> and Dprēvank', in the district of Širak;<sup>125</sup> and C'axac'k'ar, in Vayoc' Jor,<sup>126</sup> by father Step'anos.

Every one of these, and those others after them who had been taught by them, were as one in their asceticism, untroubled by any selfishness of the spirit: none of them acquired [anything] for his mortal self, not even one mite; [they did not] eat anywhere except the common table, neither from fruits nor from herbs, but they practised those things commanded according to the prescription of the Lord, chanting the songs of David night and day, glorifying continually. This was their work of martyrdom.

This may reflect a later gloss. Again, however, the key observation is that this community was located firmly within the Byzantine Empire.

<sup>121</sup> Movsisavank': identified tentatively by J.-M. Thierry, 'Le Couvent Saint-Georges de Xulē (Xulēvank')', *REArm* 22 (1990–1), 226 as the monastery of St Gēorg of Xulē/Xulēvank', but doubted by Mahé and Mahé, *Grégoire de Narek, Tragédie*, 12 and n. 29.

<sup>122</sup> That Movsēs Tarōnec' moved so far westwards might point to a foundation after the incorporation of Tarōn as a Byzantine theme in AE 415 (30.iii.966–29.iii.967); see also III.8 and n. 166. This contention is undermined by the general statement that all the communities in the list were founded in the time of king Abas. Anania Mokac'i, 'Yałags apstambut'ean tann Ałuanic', *Ararat* (1897), 131; repr. *Matenagirk' Hayoc'* 10, 257.21; repr. and tr. Boisson, in *Mélanges Jean-Pierre Mahé*, 793.21, refers to one 'Gēorg the invincible, called Tarōnec'', as one of the leading scholars of the day, suggesting that Tarōn had a very lively intellectual tradition in the middle of the tenth century.

<sup>123</sup> This monastery is identified as Karmirvank' de Hinjik' by M. Thierry, *Répertoire des monastères arméniens* (Turnhout, 1993), no. 212, in the district of Karin; Sargis is otherwise unknown. The city of Theodosiopolis fell to Byzantium in 949 CE and the theme of Karin dates from that time.

<sup>124</sup> Kaputak'ar: literally 'blue rock'. The village of Kapoyt in Aršarunik' was situated 10 miles south-west of Kamrjajor. This confirms that there is no apparent geographical structure to the list.

<sup>125</sup> Mahé and Mahé, *Grégoire de Narek, Tragédie*, 12 and n. 31 suggest that this monastery existed in the seventh century and that Barsel Ćon, the scholar instructed by catholicos Narsēs III to reform the hymnal, came from here. The general statement that all the communities in the list were founded in the time of king Abas allows for the possibility that this was a re-foundation. Its location in Širak is not confirmed but it has been identified with the monastery of Kızıl Kilise, Red Church, in the village of Yağdesen, north of Ani: see A. Totoyan-Baladian, 'Karmirvank', *Le couvent rouge*, *REArm* 30 (2005–7), 304.

<sup>126</sup> C'axac'k'ar: 'rock of birch trees'. Vayoc' Jor: a district of Siwnik' with its own princely house, until it was taken over by Gagik I Bagratuni; see III.30.

How can we possibly describe in a few words the magnificently embellished virtues of the hermits, those who shared the Cross with the crucified Christ, who lived excellent lives at that time, who thirsted and constantly denied the flesh? [Men] like the famous and praiseworthy Vardik, the abbot of Vangoc',<sup>127</sup> and the holy father Karmir; those who reckoned life in this world to be a shadow; they lived in solitude with the wild animals in the mountains and deserted places, in a state of fasting, to the point that they were made worthy to receive miracle-working power from the Lord—for a lion submitted to Vardik and brought to him [177] the skin of a stag and put down in front of and spread next to his feet two lion-cubs.<sup>128</sup> He placed his hand and healed their eyes. And he touched many other sick ones and they were healed rapidly from their illness. [753] And at the resting-place of his bones, which is at Vangoc', the healing of the sick still occurs, even today.

There was also the holy father Karmir who bore Christ in his body; he lived in the district of Cop'k', in the guise of a beggar, while the country was under the Arabs. One day he went to the *amir* in the fortress of Pa'in.<sup>129</sup> On the outskirts, among the ruins, there was a church which he entered when he had rested. People told him not to stay there because there was a death-breathing dragon living there. But he trusted in the power of God, entered, and prayed in it during the night. When the dragon approached the door of the church, through the power of the Lord and the prayers of the saint it was slain. In the morning the unbelieving heathens said to the believers, 'Go and see because the fearsome dragon has swallowed the man whom you say is of God.' And no one dared to approach. For many hours the dragon remained immobile and

<sup>127</sup> Vardik: diminutive in *-ik*, little Vard. Vangoc': Thierry, *Répertoire*, no. 319, proposed that this should be identified as the monastery of St T'at'ul in Aršarunik'. Mahé and Mahé, *Grégoire de Narek, Tragédie*, 12 and n. 33 disputes this, noting that Vardan Arewel'ci records three separate communities in Aršarunik': one of father Vardik, another Kamrjajor, and a third of T'at'lu *anapat*. Step'anos himself records the deeds of the ascetic Anton/T'at'ul, noting that 'he went to inhospitable places, with wild animals and dragons and settled in the place which now is called *Gazanacakk'* or T'at'loy vank'; see II.2 and n. 98.

<sup>128</sup> Mahé and Mahé, *Grégoire de Narek, Tragédie*, 13 and n. 34 note that *gazanajagk'* refers to 'the young of a wild beast' and suggest that this story could account for the name of the monastery. But in II.2 Step'anos associates a monastery of this name with T'at'loy vank', the monastery of T'at'ul, on the basis of the actions of T'at'ul. The conduct of T'at'ul and Vardik is remarkably similar, making it all but impossible to distinguish the monasteries from one another. The location of Vangoc' is therefore unknown.

<sup>129</sup> Cop'k': a region of western Armenia (Gr. Sophēnē) which was called Fourth Armenia in late antiquity. This passage is looking back to a time when this frontier region was under Arab rather than Byzantine control. The annexation of this district is not specifically reported but must have occurred after the fall of Melitene on 19 May 934 CE. The themes of Xozanon and Asmosaton (Arsamosata, Šumšat) to the west and south of the fortified city of Pa'in are described in the *DAI* 50.111–13 as being under the Saracens in past times, implying that they were not at the time of writing (952 CE). It has been suggested that these themes were established after 938 and before 949 when the major city of Theodosiopolis was finally captured. This account should be probably be dated therefore to the 940s at the latest, when *amirs* still occupied fortresses in western Armenia.

the men gradually went close, very suspiciously. Then the warrior of God shouted from inside, ‘Drag away the foul thing [178] so that I may come out.’ This occurred to the honour of the believers and to the shame of the unbelievers and to the glory of Christ.

There were also *vardapets* instructed in the doctrine of the Lord and teachers of the truth. The elderly Basilios, very forthright in speaking and a bold proclaimer in describing the law of the Lord;<sup>130</sup> and Grigor, a priest of the married ones, eloquent and loquacious on the parables of the Lord; and Step‘anos, the pupil of Barsiḥ, who was called ‘Spiritual’, with apostle-like gifts in word and deed; with this man also the one renowned in knowledge and virtue, Movsēs, who could last without food for forty days; and David, looking like a beggar and an abject lover of filth, [yet] wise, who was known as ‘Leather-foot’;<sup>131</sup> and Petros, true commentator of the holy Scriptures;<sup>132</sup> and Anania, a great scholar, who was a monk of Narek. His book was directed against the sect of T‘ondrakac‘ik‘ and other heresies.<sup>133</sup> [754]

In our youth we saw some of these in their old age with our own eyes, tasting the sweet delights of their words.

All of these, using prudent examination and with discernment based on the divine Scriptures and following the command of lord Anania, commanded those baptized Chalcedonian to be baptized a second time.<sup>134</sup> For Chalcedonians deny that God was in his body on the Cross and in death; moreover, they say [there are] two natures with active wills and energy in Christ, and they say that God did not endure human suffering and did not die for our sake but [179] it was merely the death of a man and they are baptized in the death of a man. But we confess God united to the true Word in the body; and the same

<sup>130</sup> Anania Mokac‘i, ‘Yalags apstambut‘ean tann Aḷuanic’, *Ararat* (1897), 131; repr. *Matenagirk‘ Hayoc‘* 10, 257.21; repr. and tr. Boisson, in *Mélanges Jean-Pierre Mahé*, 791.21, refers to ‘the holy and cross-worshipping man of God Basilios’ in his list of contemporary Armenian theologians and intellectuals; this could be the same person.

<sup>131</sup> These figures are all otherwise unattested. *Maškotn*, leather-foot.

<sup>132</sup> It is possible that this Petros is none other than the close companion of Anania Narekac‘i, with whom he studied as a child and then founded the monastery at Narek. None of his commentaries have yet been found.

<sup>133</sup> For Anania’s career and works, see T‘amrazyan, *Anania Narekac‘i*, and Mahé and Mahé, *Grégoire de Narek, Tragédie*, 39–69. His treatise against the T‘ondrakians, commissioned by the catholicos Anania Mokac‘i, is lost but significant portions were included by Grigor Narekac‘i in his letter to the abbot of Kčaw and thus have been preserved; see Mahé and Mahé, *Grégoire de Narek, Tragédie*, 54–6, for commentary and Appendix III for a translation. Anania Narekac‘i also composed a refutation of Chalcedon called *Hawatarmat* or *Root of Faith*, which was dedicated to the catholicos Xac‘ik I and presented to him in either 980 or 987 CE: T‘amrazyan, *Anania Narekac‘i*, 130.

<sup>134</sup> *Ter Anania*: catholicos Anania Mokac‘i, not Anania Narekac‘i. For this practice under Anania, see Anania Mokac‘i, ‘Yalags apstambut‘ean tann Aḷuanic’, *Ararat* (1897), 132; repr. *Matenagirk‘ Hayoc‘* 10, 258.30; repr. and tr. Boisson, in *Mélanges Jean-Pierre Mahé*, 795.30, which records that the untrustworthy, false, and licentious bishop of Siwnik‘, Yakob, was baptized a second time.

God experienced suffering, who was crucified for our sake, so that in this way our baptism should be in God and perfected in the death of the Lord and not just of the man, so that we shall not fall under the curse of Jeremiah, 'He who places his hope in man is cursed'.<sup>135</sup>

In the days of Romanos, emperor of the Greeks, and in the time of Abas, king of Armenia, Melitene was taken from the Arabs, in 383 of the Era.<sup>136</sup> Romanos expelled Alaxut'ēt'n, the persecutor of our faith.<sup>137</sup> And in 388 of the Era, Hamtun entered Koloneia with many forces and returned from there.<sup>138</sup>

Then Constantine, son of Leo, became king, in 392 of the Era, for 16 years.<sup>139</sup> In his sixth year and in 397 of the Era, he took Maraš from the Arabs.<sup>140</sup> Then, in the following year, in 398 of the Era, the emperor Constantine sent the *demeslikos* Č'mškik with a substantial force to the regions of Karin.<sup>141</sup> He came and besieged Theodosiopolis; he fought and defeated the

<sup>135</sup> Jeremiah 17:5.

<sup>136</sup> This is an abrupt, unannounced shift to Byzantine history. AE 383: 7.iv.934–6.iv.935. Romanos I Lecapenos: see III.6 and n. 86. The fall of Melitene (on 19 May 934) is described in Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, 224, but is undated.

<sup>137</sup> Alaxut'ēt'n: a transliteration of (Abu Ḥafs) al-Ḥaddād, the ruler of Melitene, who concluded a peace treaty in the autumn of 931 but died before the fall of the city. It is striking that he is called 'a persecutor of our faith'. This seems to attest the presence of Armenians in and around Melitene and their oppression under Arab rule. It may also reflect Step'anos' own times of increasing confessional tension, especially in cities like Melitene.

<sup>138</sup> Hamtun: Ḥamdān, 'Alī Sayf al-Dawla, the famous scion of the Hamdanids who took over Aleppo in 944 CE and fought against the Byzantines until his death in 967. Intriguingly the shorthand Hambdan is used in Skylitzes' *Synopsis*, 241 and 249. AE 388: 6.iv.939–5.iv.940. The exact circumstances of Sayf al-Dawla's campaign into Armenia in this year are difficult to establish, to the extent that we cannot be certain if there was one campaign or two. We know that he entered Vaspurakan and advanced to Tatvan on the western shore of lake Van, where a range of local Armenian princes and Arab *amirs* submitted to him. He also advanced against the fortress of Hawčič which lay 25 miles to the south-east of Qāliqalā (Theodosiopolis), at that time the principal target for John Kourkouas, *domestikos tōn scholōn*. According to Ibn Zāfir, the Byzantine forces destroyed the fortress and retreated. The location of Hawčič, north of lake Van, suggests that Sayf al-Dawla first secured the submission of the local lords before advancing, *contra* Ter-Ghewondyan, *Arab Emirates*, 84–6, but implied in H. N. Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates* (London and New York, 1986), 276. This brief notice seems to add an additional, otherwise unattested manoeuvre, westwards from Theodosiopolis into the theme of Koloneia before returning.

<sup>139</sup> AE 392: 5.iv.943–3.iv.944. Constantine VII ruled from 27 January 945 until 9 November 959.

<sup>140</sup> AE 397: 3.iv.948–2.iv.949. Maraš: the city of Germanikeia. This is not otherwise recorded. Maraš finally fell in 962. Both Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, 245 and Yahya b. Sa'īd al-Anṭākī, *Histoire de Yahya ibn Sa'īd d'Antioche continuateur de Sa'īd ibn Bitriq*, ed. and French trans. I Kratchkovsky and A. Vasiliev, *PO* 18 (1924), 767, refer to the siege and capture of Adata/Al-Ḥadath in 336 AH (23.vii.947–10.vii.948), and whilst this was rebuilt, it was sacked once again in 957. Mar'ash and Adata/Al-Ḥadath are only 25 miles apart.

<sup>141</sup> AE 398: 3.iv.949–2.iv.950. YA I, 768 states that the Greeks took the city of Qāliqalā (Theodosiopolis) in the month of rabī' I of this year (338 AH: 1.vii.949–19.vi.950) and demolished its walls. This equates to 29 August–27 September 949 CE and therefore matches the date supplied by Step'anos. The *demeslikos* Č'mškik: John Kourkouas was replaced as *domestikos tōn scholōn* in December 944. This figure is likely to be his brother Theophilos. Since Theophilos'

force of Ismael and he demolished the *xandak* of the city and tore down its high towers and took the city.<sup>142</sup> Kiwī-Žan, the grandson of Č‘mšik, performed many deeds of bravery here; at that time he was a young man.<sup>143</sup> After this, the Greek army [755] took the city of Samusat, in 407 of the Era.<sup>144</sup>

[180] Constantine died and Romanos became king for 3 years.<sup>145</sup> Then in 402 of the Era Abas, king of Armenia, died; he reigned for 24 years.<sup>146</sup>

### Chapter 8

*The reign of Ašot, son of Abas, and whatever transpired in his days and the constructions of places of holiness*

After Abas, Ašot his son became king, who was also called *šahanšah*, for 25 years.<sup>147</sup> Mušēl his brother was king in Kars at the same time.<sup>148</sup>

This Ašot held this country of Armenia in a state of peace and surpassed everyone in humility and mercy. He gathered around himself the scurried, the disabled, and the blind, treating them as being of equal rank to himself at banquets. He named some of them princes and princes of princes and *kouropalates* and he took delight in them. He reckoned their red scabs and sores before his eyes as equivalent to decorations and sparkling gems. Moreover, he offered to them his royal cup with drink and when the discharge of their wounds mixed with the wine, then he took and tasted what they had left. [181] He distributed to those in need so generously that at his death there was

grandson, John Tzimiskes, became *domestikos* in 964, this could also be a misidentification by Step‘anos. The meaning of Č‘mšikik remains contested, although Matthew of Edessa connects it with the place of origin, Č‘mšakagk’: MU i.18 [24.20–1].

<sup>142</sup> *xandak*: literally moat, ditch, but here perhaps rampart, if *nora* refers to *zxandak k‘alak‘in*.

<sup>143</sup> A transcription of Tzimiskes’ name in Greek, *Kur[ios] Ioanes*, lord John, see n. 3. The same name is applied to him in Matthew of Edessa’s *Chronicle*: MU i.18 [24.3].

<sup>144</sup> Samosata, on the river Euphrates. AE 407: 1.iv.958–31.iii.959. YA I, 775 states that Basil the *parakoimomenos* and John, son of Tzimiskes, besieged Samosata and captured it after a few days in the month of ra‘ban 347 AH: 18 October–15 November 958.

<sup>145</sup> Romanos II: 9 November 959–15 March 963.

<sup>146</sup> AE 402: 2.iv.953–1.iv.954; see III.7 and n. 91. This chronological shift back is abrupt.

<sup>147</sup> Anania Mokac‘i praises Ašot: ‘And his son lord Ašot, prince of princes of Armenia, succeeded to the throne of the kingdom, intelligent and wise, a man of fine appearance, pious and equitable in justice, terrible to thieves and evil-doing criminals and a lover of saints and a crown of splendour for this seat of the holy Illuminator. Especially, it was said, an amazing fruit from a noble stock, an amazing sun from a miraculous father; with a mind immersed in the divine letters, whole in body, proper in everything, doubly peace-loving’: Anania Mokac‘i, ‘Yałags apstambut‘ean tann Ałuanic’, *Ararat* (1897), 140; repr. *Matenagirk‘ Hayoc‘* 10, 268.144; repr. and tr. Boisson, in *Mélanges Jean-Pierre Mahé*, 817.144. 25 years: 953–78 CE; see III.11. Macler, *Histoire universelle*, 39 and n. 4, maintains that Mušēl was granted Kars in 961 but omits the source of this information.

<sup>148</sup> Anania records Ašot acting in concert with his brothers Mušēl and Atrnersēh to ordain David, a monk of Xotakerik‘, as catholicos of Albania: Anania Mokac‘i, ‘Yałags apstambut‘ean tann Ałuanic’, *Ararat* (1897), 144; repr. *Matenagirk‘ Hayoc‘* 10, 273.193; repr. and tr. Boisson, in *Mélanges Jean-Pierre Mahé*, 827.193. This is dated AE 407 (1.iv.958–31.iii.959).



not one dram left in his treasury. Moreover, he gave to the needy the wealth of his clothing and his carpets and of his wall[-hangings].<sup>149</sup> And he atoned for his sins through his mercy and compassion for the poor.<sup>150</sup>

In his days monasteries were built, places for hermits in the country of Seawordik', living in common, united under the aforementioned canon of the rule of St Basil.<sup>151</sup> The two sites, called Hałbat and Sanahin, are positioned opposite one another but are one in faith in the house of God, comprising 500 men.<sup>152</sup> The leader of Sanahin was Yovhannēs, the learned man of God;<sup>153</sup> that of Hałbat was Simēon, the ascetic servant of Christ.<sup>154</sup> [756]

Then lord Anania reached the end of his days and died at a good old age, in 414 of the Era.<sup>155</sup>

<sup>149</sup> Arab geographers were well acquainted with Armenian textiles: Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb šūrat*, II, 342–3; tr. Kramers and Wiet, *Configuration de la terre*, 335–6.

<sup>150</sup> This is a curious eulogy. Ašot III is often called *Olormac*, 'the merciful', but it is unclear whether this is a consequence of his actions or a reflection of this passage. He is virtually absent from this narrative.

<sup>151</sup> Se(a)wordik', Arm. Black children: 'the *Serbotioi* who are called Black Children', in *De Ceremoniis* ii.48, at 687, revealing apparent knowledge of the Armenian etymology. Despite this, it seems more likely that they may have been Sabir Huns. For another possible echo, see *DAI* c. 38.28: *Sabartoi asphaloi*. Given their association with Hałbat and Sanahin, they were apparently located in, or close to, the district of Tašir-Joraget. It is tempting to associate them with the fortress of Hunarakert/Xunani in the Kur valley, south of Tiflis; see Martin-Hisard, 'Constantinople et les archontes du monde caucasien', 406–12. For the rule of St Basil in Armenia, see n. 32.

<sup>152</sup> Hałbat: see K. Łafadaryan, *Halbat* (Erevan, 1963), 9–15 and fig. 2. Although Hałbat possesses an extraordinary relief of Smbat and Gurgēn presenting a model of their church, it does not retain a foundation inscription. The first text to supply a specific date is Samuēl Anec'i, *Žamanakagrut'wn*, 176, s.a. 970: 'In 416 of the era [30.iii.967–28.iii.968], Hałbat was built and Sanahin, 10 years before Hałbat, was built by queen Xosrovanuš, by the wife of Ašot *šahanšah*.' This entry, however, appears only in V511, copied in 1206 CE in Sanahin. M8481 reads: 'In 416 of the era, Hałbat was built by queen Xosrovanuš, by the wife of Ašot *šahanšah* and then 10 years later, Sanahin.' Sanahin: see K. Łafadaryan, *Sanahini vank'ē* (Erevan, 1957). Mač'evosyan, *Hišatakaraner*, no. 74, offers precise information about the foundation of Sanahin: 'I this unworthy one from the monks, this despicable scribe Simēon, in the Armenian Era 421, in this newly built monastery called Sanahin, at the command of my abbot Yovhannēs, who was 6 years in the building of this monastery which the pious queen Xosrovanuš built, the wife of Ašot *šahanšah* of Armenia, son of Smbat Bagratuni, king of Armenia, and in the first year of the patriarchate of the spiritual father of everyone lord Xačik' the worthy overseer, and in the episcopate for our district of Tašir of Grigor, the worthy chief shepherd [who had been] in the position of leadership for 2 years, in the reign of Ašot and his son Smbat the valiant and victorious king of Armenia.' This indicates that Sanahin was started in AE 415 (30.iii.966–29.iii.967), and hence very close to Samuēl's date for the construction of Hałbat. It is highly likely that the two communities developed opposing traditions on their respective foundations to promote the priority of one over the other. The two monasteries are indeed situated very close to one another.

<sup>153</sup> The colophon above confirms that Yovhannēs was indeed the first leader of the community.

<sup>154</sup> The oldest inscription at Hałbat reads as follows: 'In 440 [24.iii.991–22.iii.992] father Simeovn and Tiranun priest we built this church for the salvation of Sibata [Smbat] and Gurgena': Łafadaryan, *Halbat*, 141–2 and fig. 37.

<sup>155</sup> AE 414: 30.iii.965–29.iii.966. See, however, III.6 and n. 92, implying a date two years earlier.

And then Vahanik became catholicos, from the district of Bałk', son of Juanšēr, prince of Bałk'.<sup>156</sup> Through letters, this man wanted to foster close relations and achieve agreement with the Chalcedonians.<sup>157</sup> Therefore the monks of Armenia gathered in the city of Ani—lord Xač'ik, bishop of Aršarunik',<sup>158</sup> and father Polykarpos, leader of Kamrjajor,<sup>159</sup> and father Sargis, a monk of the community of Hořomos,<sup>160</sup> and father Step'anos, a monk of the monastery of Sewan,<sup>161</sup> and many other bishops and fathers. Vahanik [182] fled to Vaspurakan, to Apusahl, king of Vaspurakan, who was the son of Gagik Arcruni.<sup>162</sup> Then the assembly with the consent of Ašot *šahanšah* established as catholicos of Armenia Step'anos, monk of Sewan.<sup>163</sup> From both sides, they filled this country of Armenia with anathemas. Step'anos the great *vardapet*, who was occupying the dignity of the blessed Mesrop and pastoring the western region of Armenia,<sup>164</sup> collected together a multitude

<sup>156</sup> Anania confirms that Vahan was indeed the son of Ĵuanšēr: '... seeing the sincerity of his tears, we blessed him and his house and we consecrated as bishop of the country his son, the cross-worshipping, brought up in holiness, lord Vahan': Anania Mokac'i, 'Yalags apstambut'ean tann Aluanic', *Ararat* (1897), 141; repr. *Matenagirk' Hayoc'* 10, 269.161; repr. and tr. Boisson, in *Mélanges Jean-Pierre Mahé*, 819.161. Anania obtained a signed statement from Vahan dated AE 407 in which he described himself as bishop of Siwnik' and observed that the Sisakan house controlled twelve (unidentified) districts. Vahanik: the diminutive *-ik*, little Vahan. Bałk': the southernmost district of Siwnik', centred on Kapan and including Tat'ew.

<sup>157</sup> Given all the troubles that Anania Mokac'i had had with Vahan's predecessor as bishop of Siwnik', the rebellious-minded and deceived Yakob, whose Chalcedonian leanings had caused him to be rebaptized, Vahan's succession to the leadership of the Armenian Church might appear surprising. This passage implies an immediate change, but a colophon dated AE 416 (30.iii.967–28.iii.968) confirms that he was still catholicos at that time, indicating that he held office for at least two years. Mat'evosyan, *Hišatakaraner*, no. 73, (Mat. 5980): 'In 416 of the Armenia Era, and during the oversight of lord Vahan, catholicos of Armenia, and in the years of Ašot Bagratuni, king of Armenia, from the house of Širak, I Mesrop, a humble priest from Vayoc'jor ...'

<sup>158</sup> This is the future catholicos, Xač'ik I. For his intellectual interests, see III.7, nn. 107 and 133. T'amrazyan, *Anania Narekac'i*, 204–9, proposed that Anania Narekac'i dedicated his *Xratk'*, *Spiritual Injunctions*, to Xač'ik while he was still bishop of Aršarunik'.

<sup>159</sup> See III.7 and n. 107, which implies that Polykarpos had died and been succeeded by Samuēl. Evidently he died after the events reported here.

<sup>160</sup> See III.7 and n. 123 for another Sargis.

<sup>161</sup> See III.7 and n. 131 for another Step'anos.

<sup>162</sup> For the date and confirmation of the relationship, see Anania Mokac'i: '... my labours lasted until the year 407 of the Era [1.iv.958–31.iii.959]. At this point, there departed from this country of ours that brave king, son of lord Gagik Arcruni, called Grigor Derenik, and his brother, lord Hamazasp, succeeded to the throne of the kingdom': Anania Mokac'i, 'Yalags apstambut'ean tann Aluanic', *Ararat* (1897), 141; repr. *Matenagirk' Hayoc'* 10, 269.152–153; repr. and tr. Boisson, in *Mélanges Jean-Pierre Mahé*, 819.152–3. A colophon dated 965 CE confirms that Hamazasp was also called Apusahl: Mat'evosyan *Hišatakaraner*, no. 71: '... There arrived to me the oppressed Pantaleon and not worthy of being a priest, as if from the direction of God, from the order of the second universe-holder my senior lord Apousahl Hamazasp, king of kings of the great headship of this house of Armenia ...'

<sup>163</sup> The date of Vahan's deposition and the elevation of Step'anos cannot be confirmed but is likely to have occurred in c.970 CE.

<sup>164</sup> Cf. MX III.58 [337.16–17]: 'Therefore he [Sahak the Great] left Mesrop in charge of the instruction of the western regions, *i veray vardapetut'ean kołmann arewmtic'*'

of monks from Tarōn, from Hašteank', from Cop'k', and from Xorjean;<sup>165</sup> together with Movsēs *vardapet* and Babkēn, an excellent man from the country of Siwnik', he went to Vaspurakan in order to reproach Vahan and Apusahl.<sup>166</sup>

Then they acted like Valens;<sup>167</sup> they did not see them and did not hear anything but they ordered Step'anos and *vardapet* Movsēs and father Babgēn to be confined on the island of Axt'amar.<sup>168</sup> Then they released father Babgēn and Movsēs and transferred Step'anos to the fortress of Kotork',<sup>169</sup> where he died [757]—whether this occurred as a result of treachery or from another cause, I do not know. Vahanik and Step'anos died in the same year and disorder was removed from this country of Armenia.

In the days of Romanos, king of the Greeks, Nikephoros was *mažistros* and Kiwī-Žan was *patrik*;<sup>170</sup> they terrified all the Arabs by their power. At the death of Romanos they had [183] surrounded Anazarba and Aleppo, which they took.<sup>171</sup>

A certain Marinos became king in Constantinople.<sup>172</sup> Then Nikephoros and Kiwī-Žan and all the forces went to the shore of the sea of the Greeks.

<sup>165</sup> This western aspect is remarkably similar to the locations of the monasteries and associated scholars identified in III.7.

<sup>166</sup> Movsēs: probably Movsēs Tarōnec'i, who founded a monastery in Karberd; see III.7 and nn. 118–22. Babgēn: unknown.

<sup>167</sup> An echo of MX III.29 [293.15–17]. In this narrative the catholicos Nersēs was sent as an intermediary to the emperor Valens carrying a letter from the Armenian king Aršak. Valens 'neither read the letter nor saw Nersēs the Great. Instead he ordered him to be exiled and all the hostages to be put to the sword.' Valēs, Valens.

<sup>168</sup> Axt'amar, the island on lake Van where Gagik Arcruni had built both a church and a palace: T'A IV.7–8 [292.27–299.23]. Its role as a place of confinement is therefore unexpected, although the practice of using small islands for such purposes had long been employed in the Byzantine Empire; see e.g. Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, 232 for the deposition and exile of Romanos I to the island of Prote; and 236 for the exile of Constantine Lecapenos to the island of Terebinthos. Both of these were among the nine so-called Prinkipo or 'Princes' islands in the Sea of Marmora.

<sup>169</sup> Kotor[k']: a remote fortress some 60 miles east of the city of Van, in the mountainous region bordering the emirate of Hēr.

<sup>170</sup> Nikip'or, Nikephoros. Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, 249 refers to the *magistros* Nikephoros Phokas. Leo the Deacon, *Historia*, III.2 [37–8], describes John Tzimiskes as *patrikios* and *strategos* of the Anatolikon theme. Step'anos' use of the honorific titles *magistros* and *patrikios* seems to be indicating a preference for using these titles to indicate their relative status in the empire. YA I, 783, notes that Romanos II recalled Nikephoros *domestikos* of the west after his capture of Crete and reappointed him *domestikos* of the east.

<sup>171</sup> Anavarza: Anazarba. Skylitzes does not mention the capture of Anazarba. YA I, 784, reports that Nikephoros captured Anazarba in the month of *zul qa'dah* 350 AH (12 December 961–10 January 962). YA I, 784–87, also records how Nikephoros and John, the son of Tzimiskes, campaigned together against Sayf al-Dawla and the city of Aleppo. The city eventually negotiated the terms of its surrender on Thursday, 22 December 962, and Nikephoros occupied the city for eight days. Halp: Aleppo.

<sup>172</sup> Marinos: Marianos Argvros. Neither Skylitzes nor Yahya refer to Marianos. However, Theophanes Continuatus, 480, and Leo the Deacon, *Historia*, III.2–7 [37–46], reveal his central role. During the bitter struggle for control between the *parakoimomenos* Joseph Bringas and Nikephoros Phokas which ignited after the death of Romanos II on 15 March 963, Bringas summoned Marianos, then *katepano tōn duseōn*, i.e. *domestikos* of the west, and suggested that

Kiwī-Žan entered Constantinople, deposed Marinos, and made Nikephoros king, in 412 of the Era; he reigned for 7 years.<sup>173</sup> This man valiantly defeated the Ismayēlakan force, delivering several cities from them—Msis in 413, Tarsus in 414 of the Era.<sup>174</sup> Then in 415 of the Era the sun darkened; Ašot, prince of Tarōn, died and the Romans took control of Tarōn.<sup>175</sup>

In 417 of the Era, Bardas, the nephew of Nikephoros, went to Apahunik<sup>4</sup> with a substantial force and surrounded the city of Manazkert.<sup>176</sup> They took it and undermined its foundations and destroyed its circuit wall. And then, in 418 of the Era, he took Antioch, great city of Syria.<sup>177</sup>

In the same year, Kiwī-Žan killed Nikephoros in the palace as a result of the treachery of the queen, the mother of Basil; he reigned for 6 years.<sup>178</sup> Then Bardas the great *dux*, the nephew of Nikephoros, rebelled and was king in the

he would make Marianos emperor if he followed his advice. Marianos demurred, suggesting John Tzimiskes instead, but he still ended up commanding a Macedonian unit in support of Bringas and was killed in the city, apparently as a result of being struck on the forehead by a flowerpot; Theophanes Continuatus records that it was a roof-tile. Step'anos therefore corroborates both the involvement of Marianos and the suggestion that he might have become emperor if Bringas had triumphed. Leo may well be underplaying how close Marianos came to the imperial throne, but only Step'anos states that he did in fact become emperor.

<sup>173</sup> The *History* of Leo the Deacon promotes the roles of Leo Phokas, Bardas Phokas, and Basil the Nothos in the coup but tells us nothing about the role of Tzimiskes, other than that he was appointed *magistros* and *domestikos* of the east, at III.6 [44]. AE 412: 31.iii.963–29.iii.964. 7 years: in fact 6 years, 4 months, 16.viii.963–11.xii.969.

<sup>174</sup> According to YA I, 795–96, Msis (Mopsuestia) fell on 13 July 965. AE 413: 30.iii.964–29.iii.965. Tarsus surrendered on 16 August 965; AE 414: 30.iii.965–29.iii.966.

<sup>175</sup> AE 415: 30.iii.966–29.iii.967. Both Step'anos and Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, 279, associate the annexation of Tarōn with an eclipse. Skylitzes views the episode from a different perspective, recording how Nikephoros Phokas rewarded two brothers, Gregory and Pankratios, with the rank of *patrikios* as well as extensive revenue-generating lands in return for giving up Tarōn. See Greenwood, 'Social Change in Eleventh-Century Armenia: The Evidence from Tarōn' (forthcoming).

<sup>176</sup> AE 417: 29.iii.968–28.iii.969. Vard: Bardas Phokas, son of Leo Phokas and hence nephew of the emperor Nikephoros. YA I, 825, refers to the Greeks seizing Manzikert by force but does not identify the commander. Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, 284 confirms that Bardas held the office of *dux* of Chaldea and Koloneia but does not report this campaign. Following the annexation of Tarōn, and given the recent turmoil in Manzikert—the last Qaysite Abū'l Ward had been murdered by a *ghulam* of Sayf al-Dawla in 964 CE—such a campaign made excellent strategic sense.

<sup>177</sup> Antioch fell on 28 October 969, according to YA I, 822–8. It was not, however, Bardas Phokas who captured the city but Michael Bourtzes (al Bourdji), and this detail is confirmed by Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, 271–3, and Leo the Deacon, *Historia*, V.4 [81–2], who adds the role played by the *patrikios*, Peter the *stratopedarches*. The linguistic proximity between Vard and Bourt may lie behind this.

<sup>178</sup> Nikephoros was murdered on 11 December 969. See YA I, 827–30; Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, 279–80; and Leo the Deacon, *Historia*, V.5–8 [84–90], which all note the prominent role of the *augusta* Theophano, widow of Romanos II, mother of Basil, Constantine, and Anna; for analysis, see R. Morris, 'Succession and Usurpation: Politics and Rhetoric in the Late Tenth Century', in *New Constantines: The Rhythm of Imperial Renewal*, ed. P. Magdalino (Aldershot, 1994), 199–214.

Žrung. The conqueror Kiwī-Žan fought against him, defeated him, and threw Bardas into prison on the island.<sup>179</sup>

He himself went to the country of the Bulgars to campaign against them.<sup>180</sup> They allied themselves to the Rus [758] and [184] advanced in battle against him. When they engaged one another, the Rus drove back the two wings of the battle-line of the Greeks. The king held firm with the Armenians of the whole infantry force in the centre of the battle-line; the contingent of infantry soldiers fought valiantly, who are called Sařark'.<sup>181</sup> In front of the king, they breached the shield-wall which was [raised] against them. The king together with all the cavalry forces penetrated [at that point], and putting the sword to work, cut them to pieces, bodies scattered about on all sides. He reduced the Bulgars to obedience.<sup>182</sup>

This Kiwī-Žan displayed many deeds of bravery from his childhood and astonished many. While he was king, the people of the Arabs towards the south submitted to paying tax on a voluntary basis, and the people of Sarmatia towards the north and the people of Iberia towards the east.<sup>183</sup>

<sup>179</sup> Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, 284, and Leo the Deacon, *Historia*, VI.2 [96], record that Tzimiskes dismissed Bardas Phokas from his command of *dux* of Chaldea and Koloneia and confined him to Amaseia. For the rebellion undertaken by Bardas Phokas in summer/autumn of 970 and its suppression by Bardas Skleros, not Tzimiskes in person, following which Phokas was tonsured and exiled to the island of Chios, see Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, 291–4; Leo the Deacon, *Historia*, VII.1–8 [112–25]; and YA I, 831–2. *i Žrungn*: rather than a place, perhaps a copyist's error for *i žarāng[u]* {t'}[ean]n, 'in his patrimony', i.e. 'in his family's inherited estates', the abbreviated genitive having been corrupted. Both Skylitzes and Leo the Deacon record that Bardas Phokas escaped from Amaseia and went to Caesarea in Cappadocia, where he gathered his supporters. Step'anos, although highly abbreviated, is remarkably consistent with these accounts.

<sup>180</sup> *Bullarac'*: Bulgars. Step'anos has reduced Tzimiskes' operations in Bulgaria in 971 to a single battle. Leo the Deacon, *Historia*, VIII–IX [128–59], records a complex series of engagements, manoeuvres, and negotiations. Step'anos is correct in identifying the involvement of the *Řuzk'/Rus*; in 969 under Sviatoslav (Leo the Deacon's Sphendosthlavos), for the Rus had advanced into Bulgaria and seized control. This passage seems to be describing one of the battles in front of Dorystolon/Dristra, but it is impossible to determine which one. By way of comparison, YA I, 833 condenses the whole campaign to a single three-year siege of the city of Thaisira and a negotiated settlement without any military encounter.

<sup>181</sup> For Armenian heavy infantrymen, trained in the use of shields, see the military treatise of Nikephoros Phokas, *Praecepta militaria*, ed. and trans. E. McGeer in *Sowing the Dragon's Teeth: Byzantine Warfare in the Tenth Century*, DOS 33 (Washington, DC, 1995), I.1 [13]. McGeer notes (183–4) that Nikephoros' preference for Byzantine and Armenian infantrymen is unique to the *Praecepta*. *Salark'*, originally a Persian term to denote elite troops.

<sup>182</sup> This seems to be describing a military manoeuvre involving both infantry and cavalry, where the infantry broke through the opposing shield-wall and then let the cavalry through their ranks to enter the breach. If so, it is remarkably close to the infantry deployment and tactics described in Nikephoros' *Praecepta militaria*, I.5–13 [15–21].

<sup>183</sup> Although this short summary has obvious literary qualities, the first claim at least can be corroborated. YA II, 353, reports that Tzimiskes entered the city of Nisibis on 12 October 972 CE after a siege and negotiated a settlement under which Abū Taghlib, son of Nāřir al-Dawla and nephew of Sayf al-Dawla, paid an annual tribute in return for the suspension of hostilities. Leo the Deacon, *Historia*, X.1 [161–2], reports that the cities of Āmid/Diyarbakir and Martyropolis/Māyyāfarikīn/Silvan were forced to pay tribute, probably in 974 CE. A letter from John Tzimiskes

## Chapter 9

*The catholicosate of lord Xaç'ik and the building of the church and the house of the residence of the catholicos in the village of Argina*

In the days of Kiwī-Žan, emperor of the Greeks, and of Ašot, king of Armenia, in 421 of the Era, after Vahan and Step'anos, lord Xaç'ik, bishop of Aršarunik' and nephew of lord Anania, became catholicos of Armenia; [185] since he was the sole head, he brought peace to this country of Armenia, for 19 years.<sup>184</sup> He restored the house of the residence of the catholicos in the district of Širak, in the *giwłak'alak'* of Argina on the banks of the Axurean river, the resting-place of lord Anania, the overseer of Armenia.<sup>185</sup> In the same village he built the holy cathedral church with well-carved stones and securely fastened columns, a dwelling similar to heaven, with a dome, together with three [759] more churches on the same plan, imposing elegant constructions; he decorated them with sumptuous tapestries embroidered with purple flowers and with gold, with [vessels] of gold and silver and with all the brilliance of brightly shining lamps. Moreover, he acquired a quantity of testaments containing the word of God, the books of the holy Apostles and the prophet-proclaimed narratives, together with the commentaries of all the *vardapets*.<sup>186</sup>

In his days the *vardapets* were Yovhannēs, who suffered the cross of Christ; he was unimpressive in word but great in knowledge; he explained the knowledge of the holy Scriptures.<sup>187</sup> This man died by the sword at the hands of the enraged people of Iberia and was buried in the monastery

to Ašot III Bagratuni, preserved in Matthew of Edessa's *Chronicle*, describes his campaign of 975 CE, in the course of which he forced the cities of Damascus and Sidon, among several others, to do likewise: MU i.19 [24.27–32.27]. Sarmatac'ik': see III.7 and n. 93, where Sarmatian and Abkhazian appear to be interchangeable. The claim that these too paid tribute at this time appears to be unique to Step'anos.

<sup>184</sup> AE 421: 28.iii.972–27.iii.973. Xaç'ik's relationship to Anania (son of his sister) comes as no surprise. Anania himself reveals that Yakob, the contumacious bishop of Siwnik', was a relative of catholicos Yovhannēs V Draxanakertc'i: Anania Mokac'i, 'Yałags apstambut'ean tann Ałuanic', *Ararat* (1897), 130; repr. *Matenagirk' Hayoc'* 10, 256.12; repr. and tr. Boisson, in *Mélanges Jean-Pierre Mahé*, 789.12. Yovhannēs was himself related to his predecessor Maštoc'. Samuēl Anec'i records that Xaç'ik's predecessor, Step'anos III, too was a blood relative, *harazat arean*, of that holy man of God, Maštoc': Samuēl Anec'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 175, s.a. 969. That they both were abbots of the monastery of Sewan may confirm this relationship, although it should be acknowledged that it may also have prompted this assumption.

<sup>185</sup> Argina: some 20 miles north of Ani, today the village of Kayaköprü, on the banks of the river.

<sup>186</sup> Some elements in this passage—the structure of the building, its vessels and lighting, even its decoration with tapestries embroidered with purple flowers and gold—are echoed elsewhere: cf. the cathedral at Kars, at III.7 and n. 97; and Katramidē's cathedral in Ani, III.30. The acquisition of bibles, gospels, and commentaries, however, is unique to this passage, suggesting that this was intended to be a centre of scholarly endeavour and conceivably education.

<sup>187</sup> An unknown figure.

which is called Aksigoms in the district of Basean, and now [is known as the monastery] of St Yovhan, at the foot of the mountain of Ciranik'.<sup>188</sup>

In the same manner, possessing abundant knowledge, the very pure father Yovsēp', the leader of the community whose monastery is called Hunjk' in the district of Karin.<sup>189</sup>

The wise man of abject appearance Kirakos, who [186] taught more through conduct than words;<sup>190</sup> he lived for a long time in the hermitage called T'elenik', in the district of Nig,<sup>191</sup> close to father Jeremiah, the ascetic of Christ and my companion.<sup>192</sup>

The eloquent Sargis from the country of Albania, who from childhood had learnt by heart the holy Scriptures and now has grown old.<sup>193</sup> Also Yovhannēs, a priest from the married ones.

### Chapter 10

#### *The battle of the Greeks at Amida and the appearance of a star and the death of king Kiwī-Žan*

Then Kiwī-Žan, the king of the Greeks, sent the *demeslikos* Mleh with innumerable forces to Amida.<sup>194</sup> He came and besieged Abut'alhap, the grandson of Hamtun.<sup>195</sup> And unexpectedly, 400 swordsmen, mounted on horses, came out through the gate of the city and cut to pieces the contingent which was in front of the gates and scattered the whole force, rendering many

<sup>188</sup> The circumstances in which Yovhannēs was killed remain obscure, but it may have occurred shortly after the accession of Smbat II; see III.11, reporting that David of Tayk' marched against Smbat II Bagratuni 'with all the forces of Iberia'. Aksigoms: located by Hewsen 25 miles north-west of Kars and hence very close to the border with Tayk'. Confusingly, however, the district of Basean lay to the east of Theodosiopolis, also close to the frontier with Tayk', but further away from Smbat's lands. Mt Ciraneac': Apricot Mountain, 3288 m in height, midway between Theodosiopolis and Ult'is/Olt'isi.

<sup>189</sup> For the monastery, see III.7, n. 123. Yovsēp' is otherwise unknown.

<sup>190</sup> Kirakos is unattested.

<sup>191</sup> Nig was a small district of Ayrarat, to the north and east of Mt Aragac'. The hermitage of Telenik' was 5 miles west of Bjni.

<sup>192</sup> *bnkerak'i imoy*, my companion. This is the strongest evidence that Step'anos had a monastic upbringing.

<sup>193</sup> Memorizing the Scriptures: an impressive achievement. At a gathering of the monks and bishops of Albania in the district of Xaç'ēn to resolve the disputed leadership of the church, between Gagik, the brother of the previous incumbent Sahak and Yunan, a list of signatories to a document includes 'abbot Sargis, a monk of Ganjasar': Anania Mokac'i, 'Yałags apstambut'ean tann Ałuanic', *Ararat* (1897), 134; repr. *Matenagirk' Hayoc'* 10, 262.65; repr. and tr. Boisson, in *Mélanges Jean-Pierre Mahé*, 801.65. Since Sargis/Sergius was such a common name, this is hardly conclusive.

<sup>194</sup> YA II, 354, reports that Tzimiskes appointed one of his servants as *domestikos* but does not name him. This notice confirms that it was Mleh/Melias.

<sup>195</sup> Abū Taghlib, son of Nāšir al-Dawla al-Ḥasan b. 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ḥamdān and nephew of Sayf al-Dawla, had previously agreed to pay an annual tribute in return for the suspension of hostilities in respect of Nisibis in October 972; see III.8 and n. 183.

slain with the sword.<sup>196</sup> They seized Mleh the *demeslikos*, who died in the land of the Arabs.<sup>197</sup> [760]

In another year, in 423 of the Era, a spear-shaped star appeared in the days of harvest at the start [187] of the summer season; it held itself in the east, shooting rays of light in the shape of a spear westwards over the country of the Greeks, and it lasted until the season of autumn.<sup>198</sup>

And in the same year, at the end king Kiwr-Žan died in the palace.<sup>199</sup> After him, in 425 of the Era, Basil became king.

### Chapter 11

*The accession of Smbat, son of Ašot, as king and the building of the circuit wall of Ani with the church and the coming of David kouropalates to Širak*

At this time the king of Armenia, the blessed Ašot, died, in 426 of the Era, and on the same day Smbat his son became king for 13 years.<sup>200</sup> This man filled in the ditch and fortified with a wall the rampart of Ani, from the Axurean river to the valley of Całkoc'k';<sup>201</sup> it was cemented using lime and stone and had bastions and towers. This fortified with a high wall the extent of the city more completely than the old circuit wall. The main gate was of cedarwood, with iron-clad protection and with well-fastened nails.<sup>202</sup> He also set the foundation of the magnificent church in the same city of Ani under the control of the architect Trdat, who built the church of the catholical residence at Argina.<sup>203</sup> [188]

<sup>196</sup> YA II, 353–4 reports a fierce battle outside the walls of Amida in the month of ramadān 362 AH (5 June–4 July 973), in the course of which the *domestikos* was captured.

<sup>197</sup> YA II 354 reports that he was imprisoned by Abū Taġhlib and died in the month of jumādā II 363 AH (27 February–26 March 974). Neither Leo the Deacon nor Skylitzes reports this episode.

<sup>198</sup> AE 423: 28.iii.974–27.iii.975. Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, 311 records that a bearded comet appeared from August of the third indiction to October of the fourth indiction, 975 CE; see also Leo the Deacon, *Historia*, X.6 [168]. A common scribal error in the AE date, replacing ϯ (4) with ϳ (3) could account for the discrepancy.

<sup>199</sup> Same year: AE 424: 28.iii.975–26.iii.976. This supports the suggestion in the previous note. John Tzimiskes died in the Great Palace in Constantinople on 10 January 976. The reference to the end of the year could be to the end of the Armenian year.

<sup>200</sup> AE 426: 27.iii.977–26.iii.978.

<sup>201</sup> Całkoc'k', the garden of flowers.

<sup>202</sup> This new circuit wall attests the rapid growth of the city of Ani in the middle of the tenth century. Arguably its construction had as much to do with defining the boundaries of the city and asserting royal control over it, in political, legal, and fiscal terms, as any defensive consideration. Instead of strengthening its defences, extending the length of the walls could have left it more vulnerable.

<sup>203</sup> The magnificent church in Ani is the cathedral. The famous inscription which records the role played by queen Katranidē in its construction and completion in AE 450 (21.iii.1001–20.iii.1002) nevertheless observes that 'the great Smpat' had founded the church. For Trdat, see C. Maranci, 'The Architect Trdat: From the Great Church at Ani to the Great Church at



There was peace and prosperity in this country of Armenia. He began to attack his uncle Mušel, who was at Kars. And he seized the fortress which was in Čakat'k', which is called Šatik.<sup>204</sup>

As a result, the *kouropalates* David of Tayk', with all the forces of Iberia, marched against Smbat,<sup>205</sup> and he went and descended into Širak, to the village which is called Bawac'jor.<sup>206</sup> Mušel, who had summoned him, was with him as well. And Smbat yielded the fortress there into their hands and they established peace; nothing of the country [761] of Smbat was damaged, because the *kouropalates* loved peace and acted justly.<sup>207</sup>

## Chapter 12

### *The coming of the amir Ablhač to Armenia and afterwards the eclipse of his power and his death by strangulation*

However, Mušel did not fear God in his mind, for he used to live with many-stained prostitutes. He sent for and summoned Ablhač Delmastani, the grandson of Salar, the Persian *amir*.<sup>208</sup> Although he did not arrive with them, he came later and burned the monastery of Hořomos and he pulled down the

Constantinople', in *Armenian Kars and Ani*, ed. R. G. Hovannisian (Costa Mesa, Calif., 2011), 101–26. Argina: see III.9 and n. 185.

<sup>204</sup> The fortress of Šatik was situated 30 miles south-west of Bagaran, in the district of Čakat'k', south of the river Araxes, at the northern entrance to the Xařtoyarič' pass which afforded access to the district of Bagrewand. It therefore possessed great strategic value.

<sup>205</sup> David of Tayk' obtained the high imperial title of *kouropalates* following his actions in support of Bardas Phokas and Basil II in their struggle against Bardas Skleros between 977 and 979 CE. It would however be unwise to infer that these events occurred after the award of this title. If anything it would seem more likely that Smbat's strike against his uncle Mušel occurred shortly after his accession.

<sup>206</sup> Bawac'jor: unknown village in Širak. Evidently David marched eastwards from Tayk', threatening Smbat's territorial heartlands and the city of Ani, forcing Smbat to come to terms. The relationship between David and Mušel of Kars is not otherwise attested but is mirrored in the subsequent relationship between David and Abas of Kars; see III.28.

<sup>207</sup> This is high praise for David, loving peace and acting justly, as if a king; one can only compare this with the harsh criticism for the conduct of Mušel and Smbat II, see III.12 and III.29 respectively.

<sup>208</sup> Abū al Ḥayjā b. Ibrāhīm b. Marzbān b. Muḥammad b. Musāfir. Step'anos is clearly aware of both his Sallārid and Daylamite ('Delmastani') origins; Kennedy, *Age of Caliphates*, 257–8. His grandfather Marzbān or Marzubān had been the most powerful ruler in Āzarbayjān since Yūsuf b. Abi'l Sāj. The reference to him is therefore not surprising. After Marzbān's death in 957 CE, his son Ibrāhīm was unable to assert the same authority and was challenged by Kurdish rivals until his death in 983. Vardanyan has recently proposed that this passage records the actions of Abū al Ḥayjā Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Rawwādi and that Dvin was therefore already under Rawwādi control: A. Vardanyan, 'The History of Iranian Adharbayjān and Armenia in the Rawwādid Period (Tenth Century AD) according to Narrative Sources and Coins', *NC* 169 (2009), 248–9 and nn. 25–8, 250 and n. 34. In fact there were two separate figures, both using the *laqab* Abū al Ḥayjā, 'father of battle'; see III.18 and n. 261 for the Rawwādi Abū al Ḥayjā, whose background is clearly distinguished. For the coins of the Rawwādids, see Vardanyan, *The Coins as Evidence for the History of Armenia and Adharbayjan*, 197–226.

redemptive symbol which had been raised above the dome of St Šolakat', using ropes, in 431 [189] of the Era.<sup>209</sup> The wrath of God was provoked against him and he became demon-possessed. He fought against the *amir* of Gołt'n, Abutulup', and was defeated by him; having made him prisoner, he seized from him Dvin and all his cities.<sup>210</sup> He wandered around with all his relatives in this country of Armenia and Iberia, recounting that, 'because he had become an enemy of the Cross of Christ, He deprived me of my patrimony'. He travelled to the court of the emperor of the Greeks, Basil, but obtained no assistance whatsoever from him. He returned from there and was strangled by his servants in the city of Uxt'ik'.<sup>211</sup>

### Chapter 13

#### *The slaughter of Vaspurakan and the arrest of the princes by Abutulup', amir of Gołt'n*

At this time, Abutulup' the *amir* of Gołt'an, went with 905 *ghazi* foot-soldiers to the country of Vaspurakan.<sup>212</sup> The prince of princes of Vaspurakan, who was called Ablxarib,<sup>213</sup> came out against them with all his forces, [762] at the command of Ašot, king of Vaspurakan,<sup>214</sup> together with prince Grigor and

<sup>209</sup> This sentence seems to refer entirely to the actions of Abū al Ḥayjā. The burning of Hořomos; otherwise unreported but see III.7 and n. 108. The dome of St Šolakat' ('the Holy ray of Light'): this appears to be a reference to the cathedral of Ējmiacin in Vałaršapat. Macler, *Histoire universelle*, 52 and n. 3, makes the same identification but notes that Ališan preferred to identify this with the church of Hořomos: Ališan, *Širak*, 19. Although highly condensed, this sentence seems to be reporting the burning of one site and the desecration of another. AE 431: 26. iii.982–25.iii.983. If Abū al Ḥayjā attacked from Dvin, Vałaršapat would indeed have been on his route to Hořomos.

<sup>210</sup> Abū Dulaf, possibly of Shaybāni origin, and at this time, the *amir* of Gołt'n, immediately to the south-east of Dvin: Ter-Ghewondyan. *Arab Emirates*, 100–1. He defeated Abū al Ḥayjā and seized Dvin and 'all his cities' which probably included Naxčawan.

<sup>211</sup> This brief account of political and personal failure is very rare. Evidently Abū al Ḥayjā sought support from Basil II but was unsuccessful in his attempt; this is otherwise unreported. Following this he returned to Ułt'is/Ołt'isi, the principal city of Tayk', implying he had been there before. The journey from Tayk' to Constantinople and back again suggests that David was acting as a loyal client of Basil II and so can be dated to before 987 CE.

<sup>212</sup> *hetewakažołov xazkōk'n*, *ghazi* foot-soldiers. This is the earliest reference to *ghazi*, 'raider' in an Armenian text. Gołt'an, a variant of Gołt'n.

<sup>213</sup> By this time, the title *išxan išxanac'*, prince of princes, no longer signified the leading figure from among all the princely families of Armenia but had been transformed and localized, to the extent that it indicated the second most important figure in an Armenian kingdom, often with military responsibilities; arguably the title *marzpan* also now reflected local significance.

<sup>214</sup> Ašot Arcruni became king of Vaspurakan at the death of his father Abusahl-Hamazasp. See III.46, which states that Ašot died in AE 429 (26.iii.980–25.iii.981) after a reign of 22 years. This would place his accession in AE 407 (1.iv.958–31.iii.959), a date given by Anania Mokac'i for the accession of his father, Abusahl-Hamazasp! Clearly something has gone awry here. It seems highly likely that it was Abusahl-Hamazasp who died in AE 429 after a reign of 22 years. On Maunday Thursday in the year 983, the three kings of Vaspurakan, Ašot-Sahak, Gurgēn-Xac'ik, and Senek'erim-Yovhannēs all attended the translation of a relic of the True Cross into a newly

Tigran [190] *marzpan*.<sup>215</sup> He marched and came to a halt in the district of Čuaš, in the place which is called Bakear, where they released their horses for pasture.<sup>216</sup>

The Arab force learned of this and seized their horses. They stayed enclosed in the fortress. The Arab force confirmed oaths with them in accordance with their impious religion, saying, 'We shall not harm you, only give us your weapons and you may depart in peace.' With naive minds, they were taken in and handed over their weapons to them. They broke the oaths made in accordance with heathen belief and killed everyone with the sword.<sup>217</sup> They arrested Ablxarib and the two princes Grigor and Tigran *marzpan*, who were redeemed with treasure.

On the dead bodies signs of heathen impurity were found which it is not right to describe. For this reason, God delivered them to the Muslims, in 432 of the Era.<sup>218</sup>

## Chapter 14

### *The accession of Basil as king of the Greeks and the usurpation of Bardas and the destruction of the country of the Greeks*

When Basil became king, in 425 of the Era, as we said previously, Bardas, who was called by surname Skleros, rebelled and reigned as king [191] in the regions of Ĵahan and Melitene.<sup>219</sup> He was a valiant man and an expert in warfare.<sup>220</sup> He rallied to his side the cavalry force of Armenia which served under the kingship of the Greeks.<sup>221</sup> He divided the kingdom of the Greeks

constructed sanctuary at the monastery of St John the Baptist at Aparank': Grigor Narekac'i, *Patmut'wn Aparanic' Xac'in*, in *Matenagirk' Hayoc' 10th Century Grigor Narekac'i*, vol. 12 (Ant'iliias, 2008), 926.119–927.126.

<sup>215</sup> Grigor and Tigran are unknown.

<sup>216</sup> Čuaš: Čuašrot was situated on the west bank of the river Araxes, facing the expanded emirate of Goł'n. The location of Bakear is unknown; cf. Nahrnear, III.7, n. 119.

<sup>217</sup> Step'anos' antipathy to oath-breaking is stressed in his criticism of Smbat II (III.29) when he is accused of doing the same, 'according to heathen practice'.

<sup>218</sup> *aylazgeac'n*, foreigners, originally used to describe Philistines but by this time, denoting Muslims. AE 432: 26.iii.983–24.iii.984.

<sup>219</sup> AE 425: 27.iii.976–26.iii.977. This was indeed reported at the end of III.10, n. 199. Siklaṛos: Skleros. The revolt of Bardas Skleros broke out in late spring or early summer 976 and lasted until March 979. For his acclamation as emperor—the Armenians leading the way—see Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, 316. YA II, 372, confirms that Skleros took control of Melitene and seized 600 pounds of gold from the *basilikos* in the city before proclaiming himself emperor. YA II, 373, and Step'anos both refer to Ĵahan, modern Ceyhan, east of Mopsuestia/Msis and north of Antioch, on the Mediterranean coast, although only YA II, 374 reports that it was the site of Skleros' first victory over the *dux* of Antioch, Michael Bourtzes and Ibn al-Malaini (Eustathios Maleinos).

<sup>220</sup> His earlier military achievements—against Bardas Phokas and in Bulgaria during the reign of his brother-in-law John Tzimiskes—are not recorded by Step'anos.

<sup>221</sup> *zhecelaḡund zōr Hayoc'*, to be distinguished from the Armenian infantry, for which see III.8 and n 181. Relying on the references below, this force seems to have comprised Armenian lords and their retinues.

and advanced as far as Bithynia, fighting against king Basil for 4 years.<sup>222</sup> They filled the whole country with rivers of blood. [763]

King Basil assembled the forces of Byzantium and those of Thrace and Macedonia, together with all the western peoples.<sup>223</sup> He sent [them] into battle against the usurper Bardas. Bardas took up arms against him in battle. The Armenian force fought valiantly in this; the sons of the prince of Tarōn, Grigor and Bagarat, and Zapʿranik, prince of Mokkʿ, terrified the forces of Greeks and confused them like a whirling tempest; some were slain by the sword and many were captured.<sup>224</sup> Here the eunuch Petranus was killed, the head of the force.<sup>225</sup> Then, showing compassion and out of mercy on account of their Christian faith, they spared the lives of the survivors.<sup>226</sup>

They fought twice, three times, and on many occasions and they defeated the western force.<sup>227</sup> The warfare ranged across the whole country of the Greeks, to the extent that village fought with village, and city with city, and everywhere there was bloodshed. A severe famine extended over the whole world and [192] corpses of the dead multiplied on the roads and streets; and

<sup>222</sup> Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, 322–3, Bardas Skleros besieged the city of Nicaea in Bithynia and secured its surrender. According to Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, 328, the last of the rebels took refuge in the Thrakesion theme and continued to resist into the eighth indiction (1.ix.979–31.viii.980). The figure of 4 years is also specified by Leo the Deacon, *Historia*, X.7 [169].

<sup>223</sup> Neither Skylitzes nor YA refer explicitly to the use of ‘western forces’, preferring to concentrate on David of Taykʿ and the Iberian intervention. Stepʿanos supplies the greatest detail, describing a composite force made up of troops from the city of Constantinople, ‘Byzantium’, as well as Thrace, Macedonia, and the west.

<sup>224</sup> For Grigor and Bagarat, see III.8 and n. 175. Stepʿanos therefore confirms the notice in Skylitzes that the names of the sons of Ašot, prince of Tarōn, who exchanged their patrimony for estates and titles were indeed Grigor/Gregory and Bagarat/Pankratios. Zapʿranik, prince of Mokkʿ, was the nephew of the holy bishop David of Mokkʿ, the earth from whose tomb at Aparankʿ was found to have miracle-working properties. Zapʿranik travelled to Constantinople with a quantity of that earth and received from Basil II and Constantine VIII exceptional gifts and a fragment of the True Cross. This was deposited in a special sanctuary at the monastery of Aparankʿ on Maunday Thursday, 983 CE; see III.13 and n. 214. Zapʿranik was also, at some point, rewarded with the title of *manglavites*. Therefore, despite fighting for Skleros, Zapʿranik, like Grigor and Bagarat, was later rehabilitated and went on to enjoy a career in imperial service.

<sup>225</sup> Petranus: This can only be Peter *stratopedarches*, a eunuch who fought for Basil II. According to Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, 322, he was killed at the battle of Rhageai in 977, somewhere in Phrygia in western Asia Minor. However, Leo the Deacon, *Historia*, X.7 [169–70], reports that the *patrikios* and *stratopedarches* Peter was killed on the plain of Lapara on the boundary of Armenian territory, and so much further east. Given the extreme brevity of Leo’s account, Skylitzes should be preferred. YA II, 373, notes that the *patrikios* and *stratopedarches* was a eunuch named al-Anthrabazi but the occasion of his death is not reported in any detail.

<sup>226</sup> This implies that it was the Armenians who showed mercy. By contrast, see Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, 321, which reports that the Romans showed no mercy to the Armenians surrounding Bourtzes, killing every one they captured because they had been the first to join the rebellion.

<sup>227</sup> Skleros won several engagements, at Lapara and Rhageai in late 976/early 977 CE, and at Pankaleia, near Amorion on 19 June 978; see YA II, 374, for this specific date.

the living became more miserable than the dead, and ravenous wolves, now accustomed to the bodies of the dead, even ate the living.<sup>228</sup>

While the kingdom of the Greeks was convulsed by this confusion, Bat, the *amir* of Xlat' and Np'rkert, rebuilt a second time the city of Manazkert.<sup>229</sup> Using the sword and captivity, he rendered the district of Tarōn deserted; he plundered the city of Muš, having massacred the priests in the church which is called St Saviour's, a piteous sight.<sup>230</sup> The stains of their blood are evident even now in the same church.<sup>231</sup>

## Chapter 15

### *The end of the war of the Greeks and the flight of the usurper Bardas*

And then, after this whole course of events, Basil, the king of the Greeks, removed the commander T'ornik, who was from the people of Iberia, a monk on the holy mountain, [764] and sent him to the *kouropalates* David of Tayk'.<sup>232</sup> He promised to give him the *kleisoura* Xahtoyarič, Čormayri and Karin, Basean and Sewuk-Berdak which is Mardaḡi, Hark' and Apahunik' (which he did indeed give) provided that he would send a force to his assistance.<sup>233</sup> [193]

<sup>228</sup> This passage returns to the brutality of the warfare. It is elegiac in character and reminiscent of the laments for the fates of urban communities found in Lewond and Aristakēs; see Greenwood, 'Aristakēs Lastivertc'i and Armenian Urban Consciousness', in *Being in Between: Byzantium in the Eleventh Century*, ed. M. Lauxtermann (Abingdon and New York, 2017), 92–3.

<sup>229</sup> This is the first reference in this text to Bādh b. Dustuk, the founder of the Kurdish Marwānid dynasty. He does not feature in either Skylitzes or YA. This notice implies that Bādh had become *amir* of Chliat/Akhlāt, on the north-western shore of lake Van, and Np'rkert/Martyropolis/Mayyāfariqin by the time he took Manzikert, during the civil war. By convention, however, Bādh did not seize control of the latter until after the death of the Buyid 'Aḡud al-Dawla in 983, whose control of that city at the end of the civil war is mentioned at III.16. Arguably this title reflects a later situation, after 983. According to Ibn al-Athīr, Bādh first seized Arjish/Arčēš before taking control of Chliat/Akhlāt. This would account for the local nature of his campaigns, westwards into Tarōn and north to Manzikert. For a recent study of the Marwānids, see T. Ripper, *Die Marwāniden von Diyār Bakr: Eine kurdische Dynastie im islamischen Mittelalter* (Würzburg, 2000).

<sup>230</sup> Tarōn had been annexed by Byzantium a decade before, in 966/7; see III.8 and n. 175.

<sup>231</sup> This constitutes another of the rare personal reflections, probably composed by Step'anos himself. His interest in his native district is evident and informed his composition.

<sup>232</sup> Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, 326, reports that it was Bardas Phokas who sought assistance from David whom he had known since he was *dux* of Chaldea under Nikephoros Phokas; see III.8 and n. 176. A Georgian hagiography supplies a more nuanced narrative, asserting that a eunuch encountered Tornikios, a former commander of David who had become a monk on Mt Athos, and he travelled to David and managed to persuade him to come to the assistance of Phokas with 12,000 cavalymen: see B. Martin-Hisard, 'La Vie de Jean et Euthyme: le statut du monastère des Ibères sur l'Athos', *REB* 49 (1991), 67–142.

<sup>233</sup> The *kleisoura*, 'fortified pass' or 'military district', of Xahtoyarič was situated west of Theodosiopolis at the confluence of the Euphrates and the Šart'ama rivers; it included a fortress of the same name. The transliterated form of the Greek is striking. Čormayri: the district to the

The *kouropalates* David assembled the forces of Iberia and had the prince of princes, Jojik, follow Toirnik, to fight against the usurper Bardas.<sup>234</sup> Those who set out from the country of Tayk' ruined and ravaged the whole country of the Greeks which was under the control of the usurper. Likewise the king removed Bardas, who was called Phokas, from prison, whom Kiwi-Zhan had cast onto an island, and handed him control of the whole western force of the Greeks, and together with the Iberian force he sent two armies against the usurper Bardas.<sup>235</sup>

The usurper fought against one army and caused it to turn in flight; but behold, the second army arrived and they joined battle anew. The usurper Bardas was frightened at this and he fled.<sup>236</sup>

When he left the country of the Greeks he had the assistance of a supporter, the *amir* of Baghdad, who was called Ibn Xosrov, because he had been friendly with him previously.<sup>237</sup> He travelled and arrived near to his city, Martyropolis, which is Np'rkert, at the place which is called P'sp'aš.<sup>238</sup> King Basil sent an envoy of peace after him in order to secure the return of king Bardas from there.<sup>239</sup> When the senior *hečpik'* of Ibn Xosrov became aware of this, they informed him in Baghdad. He gave a command to seize the king, if it were possible.<sup>240</sup> At an unexpected moment, they arrived and arrested [194] king

north of Xahtoyarič, including the homonymous river and mountain, bordering Sper. Karin: the district around the city of Theodosiopolis as well as the Armenian name for the city itself; Basean: the district to the east of Theodosiopolis. Sevuk-Berdak: a fortress in the district of Mardali, but perhaps applied to the whole district by this time, south-east of Theodosiopolis, including the headwaters of the Araxes river; Sevuk-Berdak was 15 miles north-east of the better-known fortress of Hawčič. Hark': the district south-east of Mardali. Apahunik': a district adjacent to Hark' and north of lake Van, controlled by the Qaysites, into which Bādih was expanding. The title *kouropalates* is again being used retrospectively.

<sup>234</sup> Jojik, Tzitzikios: unknown but acting as commander of the forces sent by David.

<sup>235</sup> The rehabilitation of Bardas Phokas is treated by Step'anos as independent from the recruitment of the Iberian forces. For his earlier imprisonment, see III.8 and n. 179. This command of the 'western' forces is unique to Step'anos.

<sup>236</sup> The impression generated is that the battles were close in time and place. C. Holmes, *Basil II and the Governance of Empire* (Oxford, 2005), 453–6, assesses the evidence and prefers Yahya's narrative reporting a first battle at Pankaleia, on 19 June 978 won by Skleros and a second at Basilika Therma, in Charsianon, in March 979, won by Phokas. Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, 326, notes that Phokas was successful only after he had been reinforced by several thousand Iberian troops. Arguably this is correct but has been wrongly associated with the battle at Pankaleia. For the flight of Skleros, see Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, 327, and YA II, 399.

<sup>237</sup> The *amir* of Baghdad, Ibn Xosrov: this is none other than the Buyid 'Aqud al-Dawla, called 'Chosroes, the ruler of Babylon' by Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, 327. The circumstances of their earlier friendship is unknown, given that Skleros had been allied with the Hamdānid Abū Taghlib, son of Nāšir al-Dawla and bitter enemy of the Buyids, for whom see III.10 and n. 195.

<sup>238</sup> For the convoluted negotiations, see Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, 327, and YA II, 399–402. Martyropolis/Np'rkert is described as 'his', i.e. 'Aqud's, city; therefore it cannot yet have fallen to Bādih; see III.14, n. 229. P'sp'aš: P'ašapašat, located 8 miles north-east of Np'rkert.

<sup>239</sup> Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, 327 and YA II, 400, identify Nikephoros Ouranos as this figure.

<sup>240</sup> *Hečpik'*, read Ar. *ḥājib*, the chamberlain or secretary, with increasingly military roles in the Buyid era. This is almost certainly Abū'l Wafa who played a key role in the negotiations: YA II, 398–400.

Bardas with all his principal supporters; they brought them to the court of Ibn Xosrov, in the city of Baghdad, which is Babylon.<sup>241</sup> Ibn Xosrov ordered him to be detained in prison in iron chains all the days of his life. [765]

## Chapter 16

### *The amirate of Ibn Xosrov and his intelligence*

This Ibn Xosrov in terms of prudent wisdom seemed the equal of Alexander and astonished this country.<sup>242</sup> At his command cities were taken, and with a word he expelled the inhabitants from fortress strongholds. When he was campaigning against one city, the inhabitants refused to surrender it into his hands. He demanded from them as a mark of obedience to pay as tax from each one's house one dog—now the city was on the edge of reed-beds and every dwelling was built out of reeds. Having taken all the dogs, he commanded naphtha and fire to be placed on them and to release [them]. They rushed, each to his own house, through a pipe in the circuit wall and they burned the whole city with fire.<sup>243</sup>

This clever enterprise of his was rather like that of Samson, who with 400 foxes burned down the acres of the Philistines,<sup>244</sup> or of Alexander, who used birds to overcome [195] the wooden palace on the high rocky cliff.<sup>245</sup>

<sup>241</sup> YA II, 400–1, supplies a very similar account reporting the arrest of Skleros.

<sup>242</sup> This eulogizing of ʿAḍud al-Dawla, *FanāKhusraw*, the most distinguished and powerful of the Buyids, is unexpected. Whilst YA II, 364–408, records his rise to power, his entry into Baghdad on 11 March 975, his defeat of the Hamdanids, and his death on 6 March 983, it does so in a restrained and scholarly manner, without resorting to anecdote or caricature. Equating ʿAḍud al-Dawla with Alexander obtains a distant connection in al-Rudhrawarī's continuation of Miskawayh's *Tajārib al-Umam*, when he recalls that the death of ʿAḍud al-Dawla prompted a group of learned men to recall the words said at the death of Alexander: al-Rudhrawarī, *Dhayl Tajārib al-Umam*, in Ibn Miskawayh, ed. S. K. Hasan, *Tajārib al-Umam*, 6 vols. (Beirut, 2003), VI, 49; English trans. H. F. Amedroz and D. S. Margoliouth, *The Eclipse of the ʿAbbasid Caliphate: Original Chronicles of the Fourth Islamic Century*, 7 vols. (Oxford, 1921), VI, 76–7; repr. with intro. by H. N. Kennedy, *The Eclipse of the ʿAbbasid Caliphate: Classical Writings of the Medieval Islamic World*, 3 vols. (London, 2015), III, 76–7. This tradition was later repeated by Ibn al-Athīr: Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī at-Taʾrikh*, ed. C. Tornberg, 13 vols. (Beirut, 1965–6), IX, 19.

<sup>243</sup> Although ʿAḍud did campaign in southern Iraq, this tale was intended to illustrate his cunning rather than his success. The *Letter to Aristotle*, 5, refers to a castle of reeds without reporting its capture by Alexander: R. Stoneman, *Legends of Alexander the Great* (London, 2012), 7. Al-Rudhrawarī (d. 1095) associates a remarkably similar tale with ʿAḍud's campaign in Kirman: *Dhayl Tajārib al-Umam*, VI, 39; tr. Amedroz and Margoliouth, *Eclipse of the ʿAbbasid Caliphate*, VI, 57; repr. III, 57.

<sup>244</sup> Judges 15:4 recounting how Samson used 300 foxes, in pairs, with a torch tied to the tails of each pair, to burn down the wheatfields of the Philistines. This may also be an allusion to Abū Kālījār, the son of ʿAḍud, who was given the title Šamšām al-Dawla by the caliph.

<sup>245</sup> Alexander is described as attaching torches to goats at night-time into order to make his army appear more numerous in front of the city of Persia: *The Greek Alexander Romance*, tr. R. Stoneman (London, 1991), II.13. Polyaeus 4.6.3 describes the Megarians fighting against king

The great house of Hamtun, who were dwelling on the plain of Syria, were terrified by this man. They abandoned their secure cities, Np'rkert, Amida, Azrun, and all the others and fled to the country of the Greeks.<sup>246</sup> At the command of Basil, they returned and settled in Aleppo until death put an end [to the dynasty].

This Ibn Khosrov honoured and respected Christians, to the extent that he fulfilled all the feasts of the Lord openly in his country.<sup>247</sup> Moreover, at the coming of the Saviour to the Temple, which is called the Presentation of the Lord, he was responsible for the illumination, with flaming torches and candles and a great quantity of flax.<sup>248</sup> Moreover, he caused the wings of pigeons to glow, using naphtha and fire, and he released them across the sky. This man put on a crown and was called king of kings, which was not the custom for the Arabs.<sup>249</sup> And he commanded snow-white silver [766] to be mixed with copper and lead;<sup>250</sup> when the merchants did not accept this, he ordered his name be written on pottery and leather and to give it into the hands of others so that they might buy food or clothing with this. And no one dared to oppose.<sup>251</sup> [196]

Antigonus with pigs smeared with pitch and set on fire: see R. Stoneman, *Alexander the Great: A Life in Legend* (New Haven and London, 2008), 108.

<sup>246</sup> For the Hamdanids and their demise, see Kennedy, *Age of the Caliphates*, 265–82. Np'rkert: Martyropolis/Mäyyäfarikīn (modern Silvan). Amit': Āmid (modern Diyarbekir). Azrun/Arzun: the district south of Tarōn and north of the river Tigris, east of Np'rkert. These were captured from Abū Taghlib, son of Našir al-Dawla, by Abū'l Wafa in 979. YA II, 399, contains a very similar summary. Abū Taghlib fled to Palestine and the Fatimids where he was killed shortly afterwards. It was his cousin, Sharif Sa'd al-Dawla, who controlled Aleppo with Byzantine support, from 977 until his death in December 991. YA II, 407, reports that the *domestikos* Bardas Phokas marched against Aleppo in November 981 and established a treaty with Sa'd which required the latter to pay 400,000 silver dirhams a year by way of tribute. Sa'id al-Dawla, Sa'd's son and heir, was dominated by his military adviser Lu'lu'; it was the latter who maintained the alliance with Basil II and exiled the surviving members of the family to Egypt following Sa'id's death in 1002. This brief notice could therefore be dated to after 1002.

<sup>247</sup> Ibn al-Athir, VIII, 281 and Abū 'Alī Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-uman*, II, 408 and 442, record that 'Aḡud al-Dawla's *wazīr*, Našir b. Hārūn, was a Christian and was allowed to build monasteries and churches. His appointment may have been related to the increasingly sharp sectarian divide between Sunnī and Shī'ī after 972: Kennedy, *Age of the Caliphates*, 225–9.

<sup>248</sup> Presentation/Candlemas: celebrated in the Armenian church on 14 February. See Luke 2: 22–40, which refers to the sacrifice of two doves or pigeons.

<sup>249</sup> This refers to the Buyid appropriation of the Iranian title *shāhānshāh*. Although a medallion of Rukn al-Dawla from 351 AH (9.ii.962–29.i.963) employs this title, 'Aḡud al-Dawla was the first Buyid to assert it on his regular coins, from 368 AH (9.viii.978–28.vii.979): Treadwell, *Buyid Coinage*, xvi–xvii. YA II, 408, refers to his use of this title in public ceremonies and on documents.

<sup>250</sup> 'Aḡud's coins are generally thought to have had a high precious metal content: Treadwell, *Buyid Coinage*, xi. This description of a debasement of the silver coinage is therefore very interesting, if as yet unresolved. By this time, it is worth noting that the coins minted in the regions of Fars, Iraq, and Jibāl were very different from one another.

<sup>251</sup> This alternative system, apparently using tokens bearing 'Aḡud's name instead of coins, is otherwise unattested.



## Chapter 17

*The accession of Abas as king in Kars and his good works and his construction of the monastery of Širim in his name*

At this time, in 433 of the Era, Mušel, king of the metropolis of Kars, died and his son Abas reigned in his place, for 6 years.<sup>252</sup> Before his accession he was a diligent and active child, and it was conjectured by witnesses that he was not participating in any spiritual works. But when he arrived at the throne of the kingdom he was revealed as a splendid man, full of intelligence and wise, reckoned to be among the principal intellectuals, and he turned into another man.

At the beginning of all his good deeds, first and foremost he eradicated from his country robbery and murder which the people of Vanand used to carry out as if it were a birthright, according to the saying of the historian.<sup>253</sup> And in the days of his father not only did they used to pillage on the roads and in remote places but even in the city itself, at evening-time and all night, you could hear the shrieks and shouts of robberies. But this man exacted revenge and sentenced to a just death those thieves who were discovered, not sparing the great or the small, neither princes [197] nor peasants. In this way, he pacified his country to the extent that everyone travelled at night-time as if in daytime and in empty places as if in a palace. They applied themselves to works of prosperity and labour, being governed through equitable justice.

There was by tradition an irregularity in this country of Armenia which derived from the gluttony of princes and *azats*—to pollute the set days for fasting from meat, Wednesdays, Fridays, and the Sabbath, [767] with dairy foods instead. Setting an example to these in person; he did not eat any dairy products or fish and spent those days prescribed by the canon eating bread and vegetables.<sup>254</sup>

Then he conceived the excellent idea of building a monastery, for the redemption of himself and for the memory of his soul for eternity.<sup>255</sup>

<sup>252</sup> AE 433: 25.iii.984–24.iii.985. Since 'Adud al-Dawla died on 6 March 983, this chapter follows chronological order. *mayrak'alak'in Karuc'*, 'the metropolis of Kars', a familiar calque. This implies expansion; see III.3 and n. 43, from the very end of the ninth century, where it is called a fortress. The statement that Abas ruled for 6 years is not correct. Abas features in subsequent passages—III.28, where he is described as *manukn*, 'child', III.38, III.41, and III.43, where he is again called *manukn*. Conventionally he is accorded a reign of 45 years, dying in 1029 CE.

<sup>253</sup> The historian is Movsēs Xorenac'i: see MX III.44 [313.9–21] for the rebellion of the people of Vanand against Xosrov, the Aršakuni king of Armenia. '... for the Vanandac'ik' engaged in robbery with great enthusiasm and it seemed to them a reasonable and enjoyable thing.' The same term for robbery, *awazakut'iwn*, is found in both texts.

<sup>254</sup> The practice of fasting in Armenia was complicated and often ignored by the elite: Macler, *Histoire universelle*, 68 and n. 4.

<sup>255</sup> This wording corresponds to that used in foundation inscriptions, in charters recording the donation of property to a religious community and in colophons commemorating the commissioning of a manuscript. Clearly the author of this sentence, almost certainly Step'anos himself, was familiar with such donations.

And he selected a suitable site at the head of the district of Aršarunik<sup>256</sup>, which was called Širim.<sup>256</sup> He enclosed a large area with granite blocks in a four-sided shape; with costly expenditure from his treasures, he fashioned all the buildings needed for monks to live in. Over the renowned place he appointed as leader of the community that man of God Movsēs, famous throughout this country of Armenia. For there were these three men, Movsēs and Yovhannēs and Amlikos, brothers in the flesh and nurtured together in the spirit, [198] united in the practices of God.<sup>257</sup> In them there was one soul and person and nature for breathing that inhabited the three persons, using three confessions to glorify the holy Trinity piously and resplendent in the three virtues—acting and fasting and prayer. And so, having lived virtuously and with good reputation, they died in the same year, in 451 of the Era.<sup>258</sup>

Then the mother of king Abas, a pious princess from pious parents, who was a sister to the kings of P'arisos, Senek'erim and Grigor, laid down her earthly crown, and reckoning as nothing the transient glories, pursued the heavenly [crown].<sup>259</sup> She embarked upon the monastic life; she went and settled at the site which is called T'rinvank<sup>260</sup> (for they are cave churches in a white rock-face, facing south).<sup>260</sup> She applied herself to prayer, good works and spiritual virtue.

### Chapter 18

*How Ablhač, the son of Ėovid, came to the city of Dvin and on receiving taxes from Armenia he departed*

In 436 of the Era, Ablhač, son of Ėovid, *amir* of Atrpatakan, came with a Persian force of 100,000 against Abutlup<sup>261</sup>. He seized from him the cities

<sup>256</sup> Širimvank<sup>256</sup> or Šrimk<sup>256</sup>, 40 miles due south of Kars, in Aršarunik<sup>256</sup>, confirming that Abas controlled territory in both Aršarunik<sup>256</sup> and Vanand.

<sup>257</sup> These three brothers are not otherwise known. Amlikos: Iamblichus, the name of a late third-century Neoplatonic philosopher, whose study on the soul, *De Anima*, does not appear to have been translated into Armenian. Nevertheless the following sentence implies awareness of this work.

<sup>258</sup> AE 451: 21.iii.1002–20.iii.1003. This represents a very significant cast-forward, to the time of composition, and suggests that Step'anos was prepared to disrupt the chronological sequence and include the latest information.

<sup>259</sup> Mušel's wife, whose name is not known, was therefore a daughter of prince Sewada-Išxanik of Gardman-P'arisos (lying north-east of lake Sewan) and sister to Senek'erim-Yovhannēs and Grigor, as well as two other brothers, Atrnerseh and P'ilippē: for the four sons, see MD III.43 [341.8–18], which also records Senek'erim's restoration of the kingdom of Albania through his appointment as king by 'the Persian king' and one 'David *magistros* of the Greeks'. She also had a sister, Šahanduxt, who gave 6000 *drams* and the village of Tel to the metropolitan see of Tat'ew in AE 447 [22.iii.998–21.iii.999] for the soul of her husband, the deceased king Smbat of Siwnik<sup>260</sup>: SÖ I c. 54 [291.24–293.6]; SÖ II c. 53 [213.15–214.26]. Šahanduxt's granddaughter was none other than Katramidē, the wife of Gagik I Bagratuni who completed the cathedral in Ani! See III.11 and n. 203.

<sup>260</sup> T'rinvank<sup>260</sup>, 15 miles south of Širimvank<sup>260</sup>/Šrimk<sup>260</sup>.

<sup>261</sup> AE 436: 25.iii.987–23.iii.988. This figure is Abū al Ḥayjā Husayn b. Muḥammad al-Rawwādī, who had been a vassal of the Sallārid Marzbān b. Muḥammad b. Musāfir in 957 CE. Marzbān's son,

[768] of Salar [199] and devastated his country, Goł'n;<sup>262</sup> then he went and arrived at the city of Dvin and took it and demanded the taxes for the intervening years from the Armenians.<sup>263</sup> King Smbat presented the taxes before him in person and returned with great presents.

### Chapter 19

*Again Ablhač came to the country of Vaspurakan and his death and the accession as amir of Mamlan his son*

Once again, in 437 of the Era, Ablhač of Rovid was provoked to great anger against the country of Vaspurakan from this cause.<sup>264</sup> As a result of a disagreement, the son of Alewor of Hēr had crossed over to the *amir* of Apahunik'.<sup>265</sup> During his return from there, when they were approaching the borders of Hēr,<sup>266</sup> they passed through some village and saw some beautiful Christian children at play. They rushed like wolves and they lifted them up onto their horses and turned in flight. A certain *azat* from the believers whose name was Sargis saw this.<sup>267</sup> He mounted his horse and gave

Ibrāhīm, was never as powerful as his father, and lost territory in Āzarbayjān and prestige to his uncle Vahsūdhan. At Ibrāhīm's death in 983, control of Āzarbayjān passed into the hands of this Rawwādi leader. Step'anos is therefore correct in calling him the *amir* of Atrpatakan by this date. Abutulp': Abū Dulaf, the *amir* of Goł'n, see III.12 and n. 210. Confusingly, Ibrāhīm's son was also called Abū al Ḥayjā and also features in Step'anos' narrative, at III.12, nn. 208 and 211.

<sup>262</sup> The cities of Salar: the cities along the Araxes, including Naxčawan, which had previously been under the control of the Sallārid Marzbān b. Muḥammad b. Musāfir and then his son Ibrāhīm. See III.12 and n. 210, and III.29 and n. 503. For coins of the Sallārids, see Vardanyan, *The Coins as Evidence for the History of Armenia and Adharbayjan*, 149–96.

<sup>263</sup> This demand seems to mirror that made by Marzbān in 955 and reported by Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb šūrat*, II, 354–5; trans. Kramers and Wiet, *Configuration de la terre*, 347; and V. F. Minorsky, 'Caucasica IV', *BSOAS* 15 (1953), 519–20. In the list of tributaries, the descendants of Sunbat, including therefore Ašot III Bagratuni, were levied 2 million dirhams, but how much of this was paid and for how long after Marzbān's death two years later is unclear.

<sup>264</sup> AE 437: 24.iii.988–23.iii.989.

<sup>265</sup> The history of the emirate of Hēr/Khūy in this period is obscure. T'A III.20 [226.22–227.34] recounts the death of Derenik Arcruni in 887 CE at the hands of Aplbers, the *k'alak'apet* or leader of the city of Hēr. One of the anonymous continuators of T'A identifies this same figure as *ordi Apumsaray i Xer k'alak'ē*, 'the son of Apumsar from the city of Xer': T'A IV.1 [263.27–8]. Ter-Ghewondyan, *Arab Emirates*, 60, proposed that his full name was Abu'l Fāris b. Abū Maṣṣūr. *alewor*, 'old man' in Armenian, but surely here a transliteration of his name, perhaps Abu'l Fāris. The *amir* of Apahunik': Bādh b. Dustuk, the founder of the Kurdish Marwānid dynasty: see III.14 and n. 229, and III.38 and n. 553, where he is titled *amir* of Apahunik' and Np'kert.

<sup>266</sup> The region of Hēr bordered the eastern districts of Vaspurakan and lay to the north-west of lake Urmia. It contained two urban centres, Hēr/Khūy and Salmās, both mentioned by Ibn Ḥawqal as being on the southern route from Āzarbayjān to Syria: Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb šūrat* II, 353; trans. Kramers and Wiet, *Configuration de la terre*, 346.

<sup>267</sup> *azat*: 'free' but often translated as 'noble'. Sargis is unknown, but it is intriguing to note how he is described as being 'from the believers', i.e. a Christian, rather than in terms of his family or place of origin. That he had a horse to ride in pursuit confirms his social status.

chase. ‘Why did you do that?’ he said. They turned and abused him. He bravely attacked [200] using his steel sword. In slaying them all, he was drenched in their blood. He cut in two the son of Alewor and returned the captured children.

And Alewor of Hēr contacted the *amir* of Atrpatakan Ablhač and promised to give him the city of Hēr, on condition that he should claim vengeance for the blood of his son from the country of Vaspurakan.<sup>268</sup> He put his trust in the multitude of his forces and agreed, promising to depopulate the whole country. He assembled the barbarous multitude of Persia and went and reached the entrances to the borders of Vaspurakan. He divided his forces into three parts at evening-time, so that on the following day the contingent of one army could extend to the right side across the face of the country, and one across the left side, and he himself with the bulk of the troops could seize the centre of the country, in order that not one of the Christians could be saved.

He planned this and discussed with his forces at sunset. Then, during that night, [769] the word of the Saviour came to him: ‘Senseless one, this very night your soul is being claimed. So that arrogant plan of yours, how shall you accomplish it now?’ And on the following day he was found dead and his evil plan was obstructed.

After his death Mamlan, his son, seized power.<sup>269</sup> Then Abutulup, *amir* of Goł’n, once again took control of Dvin and Smbat, king of Armenia, [201] established oaths of agreement with him through the mediation of lord Xaç’ik, so that they would be at peace with one another.<sup>270</sup>

## Chapter 20

*The transfer by king Basil from this gathering of Armenians to the country of Macedonia and the persecutions at the hands of the metropolitan of Sebasteia*

While king Bardas was in Baghdad and the kingdom of Basil was at peace, the latter wanted some of the people of Armenia who were under his rule to be transferred across to Macedonia [to fight] against the Bulgars, so that they could develop the land.<sup>271</sup> He transplanted and settled very many in that

<sup>268</sup> Abū al Ḥayjā Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Rawwādi was encountered in the previous chapter.

<sup>269</sup> Mamlān b. Abū al Ḥayjā Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad, who also used the *laqab* Abū al Ḥayjā. His ascendancy lasted from 988 until 1025 CE, when his son Vahsūdhan b. Mamlān succeeded.

<sup>270</sup> Abū Dulaf recovered control of Dvin and, presumably, the other cities and regions, including Naxčawan. The catholicos often negotiated between opposing sides. See e.g. YD LVIII.2–10 [299.1–300.19], commenting on his repeated attempts to mediate between Ašot *sparapet*, son of Šapuh Bagratuni, and his cousin Ašot Erkat’ *šahanšah*, son of king Smbat I Bagratuni.

<sup>271</sup> Bardas Skleros was detained in Baghdad between 980 and 986 CE. This movement of Armenians to Macedonia by Basil II appears to echo passages in Sebēos’ *History* in which the emperor Maurice ordered similar transfers of Armenians: Sebēos 15 [86.24–33], 18 [90.12–91.7],

country. And the effeminate pastors and the metropolitan of Sebasteia began to oppress the people of Armenia in matters of faith.<sup>272</sup> He had recourse to violence and began to torture the priests concerning faith, and he conveyed the leading priests of the city of Sebasteia in iron chains to the court of the king.<sup>273</sup> Having been ill-treated in prison, the senior one of the priests, Gabriël, was killed; he was an old man and full of knowledge and steadfast in this divine faith. This occurred in 435 of the Era.<sup>274</sup> Then others, unnamed priests [202] and two bishops of Sebasteia and Larissa, Sion and Yovhannēs, through the same metropolitan, accepted the Council of Chalcedon and were excluded from the unanimity of Armenians.<sup>275</sup> And from that time they banned the Armenian call to prayer in the city of Sebasteia until king Basil came [770] to the country of the east, which we shall recount in its place.<sup>276</sup>

That metropolitan and other metropolitans began to write very long letters to lord Xaç'ik, catholicos of Armenia.<sup>277</sup> The previously mentioned *vardapets* replied to them using very powerful arguments; we have deemed it appropriate to include one of the letters at this point.

and 20 [91.32–92.24]. There are, however, no verbal parallels. It is striking that the text refers to Armenians under the kingship of Basil, i.e. those in western regions of Armenia now incorporated within the administrative structure of the empire.

<sup>272</sup> This comment is unexpected. This chapter considers the oppression of western Armenians in two very different ways: their transfer by Basil II to Macedonia and their persecution by the metropolitan bishop of Sebasteia. This may indicate that Step'anos has combined information from different sources. Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, 4, identifies the author of one of the works of history which he used as Theodore 'who presided over the church of Sebasteia', but this composition is lost and there is no indication that he should be identified with the anonymous metropolitan.

<sup>273</sup> This is reminiscent of the treatment of the holy priests after the battle of Awarayr in 451, as reported by Lazar and Elišē. Step'anos may therefore be inviting his audience to equate the persecution experienced in Sebasteia with this definitive episode in Armenian tradition, involving steadfast resistance to oppression by an outside imperial power, persecution, and martyrdom. The metropolitan could then be reimaged as the impious *hazarapet* *Mihrnerseh*.

<sup>274</sup> AE 435: 25.iii.986–24.iii.987. Gabriël is unknown, but it is striking that the historian Uxtanēs was also bishop of Sebasteia and book II of his composition explores confessional tension at the start of the seventh century.

<sup>275</sup> Laris: Larissa. The first reference to the appointment of Armenian bishops—in the sense of belonging to the episcopal network of the Armenian church, under the headship of the catholicos—for Sebasteia and Larissa (some 50 miles south east of Sebasteia, a *tourma* of the theme of Sebasteia until it became a theme in its own right in the eleventh century). This expansion westwards is significant. Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, 355, also records that in 1021, Senek'erim Arcruni exchanged his ancestral lands in Vaspurakan for imperial honours and the cities of Sebasteia, Larissa, and Abara, confirming this connection.

<sup>276</sup> See III.43.

<sup>277</sup> This statement is corroborated by the preservation in the *Girk' T'it'oc'* of a letter composed by Samuël Kamrjajorec'i at the command of catholicos Xaç'ik and addressed to Theodore, the metropolitan of Melitene: *GT* I, 302.1–322.29; *GT* II, 550.1–579.16. See also MU i.34 [44.34] which refers to this same letter. See III.7 and n. 107 for Samuël Kamrjajorec'i.

## Chapter 21

*The reply to the letter of the metropolitan of Sebasteia written at the command of lord Xaç'ik, catholicos of Armenia*

We, being endowed with reason, were rendered worthy of the divine, incomprehensible, celestial, and incomparable peace, at the emanation of the Word of God; and having followed the same every step of the way, we are much troubled by discord, not only in respect of more important matters but also trivial queries, in particular divisive words which produce yet more hostility in relation to matters of faith, which now we perceive in your writings, O honourable head of the bishops and metropolitan [203] of that great see, Sebasteia.<sup>278</sup> But since there is no great merit in reprimanding—it is easy for the most contemptible, as Gregory Nazianzus says, but it is appropriate for wise and accomplished men to proclaim words of moderation and prudence<sup>279</sup>—therefore we shall not write hostile retorts against your insults, for neither we nor the church of God follow this custom, as the blessed Paul states.<sup>280</sup>

Now since at the beginning of this letter of yours, and later on many occasions, you have reiterated that we are heretics<sup>281</sup> and straightaway you have acknowledged the separation of those two natures, followed by two wills and two operations of Christ, and, what is appalling, [that these were] stated in the preaching of the Apostles and the first *vardapets*, like the illusion of silver on copper; so prove [them] from the preaching of these Apostles and from the Gospels of the Evangelists and from the teaching of the fathers, [771] the two natures and two wills of the Word incarnate and we shall submit as if to the truth. But if you are citing their names falsely, as an ordinary man may put on the appearance of a king (I shall not speak of that beast who took on the appearance through a lion's skin, nor the fable of the jay who put on the wings of an eagle for the sake of beauty in front of the other birds)<sup>282</sup>—is it not in fact an illusion for the ignorant, O you who are wise in these things? [204]

<sup>278</sup> This individual opening may have been rewritten; the conventional protocols, in which the recipient and author are introduced, are missing.

<sup>279</sup> M. de Durand, 'Citations patristiques chez Étienne de Taron', in *Armeniaca. Mélanges d'études arméniennes. Publiés à l'occasion du 250<sup>e</sup> anniversaire de l'entrée des pères mekhitaristes dans l'île de saint-Lazare (1717–1967)* (Venice, 1969), 120, notes that this reference has not been traced.

<sup>280</sup> 1 Corinthians 11:16.

<sup>281</sup> *eřetikos*, a very rare transliterated form of *αἱρετικός*, suggesting a Greek original.

<sup>282</sup> An unexpected allusion to three fables associated with Aesop: the Ass in the Lion's Skin; and less confidently, the Eagle and the Jackdaw, and the Jackdaw and the Doves. These all relate to deception and appearance. Two later Armenian scholars, Mxit'ar Goš (c.1140–1213) and Vardan Aygekci' (1170–1235), are both associated with collections of fables, whilst the *Physiologus* was also translated into Armenian. This reference shows that such material was circulating in the late tenth century.

But those with eyes in their heads, with minds of wisdom and accomplished in age and experienced in taste, they have the ability to make the choice between good and bad. For that reason, we proclaim openly the piety of this faith of ours and we write here in this letter. For on the high mountain it was commanded to exalt the proclamation of faith and it was commanded by the Lord to speak and proclaim what was heard by the ear over the rooftops.<sup>283</sup>

Now although we had settled on the edge of this northern country, where the gusts of wind were freezing cold and our darkened souls were partly frozen from age-old ignorance,<sup>284</sup> and for many years and eras we remained untouched by the ray of the Gospel's light, however, when the Sun of righteousness visited us from above,<sup>285</sup> via that one of noble virtue who delighted in torment, Grigor the holy Illuminator and confessor of Christ; with punishments of divine wrath and divinely wrought miracles, he converted this people and kingdom of Armenia from ignorance into a true knowledge of God. From him we learned to confess the holy Trinity, with three persons, worshipping one authority and glory and divinity, confessing the Son and Holy Spirit as consubstantial with the Father, and the same as one from the Trinity, the only-begotten, God from God [205] light from light, who is the image of the invisible God, the light of glory and the representation of the being of God, who descended into the womb of the holy Virgin Mary, through the will of the Father and with the protection of the Holy Spirit; he incarnated himself a body in union with his Divinity, was born from the Virgin with a body mixed with divinity, proceeded ineffably and without blemish, for the salvation of us and everyone who invokes his name.<sup>286</sup>

<sup>283</sup> A fusion of Matthew 10:27 and Luke 12:3.

<sup>284</sup> This notion of Armenia being situated in the liminal north is intriguing, for whilst Armenian authors sometimes envisage the lands and people north of the Caucasus in these terms—see e.g. MD II.12 [140.15–146.4] describing Jebu Xak'an as the 'king of the north', and ii.44 [263.5–264.10], reporting the mission of bishop Israyēl to convert the Huns and 'proclaim the Gospel at the northern extremities'—it is not applied to themselves. For a discussion of the Islamic conception of Armīniya as a border between Islam and the Other and its role in the formulation of an Islamic north, see A. Vacca, 'From K'usti Kapkoh to al-Ġarbī: Sasanian Antecedents, the Sectarian Milieu and the Creation of an Islamic Frontier in Armīniya (c. 700–862 CE)', unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan (2013), chs. 2 and 3.

<sup>285</sup> *Aregakn ardarut'ean*, Sun of righteousness, see Agat'angelos §797, which also refers to the state of spiritual blindness and darkness in which Armenians lived until *cageac' znišoyls kendani lusoyñ iwroy*, 'He shone the rays of His living light...'

<sup>286</sup> This paragraph merges historical tradition with a profession of faith. However, the profession is not the standard Armenian Creed. It possesses three very distinctive features: a Trinitarian focus, an extended description of the Incarnation and an abrupt conclusion, without reference to the Crucifixion, Resurrection, or Second Coming. The Trinitarian dimension invites comparison with the Athanasian Creed but it may also be responding to Muslim anti-Trinitarian sentiment, although this does not appear to have been particularly problematic at this time.

This [was proclaimed at] the holy Council of Nicaea,<sup>287</sup> when the 318 fathers were gathered at the instigation of Constantine [772] in connection with the heresy of Arius, with them our own R̄stakēs,<sup>288</sup> son of St Grigor, stated and proclaimed the same to the ends of the universe, consonant with their confession; and at the second council of 150 fathers, which was in Constantinople, at the instigation of the pious king Theodosius, against the blasphemer Macedonius who denied the divinity of the Spirit, with whom as well the holy patriarch of Armenia Nersēs [agreed].<sup>289</sup> The third council at Ephesus of 400 fathers is consonant with these, convened at the instigation of the very victorious king Theodosius the Less, for the admonition and abolition of the sect of Nestorius, who denied the divinity of Christ, with whom the holy Sahak, patriarch of Armenia, agreed by letter, and the blessed Mesrob, our *vardapet*.<sup>290</sup>

Instructed by these, we acknowledge their faith in which we were brought up, taught, and baptized. We preserve [206] the wonderful tradition of this patrimonial inheritance and, like the colour of skin, it remains unchanged in our hearts and souls.<sup>291</sup>

Now lest we should expatiate at great length, like waters spreading across plains and unconstrained by pipes, let us enquire, as if among the pupils of the Apostles and the holy fathers: where was it written or proclaimed by these that Christ was divided in terms of nature or divided in terms of will? Why do you say that the nature of the body mixed with divinity was divided, which was formed not from seed but by the Holy Spirit and by the emanation from heaven, and at his birth, as Gabriel said, was called holy and Son of the Most High?<sup>292</sup>

Which nature is the Son of the Most High, or which nature do you address as Saviour and Anointed and Lord, as the angel said to the shepherds;<sup>293</sup> [he did not speak] in terms of two natures, whose glory he says we have seen as the

<sup>287</sup> The first three church councils, at Nicaea in 325 CE, Constantinople in 381 CE, and Ephesus in 431 CE are cited approvingly in many Armenian texts; however, it is very unusual to find the first of these being titled *Sivnhodosn Nikioy*, a transliteration of *σύνδοδος*.

<sup>288</sup> R̄stakēs/Aristakēs, the younger son of Grigor. According to *Buzandaran* III.10 [22.18–24], Aristakēs was one of the 318 bishops present and his attendance is confirmed by the conciliar list: E. Honigmann, 'La Liste originale des Pères de Nicée,' *B* 14 (1939), 46, no. 99.

<sup>289</sup> Nersēs I the Great, patriarch of Armenia, possibly between 353 and 373 CE. There is no evidence that an Armenian representative attended the Council of Constantinople in 381 CE, but this contention maintains the symmetry of the account, combining an ecumenical council with its approval by a renowned Armenian leader.

<sup>290</sup> Sahak the Great, patriarch of Armenia, whose period in office may have been 51 years and who died in September 438. Mesrob: Mesrop Maštoc', the inventor of the Armenian alphabet. It is uncertain whether the shift from voiceless to voiced consonant reflected in the name Mesrob was a feature of the original composition or an alteration by a later copyist.

<sup>291</sup> *ibrew zgoyn i marmni*, like the colour of skin: a striking simile.

<sup>292</sup> Luke 1:35. The following questions are all pegged to specific New Testament verses.

<sup>293</sup> Luke 2:11.



only begotten of the Father?<sup>294</sup> To which indeed do you ascribe the paternal glory, to that of the body or to that of the divinity? During the appearance of the Trinity [773] at the river Jordan, at the baptism of the Son, when the Holy Spirit came upon him in the likeness of a dove, and the voice of the Father came, witnessed by everyone, 'This is my blessed Son',<sup>295</sup> shall you really presume to divide even the exclamation of the Father according to the natures? And the same voice on the mountain, at the emanation of the glory of the Lord, of which nature did he in fact say Son and Beloved?<sup>296</sup> When [207] the theologian Evangelist expressed the limit of God's love for this world, did he not say in fact 'He gave his only-begotten'?<sup>297</sup> And to where did he give, if not to the Cross and death? Now divide the 'Only-begotten'. Of which nature was it, O wise one, which was given by the Father?

The same Evangelist himself, using a brilliant elucidation, defines the following in relation to the indivisible and ineffable union; sometimes he calls the humanity as divinity and sometimes the divinity as man or son of man. For he says, 'No one has gone to heaven except he who descended from heaven, the son of Man who is in heaven.'<sup>298</sup> When the Lord said this, he was not in heaven in the body, and his body had not previously descended from heaven, as it seemed to Eutyches, but he called his divinity son of man. 'And you shall see the son of man who shall go to where he was previously.'<sup>299</sup> Why should he say that the son of man was in heaven before his becoming man? Divide here the nature, O you new Evangelist. Is it not true that the only-begotten from the Father and the one born from a Virgin mother himself said without distinction, 'You are seeking to kill me, a man who spoke the truth to you which I learned from my Father'?<sup>300</sup> When he himself asked about his divinity, 'What do you say of the son of Man?', the reply of Peter revealed by way of acknowledgement that he recognized him as the son of God.<sup>301</sup> John Chrysostom explains that he called his divinity son of man and he offered in evidence the things written above, that [208] on many occasions he spoke of his divinity as son of man.<sup>302</sup>

Having rejected the mystery of the union of the Word of God made flesh in spite of such multiple and powerful evidence, you cut the fabric of the union in two, [774] distinguishing in terms of nature and in will, which the Apostles neither wrote nor proclaimed.<sup>303</sup>

<sup>294</sup> John 1:14.

<sup>295</sup> Luke 3:21–2. This is a Trinitarian interpretation of Jesus' baptism which is not explicitly stated in the Gospel.

<sup>296</sup> A reference to the Transfiguration citing the words of the voice from the cloud: Matthew 17:5.

<sup>297</sup> John 3:16. <sup>298</sup> John 3:13. <sup>299</sup> John 6:63 (6:62).

<sup>300</sup> John 8:40. <sup>301</sup> Matthew 16:13–16.

<sup>302</sup> de Durand, 'Citations patristiques', 122, proposes Chrysostom's *Homilies on the Gospel of Matthew* identifying Homily LIV.1 on Matthew 16:13, in *PG* 58, 533, ll. 14–19 as the most likely.

<sup>303</sup> This short paragraph marks a transition in the citations, from the Gospels to the Epistles.

In which nature did Paul say that Christ in the flesh was God over everything;<sup>304</sup> or to which form and nature does every knee bow, of the flesh or of the divinity?<sup>305</sup> Divide the nature in two and [celebrate] two adorations (for you do not dare to say two adorations, although you are lovers of division, and if you say one and the same for adoration, you divide the adoration and introduce some strange god). But since you acknowledge one adoration, you are obliged, albeit unwillingly and although you do not want to, to acknowledge the unity of the mystery of the Incarnation. For the human nature is not adored according to its divinity, and it is not appropriate for the heavenly beings to worship an earthly nature; with whom the common nature of all humanity is adored, on account of his being the same nature as us.

Oh this stupidity, and particularly this remarkable error. You are obliged to claim yet another nature, between the two natures, so that you may escape from blasphemy, or you shall fall into another, greater blasphemy. [209] Now the great Cyril in the seventh head of his twelve [anathemas] concluded thus. He says, 'Now if anyone does not honour Emmanuel through one adoration and glorification, may he be condemned.'<sup>306</sup> Paul says that [the body] is 'to be exalted and to be given a name above all other names of flesh'.<sup>307</sup> And what should be the highest name other than God? How should anyone dare to speak of two gods? 'For the Word had the name of the divinity previously; and after the ineffable union and after the mixing of the unmixable natures, he made the body he had taken divine and it became perfect according to nature and power', as Gregory the Theologian states.<sup>308</sup> Again in another [775] discourse, [he says] that 'He mixed the divine image with the human form and the house of Israel realized that God had anointed him and made him Lord.'<sup>309</sup> The same Theologian commented upon this, whom you yourselves advance, to our benefit, that 'he was called Anointed and Christ not through power as

<sup>304</sup> Romans 9:5.

<sup>305</sup> Philippians 2:10. The remainder of the paragraph develops this question.

<sup>306</sup> de Durand, 'Citations patristiques', 118, notes that this is in fact taken from the eighth of the anathemas of Cyril of Alexandria, set out in his third letter to Nestorius, and approved by the Council of Ephesus in 431 CE; see his *ep.* 17, ACO I.1.1, 41; *Fathers of the Church: St Cyril of Alexandria Letters 1–50*, vol. 76, tr. J. I. McEnerney (Washington, DC, 1987; 2007), 17.19.8, at 91. The linguistic difference between *yewt'nerord*, seventh, and *yut'erord*, eighth, is minimal, perhaps explaining the error.

<sup>307</sup> Philippians 2:9, but modified through the insertion of *marmnoy*, of flesh.

<sup>308</sup> de Durand, 'Citations patristiques', 120, notes that the source of this reference within the works of Gregory Nazianzus is unknown.

<sup>309</sup> Although de Durand, 'Citations patristiques', 120, does not identify this, it derives ultimately from Gregory Nazianzus' Fourth Theological Oration (Or. 30), para. 3; see *Grégoire de Nazianze. Discours 27–31 (Discours théologiques)*, Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes par P. Gallay avec la collaboration de M. Jourjon, Sources chrétiennes 250 (Paris, 1978), 230–1; see also *St Gregory Nazianzus, On God and Christ: The Five Theological Orations and Two Letters to Cleodnius*, introduction and commentary by L. Wickham, translation by L. Wickham and F. Williams (Crestwood, NY, 2002), 95.

other anointed ones, but through his proximate relationship to the supreme Anointer, whose work it was, for man to become anointed and to render the anointed one as God'.<sup>310</sup>

Now divide the term 'anointed' into two natures and show the separation of the two gods according to the two natures. And since you are not able, you must acknowledge one Lord, one Christ, one God, and one nature.

Come, I shall introduce you to other words of the Theologian. When he says, 'I am saying that not only was the divinity perfected [210] but also the body anointed by the divinity which became that which anointed it, and I presume to say one God',<sup>311</sup> how do you understand this, O you nature-lover, and how do you divide the one God into two natures? 'God came with that which he had taken, one from two opposites, I mean from the body and the spirit, from which the one caused divinity and the other was rendered divine.'<sup>312</sup> That which was rendered divine, how do you dare to speak of as a different nature? What shall be the mode of the natures according to the Theologian, other than a union, for God became man; not that whatever he was, was altered, but that he took that which he was not, so that he who was incomprehensible became comprehensible through the mediation of the spirit of anointing, through the intervention of the mortal body.<sup>313</sup>

Here one must be amazed. He identified the human soul as the point of separation of the mixture of the body and the divinity. Is it not evident that if you make a division of the natures, you are obliged to acknowledge not only two but in fact three natures, through the addition of the point of separation? And if you remove [it], there is no mixture of the two and God did not become man and everyone would be deprived of salvation. Do you see where in fact your division leads you? This man, in the same treatise, says not only the divine nature with the human nature through mixture but [776] also the immortal with the mortal, the impassible with the passible, and he who is above the highest honour with dishonour.<sup>314</sup>

<sup>310</sup> de Durand, 'Citations patristiques', 120, identifies this as deriving from Gregory's Fourth Theological Oration (Or. 30), para. 21: *Discours 27-31*, 272-73; *On God and Christ*, 111. The intermediary source(s) of these extracts is unknown.

<sup>311</sup> de Durand, 'Citations patristiques', 121, does not identify this.

<sup>312</sup> de Durand, 'Citations patristiques', 121, identifies this citation from Gregory's Oration 38, para. 13: *Grégoire de Nazianze, Discours 38-41*, Introduction, texte critique et notes par C. Moreschini, Traduction par P. Gallay, Sources chrétiennes 358 (Paris, 1990), 132-5.

<sup>313</sup> de Durand, 'Citations patristiques', 121, identifies this citation from Gregory's Oration 39, para. 13: *Discours 38-41*, 176-7.

<sup>314</sup> de Durand, 'Citations patristiques', 121, does not identify this citation, but it clearly comes from the same treatise as the previous citation, namely Gregory Nazianzus' Oration 39, para. 13: *Discours 38-41*, 178-9. The reference to the 'same treatise' is therefore correct.

[211] In his letter to Apollinaris, Athanasius said one nature of God the Word incarnate.<sup>315</sup> His successor, Cyril, [said] the same when bishop Succensus questioned him whether one must understand two natures in the Word incarnate or one; and he replied in a letter that, ‘After the union we do not detach the natures from one another and we do not cut the one and the indivisible into two sons but we unite, as also the holy fathers stated, one nature of God the Word incarnate.’<sup>316</sup> Again, in his second letter to Succensus he stated, ‘But the opponents say “if there is one nature of God the Word incarnate, one is obliged to admit a complete confusion and combination, as if the human nature has been absorbed and stolen within.” And they did not perceive that they were twisting this true [definition], that in truth he says one nature of God the Word incarnate.’<sup>317</sup> Again, the holy Cyril said to the priest Eulogius, ‘If we speak of confessing one nature, that the body became spiritual and sensible and that being united they are not apart from one another, therefore there is one son and one nature of him.’<sup>318</sup> Again, he writes to king Theodosius, ‘Although the natures came to one another from different and dissimilar [origins] there was one Christ and one Son and one nature with that which he took.’<sup>319</sup> He writes the same to Acacius, bishop of Melitene, successor to the holy fathers: ‘From every side, the theologians say that God the Word took flesh from the holy Virgin, who is one and only Son and one Lord Jesus Christ [212]; we say united from two natures after union, the distinction being completely removed from the two and we confess that the nature of the Son is one.’<sup>320</sup>

<sup>315</sup> de Durand, ‘Citations patristiques’, 117, notes that in fact this derives from Apollinaris’s Letter to Jovian, acknowledging Thomson’s earlier research: R. W. Thomson, ‘The Transformation of Athanasius in Armenian Theology’, *Le Muséon* 78 (1965), 64. However, de Durand’s critical observation is that this citation and the Cyrilline citations which constitute the remainder of this paragraph appear verbatim, and in the same sequence, in the Letter of Step’anos Siwnec’i to Germanos, patriarch of Constantinople: see *GT* I, 375.33–376.27; *GT* II, 439.1–440.9. There can be no doubt that this is the source for this paragraph. Although one finds similar citations in the Discourse of Sahak III, *GT* I, 443.5–444.26, the sequence is different and the relationship with that text is proximate, not exact. For a very recent study on the Athanasian corpus translated into Armenian, see A. Avagyan, *Die armenische Athanasius-Überlieferung*, Patristische Texte und Studien 69 (Berlin and Boston, 2014), where a tripartite structure is employed: Authentic Athanasiana, at 27–58; Pseud-Athanasiana, at 59–99; and Athanasiana armeniaca, at 100–41.

<sup>316</sup> de Durand, ‘Citations patristiques’, 118, notes that this derives from Cyril of Alexandria’s first letter to Succensus: *ep.* 45, *ACO* I.1.6, 153, ll. 21–3; *St Cyril of Alexandria Letters 1–50*, 45.6, 193. *Secundus*, Succensus. For its use in earlier Armenian correspondence, see previous note.

<sup>317</sup> de Durand, ‘Citations patristiques’, 118, notes that this derives from Cyril’s second letter to Succensus: *ep.* 46, *ACO* I.1.6, 159, lines 9–12; *St Cyril of Alexandria, Letters 1–50*, 46.5–6, 200.

<sup>318</sup> de Durand, ‘Citations patristiques’, 118, notes that this derives from Cyril’s letter to Eulogius: *ep.* 44, *ACO* I.1.4, 36, ll. 9–12; *St Cyril of Alexandria, Letters 1–50*, *St Cyril of Alexandria Letters 1–50*, 44.4–5, 187. *Lēgēos*, Eulogius.

<sup>319</sup> de Durand, ‘Citations patristiques’, 119, suggests that this derives from Cyril’s *De Recte Fide ad Theodosium* or his *Apologeticus*, without further comment.

<sup>320</sup> de Durand, ‘Citations patristiques’, 119, notes that this derives from Cyril’s letter to Acacius, bishop of Melitene: *ep.* 40, *ACO* I.1.4, 26, ll. 5–9; *St Cyril of Alexandria, Letters 1–50*, 40.14, 160. *Akak Meltinoy episkoposn*, Acacius, bishop of Melitene.

The holy Basil in a treatise on the nativity of Christ states, ‘God was present in [777] the body not in terms of actions of an agent, as in the case of the prophets, but He was present as an equal shoot, united to man. What parallels [illustrate] the divinity in the body? [It is] like fire in iron, not in terms of transformation but transfer. For fire does not enter into iron as if something outside itself but, whilst retaining its nature, it transfers into it from its own power, which is not diminished in the transfer. It fills the one who receives it entirely. In the same way too, the divine Word does not change from itself and “he dwelt among us” and “he did not endure some alteration” and “the Word became flesh”. “But how”, they say, “was God the Word not susceptible to human frailty?” I say that the fire does not accept any property from the iron. Iron is black and cold, but yet on being heated it takes on the form of fire; and [the iron] itself, in its glowing, does not blacken the fire because this fire is not a created thing. Similarly to this fire, you shall concede the influencing of the divinity.’<sup>321</sup>

Athanasius also, in his treatise on the nativity, [says] the same: ‘In orthodox fashion, let us confess the mystery of the incarnation in an incorruptible body. For the Word became flesh in nature and was united to it, indistinguishably, in one. Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ became man [213] in the womb of the Virgin in one nature. Pay attention to the words of the prophets, because they show incorruptible in one nature. I do not deny the nature and I do not divide [it].’<sup>322</sup> But I say a unity without confusion, according to that treatise of Proclus whose beginning is ‘Virginal is this festival’. He states: ‘The holy Virgin Mother of God Mary has called us together today, the vessel of pure virginity, the reasoning paradise of the second Adam, the instrument of the union of the natures, the web of the awesome mystery of the Incarnation, in whom the fabric of the union was woven ineffably. He was born incorruptibly and he entered inside without obstruction through shut gates. Thomas exclaimed in relation to the union of the natures, “My Lord and my God”.’ Later on he says, ‘The impassible in nature [778] became multi-passible through compassion’. Again he says, ‘God the merciful came, who was always near, and he gave his blood as a ransom and he bought this world from the punishment of the law; he who bought us was no ordinary man, O Jew.’ And again, ‘If one is Christ and another is God the Word, there is no Trinity.’<sup>323</sup> Do

<sup>321</sup> de Durand, ‘Citations patristiques’, 118, notes that this long citation derives from Basil of Caesarea’s Homily 27, *In sanctam Christi generationem*, 2.31–3.90; PG 31 1460 B11–14 and C3–10; see most recently M. DelCogliano, ‘Tradition and Polemic in Basil of Caesarea’s Homily on the Theophany’, *Vigiliae Christianae* 66 (2012), 30–55.

<sup>322</sup> de Durand, ‘Citations patristiques’, 117, asserts that this citation is lifted from an apocryphal Armenian text attributed to Athanasius; see Thomson, ‘Transformation of Athanasius’, 64 and n. 51, and Avagyan, *Die armenische Athanasius*, 2.33.

<sup>323</sup> de Durand, ‘Citations patristiques’, 123, notes that these four extracts all derive from the first of Proclus of Constantinople’s celebrated Marian homilies; for text, commentary, and

not tear the garment of the Incarnation which was woven above. Do not be a disciple of Arius because he, in impious fashion, cut the natures. You, do not divide the union so that you shall not be divided from God.

Epiphanius, on Psalm 17, says: 'Because the only-begotten Son of God became man and became [214] the true son of David and his natures remained unconfused and the union was indissoluble'.<sup>324</sup> Again, the same Epiphanius, in the *Parunakaxawsk'*, says: 'Himself God, himself man, not confused through the union but mixed together, the mortal with the divinity'.<sup>325</sup>

Note, he reinforced the ineffable union of the Word and the body in a single power, he gathered in a single divinity, being one Lord, one Christ, not two Christs and not two gods in the same spiritual body, in the same inconceivable divinity.<sup>326</sup> Gregory the Theologian responds to the question of St Basil concerning the distinction of the natures in the following way. He says, 'If [there is] a distinction, [there is] a dissimilarity, and if a dissimilarity, not a simplicity; and if not a simplicity, then a compound from many, which became a multi-compound.' Moreover, the Theologian states: 'The truth is one and not in terms of a multi-nature; dividing into many is a falsehood'.<sup>327</sup>

Being unable to apprehend this, the evil opponent Apollinaris, on account of his unbelief, said two perfected in the one body. The holy Cyril replied, 'A union of two perfect essences'. And again Apollinaris, that 'it is impossible for two perfect to become living in one perfect'. And again [779] the holy Basil, 'Impossible for man but possible for God, as being born from the Virgin [215] and his walking upon the sea; as through closed gates his entering a mortal

translation, see now N. Constatas, *Proclus of Constantinople and the Cult of the Virgin in Late Antiquity* (Leiden, 2003), 136–47. He also notes that the second extract only is cited in the Discourse of Catholicos Sahak III: *GT*<sup>c</sup> I, 464.10–11, tr. M. van Esbroeck, 'Le Discours de Sahak III', in G. Nedungatt and M. Featherstone (eds.), *The Council in Trullo Revisited*, Kanonika 6 (Rome, 1995), 419.

<sup>324</sup> de Durand, 'Citations patristiques', 120, notes that this commentary by Epiphanius of Salamis does not exist in Greek.

<sup>325</sup> de Durand, 'Citations patristiques', 120. The *Parunakaxawsk'* is none other than the *Ancoratus*. Epiphanius, *Ancoratus und Panarion*, ed. K. Holl, GCS 25 (Leipzig, 1915), 80.6; for a recent translation, see Y. R. Kim, *Ancoratus. St Epiphanius of Cyprus*, Fathers of the Church 128 (Washington, DC, 2014), 176. A version of this quotation also features in Samuël Kamrjajorec'i's letter to Theodore, the metropolitan of Melitene: *GT*<sup>c</sup> I, 314.1–4; *GT*<sup>c</sup> II, 566.33–567.5. The differences are such that a direct relationship between the two letters is unlikely; indeed Samuël refers to this passage as deriving from Epiphanius' *Girn Hawatoy, Book of Faith*.

<sup>326</sup> Although de Durand does not comment on this citation, this also derives from Epiphanius, *Ancoratus*, 80.6; tr. Kim, *Ancoratus. St Epiphanius*, 176. A version of this quotation also features in the same letter of Samuël Kamrjajorec'i, following on from the previous citation in exactly the same way: *GT*<sup>c</sup> I, 314.4–8; *GT*<sup>c</sup> II, 567.5–9. Again there are significant differences.

<sup>327</sup> de Durand, 'Citations patristiques', 121, comments that the first citation is unknown but that the second derives from Gregory's Fourth Theological Oration (Or. 30), para. 20: *Discours 27–31*, 268–9; Wickham and Williams, *On God and Christ*, 110. Gregory does refer to distinction, simplicity, and compounds in his Theological Orations but these are not brought together in a string, as here.

body, formed from skin and bones. Now since by analogy this is possible for God, similarly that, for it is of God and the entire nature and passion and activity and will is divine.<sup>328</sup>

These assertions in relation to the two natures from the holy fathers should be sufficient if you shall want to hear in pleasant fashion, completely abandoning opposition. Now let us see what you make of the statement by the holy Cyril concerning the will, that, 'When he wanted, he yielded his body to endure its own', this which is incapable of being in one hypostasis.<sup>329</sup> If you propose of necessity that each of the two natures willed and acted its own, then not everything was rendered divine but there was still hostility in the body. He says, 'For while we were carrying out the will of the body and the mind, we were in effect sons of wrath';<sup>330</sup> this did not conform to the servant-nature of Paul, who possessed the mind of Christ through conversion.<sup>331</sup> Now if you say that everything was rendered divine, and for our salvation and through his own oneness, unjustly he yielded to endure contemptible passions in the body, it is clear that you are declaring the will to be exclusively divine, victorious in everything through its superiority. Now in connection with these, let us explore the statements of the holy fathers.<sup>332</sup>

[216] The victorious soldier of Christ Athanasius writes in his treatise *On the Epiphany of the Saviour*:<sup>333</sup> 'For this reason, God the Word came for the sake of the first man, for the life of man and for the complete destruction of our iniquitous enemy. He was born from a woman, to re-establish through himself this human figure as the first creature; he was revealed in a body without human will and human thoughts [780] in an image of a new creation, in the will of the divinity; so that the whole nature of the Word [might be seen] by demonstration in the form of a human body.'<sup>334</sup>

<sup>328</sup> de Durand, 'Citations patristiques', 118, notes that this long citation in fact derives from the Fourth Pseudo-Athanasian Dialogue against Apollinaris: see now *Pseudo-Atanasio, Dialoghi IV e V sulla santa Trinità: (testo greco con traduzione italiana, versione latina e armena*, ed. and tr. A. Capone, CSCO 634, Subs. 125 (Leuven, 2011), IV.3, 72, ll. 67–73 (Greek) and 100, ll. 62–6 (Armenian). This citation is very close to the Armenian version and more distant from the Greek. *Apollinarēs*, Apollinaris of Laodicea.

<sup>329</sup> de Durand, 'Citations patristiques', 119, does not identify the source of this citation but accepts it as 'authentique'.

<sup>330</sup> Ephesians 2:3, Paul being the author.

<sup>331</sup> Macler, *Histoire universelle*, 92 and n. 2, identified here a reminiscence of Romans 8:15 but this seems very distant.

<sup>332</sup> This paragraph, from *ainuk'*, you make, is lifted almost verbatim from the letter of Step'anos Siwnec'i to Germanos: *GT*<sup>r</sup> I, 378.23–379.1; *GT*<sup>r</sup> II, 442.32–443.17. Intriguingly the final sentence in Step'anos' original letter refers to the 'statements of the holy *vardapets'*, not holy fathers.

<sup>333</sup> de Durand, 'Citations patristiques', 117, notes that this long citation derives from the Second Pseudo-Athanasian Dialogue against Apollinaris: *PG* 26: 1148 B15–C9.

<sup>334</sup> Once more, this paragraph is lifted almost verbatim from the letter of Step'anos Siwnec'i to Germanos: *GT*<sup>r</sup> I, 379.1–10; *GT*<sup>r</sup> II, 443.17–29.

Honorius, the bishop of Rome, also writes, 'If he had been recognized, they would not have hung the Lord of glory on a cross.'<sup>335</sup> Moreover, it is evident that his divinity did not have capacity to yield to the cross or to undergo human torments and that he endured these through the ineffable union of the body and the divine nature. For that reason, we confess the one will of our Lord Jesus Christ because there were no other countervailing wills in our Saviour; for that reason he became recognized as above the laws of humanity.<sup>336</sup>

And Gregory the Theologian writes about his will in the following manner. 'The saying of the Saviour, "Not that I may do my will",<sup>337</sup> for if these things had not been said by the one who descended to this lower place himself, we would truly say that the Word, by which one understands Saviour, was imprinted on a body, because his will was not opposed to God but entirely in accordance with God. But like us [217] in his human appetites, he did not follow in every matter his divine [will].'<sup>338</sup> Do you see that, by separating wills, the Saviour spoke of our common humanity and not of his own body?

But if you should refer to the renunciation of the cup and 'not my will but may yours prevail',<sup>339</sup> the Theologian explains this in the same chapter, seventhly out of the ten headings. 'Since [we do not know] if he has capacity or he does not have capacity, it would be proper to ignore that and not to introduce a will opposed to his will, except that this statement is of the receiver who came down and the one who was received.'<sup>340</sup>

See, that union of the one who received and the one who was received—I am speaking of the Word and the body. Say, O wordless servant of the Word, if something specific shall be the will of the Son or the Father; but as they shall not be, it is the Word because there shall be a complete identity [between them]. [781]

<sup>335</sup> de Durand, 'Citations patristiques', 122, notes that this paragraph derives ultimately from the first letter of Honorius to Sergius of Constantinople, in *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, ed. J. D. Mansi et al., 53 vols. (Florence, 1692–1769; repr. Graz, 1961) 11, 540 B7–10, 12–14 and E8–10; *PL* 80: 472 A5–8, 8–12 and C11–13. *Onorios*, Pope Honorius I of Rome (in office 27.x.625–12.x.638).

<sup>336</sup> Once more, this paragraph is lifted almost verbatim from the letter of Step'anos Siwneč'i to Germanos: *GT*<sup>c</sup> I, 379.10–16, 18–21; *GT*<sup>c</sup> II, 443.29–444.4, 8–10.

<sup>337</sup> John 6:38.

<sup>338</sup> de Durand, 'Citations patristiques', 121, notes that the following three citations are all associated with Gregory Nazianzus. This first citation is not identified by de Durand but it comes from the opening sentence of Gregory's Fourth Theological Oration (Or. 30), para. 12: *Discours 27–31*, 248–9; Wickham and Williams, *On God and Christ*, 102.

<sup>339</sup> Luke 22:42.

<sup>340</sup> de Durand, 'Citations patristiques', 121, notes that this citation derives from Gregory's Fourth Theological Oration (Or. 30), para. 12: *Discours 27–31*, 250–1; Wickham and Williams, *On God and Christ*, 103. This paragraph opens with the comment 'seventhly' because Gregory responds in this oration to ten objections in sequence, between paragraphs 2 and 15 and has reached the seventh in paragraph 12; in other words the original location of this extract within the Oration is correctly identified.



'Not that I may do my will, because they are not divided, mine from yours, but they are companions, mine and yours; as a single divinity, likewise as well a single will.' Do you see how he united the will of the fallen body with the one divinity of the Father and the Son?

You are not able to divide, either in terms of nature or will, as had been proved. For the visible and the invisible are one, the eternal with the temporal, and there shall be nothing other than one. For since the two [are] in one by way of a combination, through God taking flesh and the body becoming divine, on many occasions the Theologian reiterates that 'man became God', so that no vestige of the distinction of the natures and wills shall be apparent.<sup>341</sup>

[218] Gregory of Nyssa, in his second book, which was against Eunomius, says: 'For we say that the body in which he was subject to torments was mixed with the divine nature; it received by means of the union whatever was the nature of the receiver.'<sup>342</sup> That one too wrote to Theophilus, head bishop of Alexandria, that: 'Everything which had a weak and contemptible nature, combined with his divinity, became what was always of his divinity.'<sup>343</sup>

The great Basil, in his commentary on the third Psalm, says, 'Having rendered the earthly body co-powerful to his divinity, he prevailed in a single power and assembled in a single divinity.'<sup>344</sup>

And Dionysius, the disciple of Paul, who became worthy of a vision of the Saviour, wrote to Gaius, the host of the Apostles: 'With respect to the concealment of his supremacy by existing in our human appearance, he hid his coming in the visible, so that I may say that his appearing in the body was even more divine. And this mystery of Jesus is inconceivable not only to

<sup>341</sup> de Durand, 'Citations patristiques', 121, observes that this reference to Gregory Nazianzus does not appear to introduce a specific citation.

<sup>342</sup> de Durand, 'Citations patristiques', 121, notes that this citation in fact derives from Gregory's third letter against Eunomius: *Gregory of Nyssa: Contra Eunomium Liber III*, 119, l. 21–4, *Gregorii Nysseni Opera Online*. Werner Jaeger. Brill Online, 2015. Reference. Oxford University Libraries 24 July 2015 <[http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/gregorii-nysseni-opera/contra-eunomium-liber-iii-aGNO\\_1\\_t3](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/gregorii-nysseni-opera/contra-eunomium-liber-iii-aGNO_1_t3)>; for a recent translation and full commentary, see *Gregory of Nyssa, Contra Eunomium III*, ed. J. Laemans and M. Cassin (Leiden, 2014), III, §34, at 113. The confusion between *erkrotd*, second, and *errord*, third, is extremely common. *Ewnomios*, Eunomius.

<sup>343</sup> de Durand, 'Citations patristiques', 121–2, notes the source of this citation: Gregory of Nyssa, *Ad Theophilum, Adversus Apollinaristas*, 126.9–11, *Gregorii Nysseni Opera Online*. Werner Jaeger. Brill Online, 2015. Reference. Oxford University Libraries 24 July 2015 <[http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/gregorii-nysseni-opera/ad-theophilum-adversus-apollinaristas-aGNO\\_9\\_t](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/gregorii-nysseni-opera/ad-theophilum-adversus-apollinaristas-aGNO_9_t)>. This paragraph appears verbatim in the Letter of Step'anos Siwnec'i to Germanos, patriarch of Constantinople: see *GT*<sup>1</sup> I, 379.35–380.5, *GT*<sup>1</sup> II, 444.32–445.7. The Discourse of Sahak III contains the second of the citations, from the letter to Theophilus, but not the first: *GT*<sup>1</sup> I, 423.21–4; tr. van Esbroeck, 'Le Discours de Sahak III', 377.

<sup>344</sup> de Durand, 'Citations patristiques', 118, notes that this paragraph occurs, with minor variations, in the Letter of Step'anos Siwnec'i to Germanos, patriarch of Constantinople: see *GT*<sup>1</sup> I, 380.9–12, *GT*<sup>1</sup> II, 445.12–16, save that here it is associated with Basil's commentary on Psalm 23. No such work by Basil of Caesarea is known in Greek.

reason and understanding, in terms of approaching his mystery, but in terms of description, it remains ineffable and in terms of perceiving, unknowable. Christ was neither a man nor was he not a man but as one from [782] man and at the same time more than man. Therefore he did not operate his divine characteristics as God or his human characteristics as man; rather God lived among us as something new, rendering his divine operations as human.<sup>345</sup>

[219] Now if it was written that 'I did not come to do my will but the will of my Father the sender',<sup>346</sup> and 'Not as I will but as you',<sup>347</sup> these do not reveal different wills but these were said in accordance with his aforementioned humanity and his being unjustly treated for our sake, of which our *vardapet* gave a good example,<sup>348</sup> so that we might follow his path and not each according to his own will, but in everything even more may the will of the Lord be respected. And these [reveal] the ineffable union and his being rendered divine in the body.

So it becomes clear that there is one divine will of Christ. The one he says is common to man and the other, completely divine, is of Christ.

From now on, let us speak about operations through the testimony of the holy Fathers.

Athanasius says, in his fourth treatise against Arius, 'And the Word again possessed the weakness of the body as his own, because his body was the co-worker of the actions of his divinity; because through it he came into being, because it was the body of God.' And after a short gap, he says, 'Because if the actions of God the Word did not come about through the medium of the body, he was not truly man rendered divine.' And later on, 'Because he performed the action of the Father through the body'. And again, the same wrote to Adelphius, bishop and confessor, 'Because he stretched out his hand, she arose who had been seized by a fever' and 'he raised his voice and revived Lazarus'.<sup>349</sup>

<sup>345</sup> de Durand, 'Citations patristiques', 120, notes that this long citation combines extracts from the third and fourth letters of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite to Gaius: PG 3, 1069 B4–11 and 1072B14–C5; for full translation, see R. Hathaway, *Hierarchy and the Definition of Order in the Letters of Pseudo-Dionysius* (The Hague, 1969), 133–4; and C. Luijheid and P. Rorem, *Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite: The Complete Works* (London, 1987), 264–5. This paragraph, with variations and additions, is found in the Letter of Step'anos Siwnec'i to Germanos, patriarch of Constantinople: see GT<sup>c</sup> I, 380.25–381.3, GT<sup>c</sup> II, 445.32–446.18, which also specifies where the extract from the Fourth letter begins.

<sup>346</sup> John 6:38, with some minor variation.

<sup>347</sup> Mark 14:36, rather than Luke 22:42 which was identified by Malxaseanc' and Macler.

<sup>348</sup> The identity of 'our *vardapet*' is unclear. Although Grigor the Illuminator might appear the obvious choice, suffering in the pit 'for our sake,' i.e. the Armenian nation, he is not titled *vardapet* elsewhere in the text. This paragraph and the one following are composed by the author.

<sup>349</sup> de Durand, 'Citations patristiques', 117, notes that the first three citations were not identified by Thomson. For a recent study, see M. Vinzent, *Pseudo-Athanasios Contra Arianos IV* (Leiden, 1996). All four appear in the same sequence and almost verbatim in the Letter of Step'anos Siwnec'i to Germanos, patriarch of Constantinople: see GT<sup>c</sup> I, 377.9–19, GT<sup>c</sup> II, 440.33–441.13, except that the source of the first three is identified as the Fourth Dialogue

Gregory of Nyssa, in his second treatise against Eunomius, says, 'Because the true God acted for all by means of his body, [220] his voice or action coming out in human fashion, so his divinity should be understood as hidden inside.'<sup>350</sup>

Julius, bishop of Rome, writes, 'And no separation at all between the Word and his body is produced in his divine conduct; but there is one [783] hypostasis, one operation, and one person, completely God and completely man, the same Jesus Christ himself.'<sup>351</sup>

John Chrysostom, in the treatise in which he addresses Jesus praying on the mountain, says, 'Through a single power and single operation he healed different ills'. And a little further on, he says, 'Through fulfilling various miracles by means of a single operation.'<sup>352</sup>

Cyril of Alexandria, in his commentary on the Gospel of Matthew, states: 'He united to himself the body, not, as they say, God the Word with the Father and from the Father, as his body was fashioned in his own natural operations, preserving the form of the body in every respect for the sake of being born in the flesh. And he carried out activities suitable to God and rose in his glory.' Again: 'He heals the two blind men through the proximity of his hand, and he restores sight by means of God-made power. He shows his body to be complete, as when he placed his hand upon the mother-in-law of Peter and healed [her] immediately. And he overcame these because of the origin of his nature—I mean his divinity—having revealed the operations of his body equal in power.' And again: 'Capable of performing everything by word, he made use of saliva so that we may recognize that [221] his body carried out every

against Apollinaris. They are also found in the Discourse of Catholicos Sahak III: *GT*<sup>r</sup> I, 449.29–450.1; tr. van Esbroeck, 'Le Discours de Sahak III', 404, where the source is identified as the Fourth Dialogue against Arius. The fourth derives from the letter to Adelphius: *PG* 26, 1081 B4–6; see Letter 40 to Adelphius, in K. Anatolios, *Athanasius* (London and New York, 2004), 241. *Delbios*, Adelphius.

<sup>350</sup> de Durand, 'Citations patristiques', 122, observes that this quotation does not occur in the Greek original but that it appears almost verbatim in the Letter of Step'anos Siwnec'i to Germanos, patriarch of Constantinople: see *GT*<sup>r</sup> I, 377.19–24, *GT*<sup>r</sup> 441.13–19. It also occurs in the Discourse of Catholicos Sahak III: *GT*<sup>r</sup> I, 450.2–6; tr. van Esbroeck, 'Le Discours de Sahak III', 404.

<sup>351</sup> de Durand, 'Citations patristiques', 123, notes that this is an extract from *De Fide et Incarnatione*, attributed to Julius but composed by Apollinaris. It comes from the end of paragraph 6 of that text; for a translation, see G. Thompson, *The Correspondence of Pope Julius I*, Library of Early Christianity 3 (Washington, DC, 2015), Appendix B, 177. It appears with minor variation, in the Letter of Step'anos Siwnec'i to Germanos, patriarch of Constantinople: see *GT*<sup>r</sup> I, 377.24–7, *GT*<sup>r</sup> II, 441.20–4. It also appears, with a little more variation, in the Discourse of Catholicos Sahak III: *GT*<sup>r</sup> I, 450.6–9; tr. van Esbroeck, 'Le Discours de Sahak III', 404.

<sup>352</sup> de Durand, 'Citations patristiques', 122, notes that although this should be an extract from Chrysostom's *Homily 50* on Matthew 14:23, it is not found there. It appears with minor variation, in the Letter of Step'anos Siwnec'i to Germanos, patriarch of Constantinople: see *GT*<sup>r</sup> I, 377.27–32, *GT*<sup>r</sup> II, 441.24–9. The same extract appears verbatim in the Discourse of Catholicos Sahak III: *GT*<sup>r</sup> I, 450.9–13; tr. van Esbroeck, 'Le Discours de Sahak III', 404–5.

operation of the life-giving Word and it becomes an occasion of illumination by means of some slight proximity, because the body was of true light.<sup>353</sup>

As the great champion of the orthodox, Cyril declared in his books of *Scholia* [*Parapmunk*], ‘We say the body of Christ is divine because it is the body of God and adorned with an ineffable glory, incorruptible, holy and life-producing.’<sup>354</sup> And in his books of *Treasures*, he says, ‘By uniting the passions indivisibly, he permitted himself to exist as a man among men, and to be hungry and thirsty and to endure the others, whatever they say about him.’<sup>355</sup>

Do you see that [the operations] are not spoken of as necessary but voluntary, and the one who was beyond reproach allowed himself to endure suffering in order to demonstrate the genuineness of his body and to set us free from condemnation? ‘Because he served truly through his own body [784] as in the nativity, similarly for our sins,’ says the Theologian, ‘for the sake of our freedom and everyone’s freedom, those who are trapped by sin whom he caused to escape.’<sup>356</sup> And again: ‘Through taking the appearance of a servant among fellow servants and servants and he took the form of a stranger, leading me and mine to himself, so that through himself he might consume evil, as fire [consumes] wax or as the sun [consumes] the mist of the earth, so that I might participate with his own ones on account of the mixture.’<sup>357</sup> This is the mystery [222] of the united passions of Christ, for the purpose of healing us and not for the purpose of revealing a divided nature, as this is described as being a sin and a curse; and not that the Lord was transformed in these—may it not be so—but rather that, for the sake of taking our iniquities and removing our sin, but he did not pollute himself. He was tested like us but was without sin,<sup>358</sup> because, as the theologian Evangelist says, ‘The Light shines in the

<sup>353</sup> de Durand, ‘Citations patristiques’, 119, notes that these citations are all extracted from Cyril’s *Commentary on Matthew* but that only fragments of this exist in Greek. The citations occur, with some variation and omission but identical sequence, in the Letter of Step’anos Siwnec’i to Germanos, patriarch of Constantinople: see *GT* I, 377.32–378.11, *GT* II, 441.29–442.17. The same extract appears in almost identical form, aside from the omission of the final phrase, in the Discourse of Catholicos Sahak III: *GT* I, 450.13–27; tr. van Esbroeck, ‘Le Discours de Sahak III’, 405, and n. 74: ‘Cette citations de Cyrille d’Alexandrie et les cinq suivantes semblent provenir d’un florilège monoenergétique déjà constitué.’

<sup>354</sup> de Durand, ‘Citations patristiques’, 119, notes that this quotation is not to be found in Cyril’s *Scholia*. A different citation from this work appears at this point in the Letter of Step’anos Siwnec’i to Germanos, patriarch of Constantinople: see *GT* I, 378.11–14, *GT* II, 442.17–21, and the same is true in the Discourse of Catholicos Sahak III: *GT* I, 450.27–9; tr. van Esbroeck, ‘Le Discours de Sahak III’, 405.

<sup>355</sup> de Durand, ‘Citations patristiques’, 119, notes that this quotation is not to be found in Cyril’s *Thesaurus*.

<sup>356</sup> de Durand, ‘Citations patristiques’, 121, does not identify the source of this quotation from Gregory Nazianzus.

<sup>357</sup> de Durand, ‘Citations patristiques’, 121, does not identify this citation but in fact it derives once again from Gregory’s Fourth Theological Oration (Or. 30), para. 6: *Discours 27–31*, 236–7; Wickham and Williams, *On God and Christ*, 97.

<sup>358</sup> This is strongly reminiscent of Hebrews 4:15b.

darkness and the darkness does not comprehend it',<sup>359</sup> as at the arrival of Adam and those from Adam.

What do you say? Are all of these statements sufficient for the purpose of clearly establishing the truth? Or is it necessary, as for ears that are hard of hearing, to repeat the same thing many times? And now, you, listen to the testimony of the sayings of the holy fathers on the subject of the incorruptibility of the body of Christ; first Irenaeus, the follower of the Apostles, refers to the incorruptibility of our confession, and he refutes the corruption of your blasphemy. He states: 'They are useless and futile, all those who disparage the complete incarnation of God and deny the salvation of this body and dishonour its second birth, saying that it is not capable of being incorruptible. And if he was not saved, the Lord did not redeem anyone by his blood, and the cup of grace of salvation is not communion in his blood, nor the bread which we break, communion in his body. For blood would only exist in his veins and his actual body; since the Word of God truly became [flesh], he has redeemed us through his blood.'<sup>360</sup>

[223] Now it has been demonstrated through these statements that those who defame the Lord's body in terms of corruption or of a strange nature, they have been refused and estranged from redemption. And they do not receive the Eucharistic bread and [785] the cup of grace for their own lives but for corruption. For although Adam caused his impeccable and blameless body to fall into condemnation and death, yet Christ has raised it incorruptible and ransomed from death, possessing power on earth to pardon sin, just as the blessed Athanasius stated in his discourse against Apollinaris.

And again in the same treatise, 'As death was not able to bring to itself the human spirit of Christ, and moreover corruption did not arrogantly snatch away the body of Christ by force to corruption, so it is an impiety to understand that it is subject to corruption in this way.'<sup>361</sup> And again in the fourth discourse of the book, the same Athanasius says, 'That one who came to renew through his body bodies that were subject to death was not seized by corruption but he bound it fast.' And later on, 'If John said the taking away the sin of world, through being the Lamb of God, how can some from the schismatics say that the body of Christ was subject to corruption? For the mother of corruption is sin.'<sup>362</sup>

<sup>359</sup> John 1:10.

<sup>360</sup> de Durand, 'Citations patristiques', 122, notes that this derives from Irenaeus of Lyons' *Adversus Haereses* V.2.2; see *Irénée de Lyon. Contre les hérésies Livre V*, ed. and trans. A. Rousseau, L. Doutreleau, and Ch. Mercier, Sources chrétiennes 153 (Paris, 1969), 30–3. *Erinos*, Irenaeus.

<sup>361</sup> de Durand, 'Citations patristiques', 117, notes that these first two citations derive from the First Athanasian Dialogue against Apollinaris: 7 and 14, in *PG* 26 1105A1–7 and 1117B10–15. The Discourse of Catholicos Sahak III employs the same citations in sequence: *GT* I, 453.11–16 (incomplete); tr. van Esbroeck, 'Le Discours de Sahak III', 408.

<sup>362</sup> de Durand, 'Citations patristiques', 117, notes that these two citations derive from the Fourth Pseudo-Athanasian Dialogue against Apollinaris, without secure identification; the recent edition by Capone does not reveal any connection with either Dialogue IV or V.

And the holy Epiphanius said in *Parunakaxawsk*‘, ‘Everything is possible for God, to change the corrupted into incorruptibility. And may no one [224] be surprised’, he says, ‘because he came to demonstrate this and he demonstrated [it]—taking a corruptible body, and clothing his divinity, he revealed it to be incorruptible. Because how does he reprimand God?—And he reproaches whoever does not confess the mystery of the Incarnation but denies it, he who does not believe the union of the nature but divides, distinct in God and distinct in man, incorruptible and subject to corruption, immortal and subject to death, and other such matters.’<sup>363</sup>

But let us hurry to cite from the holy fathers yet more concerning the incorruptibility of the divine body, for ‘wherever there shall be light, there shadow shall be completely veiled’. Likewise, [786] ‘corruption when placed next to incorruptibility, flees’, according to the saying of the holy Cyril in his *Scholia* [*Parapmunk*‘].

And again, ‘The one who did not know sin, through appropriating sin to himself, destroyed sin’. And again, ‘The body which he took from us, being united with the Word, was incorruptibility and glorified.’<sup>364</sup> And before Cyril, his teacher Athanasius, in his letter to Epictetus, bishop of Athens, says: ‘The Word who was in the body was above the nature of the mortal body; he made his body immortal and incorruptible and it silenced and abolished natural death and corruption from the body.’

Where are the proofs of a separate nature, O separator?<sup>365</sup> See what follows these. He says, ‘Therefore the corruptible body became incorruptible and death [225] was overcome in the nature of a mortal body.’ And again later on he says, ‘The Incarnation of Christ came about from a state of celibacy and without sin; therefore corruption was not found in his body.’ And again the same, in the same letter, ‘Death is not able to exist with life, nor corruption with incorruptibility.’<sup>366</sup>

<sup>363</sup> de Durand, ‘Citations patristiques’, 120. *Parunakaxawsk*‘/*Ancoratus*. See Epiphanius, *Ancoratus und Panarion*, ed. K. Holl, 61.3–4, trans. Kim, *Ancoratus*, 146.

<sup>364</sup> de Durand, ‘Citations patristiques’, 119, notes that two of these citations derive from Cyril’s *Scholia* on the Incarnation of the Only-Begotten; in fact three of the four extracts do so: see P. E. Pusey, *Sancti Patris Nostri Cyrilli Archiepiscopi Alexandrini, Epistolae tres Oecumenicae, Libri quinque contra Nestorium, XII Caputum Explanatio, XII Caputum Defensio, utraque Scholia De Incarnatione Unigeniti* (Oxford, 1875), *Scholia Cap. XII*, at 524; see also *The Armenian Version of Revelation and Cyril of Alexandria’s Scholia on the Incarnation and Epistle on Easter*, ed. and tr. F. C. Conybeare (London, 1907), 180, for the Armenian version. The final citation is unidentified.

<sup>365</sup> This appears to be directed at the metropolitan of Sebasteia.

<sup>366</sup> de Durand, ‘Citations patristiques’, 117–18. The first two of these four citations derive ultimately from the letter of Athanasius to Epictetus, bishop of Corinth: *PG* 26, 1059 C12–1061 A7; ed. with English trans. A. Robertson, *Select Writings and Letters, Athanasius of Alexandria*, Nicene and Post-Nicene Church Fathers Second Series, vol. 4 (Oxford and New York, 1892), Letter 59.6. See, however, Thomson, ‘Athanasius’, 47–69, for a thorough study of the versions of this passage in Armenian; and now Avagyan, *Die armenische Athanasius*, 2.3. The Discourse of

Do you see that the union [is] indivisible, O lover of division, from the blessed fathers, those who introduce nothing at all, neither any differentiation of nature nor of passions nor of operation, nor of will?<sup>367</sup> In faith they confessed and worshipped; they did not investigate. Therefore if you shall investigate, speak against them, one person, which you say hypocritically, and two natures.

And first we shall begin from the Apostle, who expounded this: 'He who was in the appearance of God adopted the appearance of a servant.'<sup>368</sup> He says appearance and appearance, which is person and person, I mean divine and human. Now define the two, or each one in the duality, which will be in accordance with your confession—and I say according to investigation; not only two natures, but also two sons, in accordance with Nestorius (and where indeed do you place [787] 'the Word became flesh'<sup>369</sup> and 'Emmanuel, that is to say God with us')<sup>370</sup>—or believe in a union without confusion in both, according to the faith of the Catholic church through an ineffable confession. For the aspect of God in taking [226] the human aspect became the one who received in terms of power and nature. And because these great ones, the columns and leaders of the church, taught us the two—in terms of the aspect taking the aspect, its unconfused character and in terms of the substance of the non-existent Word, the body, the indissoluble union and the one nature. Envisaging the divine law as a royal road, they command us not to deviate either to the right or to the left, neither saying in terms of union that there was an alteration or confusion or complete destruction of one in the other, nor saying in terms of non-alteration or non-confusion that there was a dissolution of the natures, in relation to the reality of the Incarnation, and they divide as the division of Arius. Here, as I said above, it is necessary to keep neatly in the centre of the two evils; neither, as a result of non-confusion, introducing a strange nature into the consubstantial holy Trinity, nor, as a result of union, denying [it], as Eutyches; or [denying] the Spirit as Apollinaris; or saying the transformation of the divinity in the body, as the *Pandurac'ik*;<sup>371</sup> or [saying] that he did not take

Catholicos Sahak III also employs the first two citations: *GT*<sup>c</sup> I, 452.26–30 and 32–4; tr. van Esbroeck, 'Le Discours de Sahak III', 407; however, these are correctly attributed to Athanasius' letter to the bishop of Corinth, not Athens, and are not identical. Although the letter discusses Mary's virginity and betrothed but unmarried status, it is not expressed in the terms of the third citation. Thomson showed that these quotations from the letter to Epictetus are found word for word in *Knik' Hawatoy, Seal of Faith*: Thomson, 'Athanasius', 52, 62, and 64. *Epiktiton*, Epictetus. ST I, 224.21 reads *Epiktimon*.

<sup>367</sup> At this point, the author breaks off from his sequence of patristic authorities to address the metropolitan of Sebasteia using biblical references.

<sup>368</sup> An elision of Philippians 2:6–7.

<sup>369</sup> John 1:14. <sup>370</sup> Matt. 1:23.

<sup>371</sup> Although Macler, *Histoire universelle*, 103 and n. 4, attempts to find a hitherto unknown sect within this collective, it seems preferable to envisage this as being a corruption of the followers of Marcion of Sinope in Pontos, Pontac'i being transformed into *Pandurac'ik*. Marcion

the body completely in term of its nature, as another Eutyches, but that it was brought from heaven; or opposite to this, that the beginning of the divinity was taken from Mary, as Photinus;<sup>372</sup> or that the body was set in the sun, or that it vanished into the air, as Marcellus.<sup>373</sup> I will refrain from listing the multitude of sects who have denied the reality of the Incarnation, those who by railing at the all-perfect redemption [227] said one nature, impiously. We exclude these as simply enigmatic works unworthy of further comment and detestable. [788]

May the views of those vainly offended at us be completely rebuffed, those who say one nature as Eutyches, whom we condemn and reckon as estranged from God and from the universal church. And may this our confession of faith be heard by all who want to hear the truth. But what is the purpose of all these objections if you shall not deviate in your redundant conjectures and useless contentions? Having abandoned believing, and the value of the power of the faith, you have surrendered to word and investigation and you have rendered the Cross of Christ futile,<sup>374</sup> because ‘faith in this age is the fulfilment of the word’, he says; which he said, ‘But we shall not boast in anything, but only in the Cross of Christ.’<sup>375</sup>

Let us hasten to contemplate the ineffable tortures of God the Word incarnate, which Paul, because of his being ignorant, says that ‘the Lord of glory was crucified’ and ‘in place of delight in the Father’s breast, which was before him, he says he undertook the cross and was reckoned despised’.<sup>376</sup> And the Theologian in his treatise on Easter says, ‘God was crucified and the sun was darkened because with [228] the Creator it was necessary for that which was created to suffer.’ And again, ‘We needed the Incarnation and the death of God.’ And again, ‘By hearing about the blood of God and his torments and his death, may you never fall into ungodly behaviour, as an apologist for God.’<sup>377</sup>

did indeed assert that Christ was indeed a divine being who appeared to men in human form but whose body was an imitation only; the synopsis therefore supports this identification.

<sup>372</sup> Photinus denied the reality of the Incarnation; again the synopsis attached broadly supports this. *P’otinos*, Photinus.

<sup>373</sup> Although the source for this heresiological list is unknown, it is striking that the opening chapter of John Chrysostom’s Sixth Homily on Philippians contains several references to all of these figures: *PG* 62: 219; English trans. P. Allen, *John Chrysostom, Homilies on Paul’s Letter to the Philippians*, SBL 16 (Atlanta, Ga., 2013), 98–103; furthermore, this homily is focused upon Philippians 2:5–8, the same verses that introduce this section. However the relationship between that text and this letter is at best proximate and it seems more probable that there was at least one unidentified intermediate text. *Markelos*, Marcellus, metropolitan of Ancyra, one of whose deacons was Photinus.

<sup>374</sup> This echoes 1 Corinthians 1:17.

<sup>375</sup> This is based upon Galatians 6:14.

<sup>376</sup> This is based on Hebrews 12:2.

<sup>377</sup> de Durand, ‘Citations patristiques’, 121, identifies these three extracts as deriving from Gregory of Nazianzus’ Oration 45 (*in sanctum Pascha*), para. 29, 28 and 19: *PG* 36: 661 D2–4, 661 C7–8, and 649 C4–6. See also *St Gregory of Nazianzus, Festal Orations*, introduction, translation and commentary by N. V. Harrison (Crestwood, NY, 2008), 189 and 180.



See, it is not me but the *vardapet* of the whole church who says that those who do not confess the blood and suffering and death of God are in a state of not knowing God. The same Theologian, in his discourse concerning Basil in the book 'I have been defeated', says: 'What is more incredible than this, seeing God crucified and the same with the thieves and the one who could not be grasped being mocked by those who passed nearby and the most high enduring such sufferings?'<sup>378</sup>

Now which nature do you say [for] God who could not be seized?

And John Chrysostom states, 'He took the nature of our humanity [789] and he gave his divinity and he made our sufferings familiar to himself so that he might grant us his divinity, which is incapable of suffering, and in relation to the wages of death, he might give us immortality. For he took upon himself the sufferings of men, not by altering his nature, but he rendered them familiar to himself in his will.'<sup>379</sup> He asks again in the same treatise, which is the seventh in the book on the crucifixion, 'For what reason would he accept human sufferings? Because he wanted to heal suffering through suffering and to destroy death through death. For this reason the same through the same, he wanted to contend.' And later on, 'For it was not that [229] they nailed the visible nature but they laid hands on him, God who was in it. And because through his apparent nature he tamed suffering, so they say the suffering of God.' As in other books, the same John says that, 'Now they struck the divinely made head, now they abused with a thorny crown, and now they beat with a pole.'<sup>380</sup> And he never asserted a human nature but one and the same God and the same man. The great and universal *vardapet* Athanasius taught this perfectly, the same God and the same man, and he does not make any investigation into natures: 'The same, son of God, also the same, the son of Man; the same from heaven, the same from earth; the same passible, the same impassible; no one else, et cetera, et cetera.'<sup>381</sup>

See, these are not my words but those of Athanasius against Paul of Samosata, not two persons, not two hypostases, not two adorations. What is

<sup>378</sup> de Durand, 'Citations patristiques', 121, notes that this citation does not come from Gregory's Oration 2, which opens, 'I have been defeated,' *Yalt'ec'ay*. In fact, unknown to de Durand, it derives from Gregory's Oration 43, para. 64. This is the panegyric delivered at the funeral of St Basil of Caesarea; hence the reference to Basil is in fact correct: *Grégoire de Nazianze, Discours 42-43*, ed. and French trans. J. Bernardi, Sources chrétiennes 384 (Paris, 1992), 266-7.

<sup>379</sup> de Durand, 'Citations patristiques', 122, describes this, and the following two extracts, as unknown, despite the stated attribution to the seventh treatise on the Crucifixion.

<sup>380</sup> de Durand, 'Citations patristiques', 122, identifies John Chrysostom's *Homilies on the Gospel of Matthew*, LXXXVII.1, on Matthew 27:27-9, as the source of this citation: PG 58: 769.

<sup>381</sup> de Durand, 'Citations patristiques', 118, notes that this citation derives from Athanasius' Discourse on Faith, *Quod unus sit Christus*: see now R. W. Thomson, *Athanasius. Quod Unus sit Christus Discourse of Saint Athanasius on the faith and that Christ is one*, in *Athanasiana Syriaca Vol. 3* CSCO Scr. Syr. 142-3 (Leuven, 1972), 139-46, 97-102. See also Avagyan, *Die armenische Athanasius*, 2.28.

the need to investigate and to engage in controversy? Believing and adoring and worshipping silently is what is profitable. I know God truly came from heaven; I know him as son of David in the body a man from earth, passible, and I do not enquire how he was a man both impassible and passible, or how God [790] and how man, for fear lest, in enquiring the how and investigating the manner, I should slip from the good things which lie ahead of us. But it is necessary only to believe and contemplate above and not on the body and the blood.

And the great Epiphanius, in his commentary on Psalm 159,<sup>382</sup> [230] says clearly concerning the uniting of the natures and the passions: 'He professed the uniting indivisibly to his divine being but he permitted it to suffer, obtaining human redemption, and because it was easy for him to render the same nature which he took immortal. But because his suffering was redemption for all, he yielded to his passion through which he might grant the human race immortality and incorruptibility.'<sup>383</sup>

Now Cyril of Jerusalem, who had the apostolic honour and gifts, says in this fashion in his treatise on the crucifixion, in the book which is called *Catechesis*:<sup>384</sup> 'And why are you amazed that the whole world has been saved? For [it is] not as though he were some ordinary man, but the only-begotten son of God, who came and died for the sake of our sins.'<sup>385</sup> Also later on, 'Now again the irrational Lamb caused the salvation of the people.'<sup>386</sup> And again, in the same treatise, 'The time has come when the son of man shall be glorified. Because he was glorified in glory before Creation and was glorified previously as God, but now he has been glorified even more because he took upon himself the crown of suffering of the Cross.' And again, reiterating the same, he says, 'He was not at all ashamed by torments because he had removed and borne the redemption of all creatures; because he was not some insignificant man who was tortured, but he was God, who was clothed in flesh and took the crown of suffering and laboured diligently.'<sup>387</sup> And in his Lamentation, Jeremiah says, 'The Spirit for our sake, Lord Christ, who was seized for our corruption'. [231]

<sup>382</sup> For 159, read 119; the characters *zē*, representing 10, and *ca*, representing 50, are easy to confuse.

<sup>383</sup> Epiphanius' *Commentary on Psalms* does not survive in Greek although a short text in Armenian was attributed to him at the start of the nineteenth century: *Yalags Ergoc' Salmosarani* (Constantinople, 1801), 55–69; this remains unstudied.

<sup>384</sup> de Durand, 'Citations patristiques', 119, identifies all but one of the following extracts as deriving from Cyril of Jerusalem's thirteenth Catechetical Lecture which is titled 'On the words "Crucified" and "Buried"'; in fact even the second citation, described by de Durand as 'introuvable', derives from this source. For Catechesis XIII, see in *Cyrrilli Hierosolymorum archiepiscopi Opera quæ supersunt omnia Vol. II*, ed. J. Rupp (Monaci, 1860), 50–105; comm. and trans. L. P. McCauley and A. A. Stephenson, *The Works of Saint Cyril of Jerusalem, Volume 2, Fathers of the Church*, vol. 64 (Washington, DC, 1970), 4–31.

<sup>385</sup> Catechesis XIII, para. 2.

<sup>386</sup> Catechesis XIII, para. 3.

<sup>387</sup> Catechesis XIII, para. 6.

Is it me who says this perceptive phrase? Here he is attesting that the Lord Christ was seized by men.<sup>388</sup> Isaiah says, 'Woe on these people, because they said, "let us bind the one who is just".' Isaiah was cut with a saw and Jeremiah [791] was thrown into a cistern, yet the injuries of the Jews were healed because they were lesser. They sinned completely in relation to God himself who came in human form, truly woe to these people.<sup>389</sup> And others came and spat at his face, the very one who had healed the blind from birth with his own saliva.<sup>390</sup> And perhaps someone may say that: 'He who released Lazarus from the chains of death by his voice, why was he not able to free himself?'<sup>391</sup> The same prophet, amazed, says, 'Who believed at hearing us? Such matters are beyond belief, that God and the son of God, the powerful Father should agree to tolerate this. Now he was God himself, and accepted the sufferings of man, so that later they might torment a man for the sake of mankind.'<sup>392</sup> But the soldiers who were surrounding him, they mocked him, and the Lord of heaven was ridiculed, as the prophet said: 'They contemplated me and they shook their heads.'<sup>393</sup>

Do you see that they did not speak of any separation of natures, but they said that the same God himself was on the cross and in suffering and the same in glory?<sup>394</sup>

But henceforth we have entered into the flowering garden of the holy Scriptures; you, come, wander among other [232] flowers, of those divinely decorated words, so that you may breathe the sweet perfume of the torments of our Lord and our God, and so that you may not die from the deadly perfume of unbelief or imperfect belief. And listen to the elegant words of Eusebius, bishop of Emesa: 'For three hours the light of the sun was hidden', he says, 'while the Sun of righteousness was suffering the Passion on the Cross; the thieves were crucified with him. [These are] important matters, so that you may learn how men die and how God. Those who were under the affliction of nature, their legs were broken so that, in accordance with nature, likewise they might endure death; but he who had the authority to establish himself and to take the body, as from the Virgin, willingly and not unwillingly, [792] likewise on the cross willingly and not unwillingly he made the distinction of soul and body.'<sup>395</sup>

<sup>388</sup> Catechesis XIII, para. 7.

<sup>389</sup> Catechesis XIII, para. 12.

<sup>390</sup> Catechesis XIII, para. 13.

<sup>391</sup> Catechesis XIII, para. 12.

<sup>392</sup> Catechesis XIII, para. 13.

<sup>393</sup> Catechesis XIII, para. 17.

<sup>394</sup> This question is directed to the metropolitan of Sebasteia; see n. 365 for a similar challenge.

<sup>395</sup> de Durand, 'Citations patristiques', 120, notes that this derives from one of Eusebius' homilies, preserved in Armenian but not in Greek, citing E. M. Buytaert, *L'Héritage littéraire d'Eusèbe d'Emèse*, Bibliothèque du Muséon 24 (Louvain, 1949), 57\*, ll. 9–11 and 58\*, ll. 4–12. Buytaert's edition and Latin translation, however, were incomplete. The full homily was published as Homily V by N. Akinean, 'Ewsebeay Emasac'woy Čark', *HA* 71 [1957], cols. 353–80. For a study of this homily, see H. J. Lehmann, *Per Piscatores Orsordawk': Studies in the Armenian*

Now Dionysius the Areopagite in his disputation<sup>396</sup> with Paul of Samosata says, ‘What Jeremiah said, that “My enemies seized and held me as a sparrow”,<sup>397</sup> for just as a sparrow repays nothing for those who seize it, likewise Christ, son of God, when they crucified [him], repaid nothing in accordance with their deeds. Pilate tortured and the servant struck and Caiaphas spat on his face, the crowd slandered, about which Isaiah said, “I offered my shoulder for beating and I did not turn my face in shame from the face of the spitter.”<sup>398</sup> Who could this truly be, other than God, who spat on the earth and made clay and put it on to the eyes of the blind man and [233] opened [them]? He was crucified with the thieves and he nailed our sin to the wood of the cross and he killed death and the devil, so that he might attract us through his mercy and his grace to his kingdom. Oh this new wonder, which happened at the holy cross! Even the soldiers did not tear apart his garment, yet the heretics want to tear apart the son of God and to divide him into two, the one who was impenetrable and indivisible, Christ.’ And a little later, ‘He gave them manna and they gave him gall; he gave them honey and they gave him vinegar, and they hung him on the cross, he who hung the earth from nothing, who is life for all those alive, and with a shout on the cross, God the Word gave his soul, who came willingly to death.’

Now John Chrysostom, in his commentary on the Gospel, when he discusses the Passion and the mockery which God the Word endured on the cross, says, ‘Concerning that, we read out all this at the crowded feast, and in the middle of the tumultuous people of the congregation so that the pagans may not say, “You read before the congregation the very great and splendid things, that is to say signs and miracles, and you conceal the outrages”. Whenever the whole congregation shall be in one place entirely, at that time the whole is proclaimed in a very loud voice, [793] and when it is read and preached, then it becomes certain that Christ is God; and with others and this, he receives adoration.’<sup>399</sup>

*Version of a Collection of Homilies by Eusebius of Emesa and Severian of Gabala* (Århus, 1975), 209–40.

<sup>396</sup> de Durand, ‘Citations patristiques’, 119–20, notes that the attribution is incorrect. It should in fact refer to Dionysius of Alexandria. The Discourse of Catholicos Sahak III identifies the other Dionysius of Alexandria when citing this quotation: *GT*<sup>c</sup> I, 459.35–460.14; tr. van Esbroeck, ‘Le Discours de Sahak III’, 414–15. Close comparison however reveals that, whilst the overlap between the two passages is often close, there are elements in Step’anos’ version which are not found in Sahak’s Discourse. It is also worth noting that the citation which immediately precedes this in Sahak’s Discourse is attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite: *GT*<sup>c</sup> I, 459.31–5; tr. van Esbroeck, ‘Le Discours de Sahak III’, 414. The confusion is understandable.

<sup>397</sup> Jeremiah 3:52.

<sup>398</sup> Isaiah 50:6.

<sup>399</sup> de Durand, ‘Citations patristiques’, 122, identifies John Chrysostom’s *Homilies on the Gospel of Matthew*, LXXXVII.1, on Matthew 27:27–9, as the source of this citation: *PG* 58: 770; for a citation from the same homily, see n. 380.

[234] So numerous and diverse and a thousand times more numerous are the statements from the holy Fathers who proclaim gloriously that the one who was crucified was God; and you, you reprove [them]. I say that he was crucified, with a threefold sanctification and threefold name of God, God in the created being, powerful in weakness and immortal in death, as the above quotations from the holy Fathers have taught. If you had not broken the enclosure of the Fathers and divided the one Lord and Christ and God into distinct beings, it would not have been necessary to construct laboriously a solid enclosure and bolts because remedies are needed for ills.<sup>400</sup>

Now according to your five divisions<sup>401</sup>—you have divided the nature of God, the will and the operation and you have dared to say that the body of God the Word was corruptible and that [it was] not God who was crucified for the world—you have separated into five headings the record of this discourse, according to the five-headed books of Moses, and the five senses, through which you are stupefied;<sup>402</sup> and in accordance with the five smooth stones of David, I have struck your forehead using the sling of the Spirit and the power of the arm of the Lord, so that you may not dare to insult the forehead of the living God.<sup>403</sup> And we have finished that which was written, that every statement must be corroborated by the mouth of two witnesses. Accept three witnesses, worthy proclaimers of the belief of the Incarnation of the Lord, the Apostles and prophets and the *vardapets*,<sup>404</sup> whom God established in the church.<sup>405</sup> If you wish to hear all these words, which there are concerning the mystery of the Incarnation of Christ [235] much paper and parchment will be needed. But a few from many will be sufficient for us.

<sup>400</sup> This summary section appears to have been composed by the author and marks an important transition within the letter, from extensive citation of patristic authorities, to a personal response to the original letter from the metropolitan of Sebasteia, with extensive biblical referencing and minimal patristic citation.

<sup>401</sup> The following passages reveal something of the structure and content of that letter.

<sup>402</sup> Respectively, the Pentateuch and the traditional five senses of hearing, sight, taste, smell, and touch. For the symbolism of the number 5, see R. W. Thomson, 'Number Symbolism and Patristic Exegesis in Some Early Armenian Writers', *Handes Amsorya* 90 (1976), 124. Thomson observes that the only author to give religious interpretations of the number 5 is Anania Širakac'i, in his work *Saks bac'ayaytut'ean t'uoc'*, i.e. *An Explanation of Numbers*: see A. G. Abrahamyan, *Anania Širakac'u matenagrut'yunž*, VIII, at 243.38–244.18, which offers the same symbolic meanings in the same sequence, although combined with additional interpretations and expressed in different ways. Clearly this passage is related to Anania's study, although it has been revised and developed.

<sup>403</sup> This is based on the encounter of David and Goliath, using phrases in 1 Samuel 17: 40, 49. It identifies the metropolitan of Sebasteia with Goliath and asserts that he has been felled, metaphorically, by the Armenian author, a righteous David.

<sup>404</sup> This phrase, defining the three witnesses, was omitted by Malxaseanc' but is present in all the manuscripts and thus included by Manukyan; ST II, 793, n. 26.

<sup>405</sup> This is an allusion to Matthew 18:16 and Luke 12:52, although only the latter is discussed by Anania.

You cite Dioscorus and Peter as opponents as if we were their disciples.<sup>406</sup> In fact, when did we confront you or the Council of Chalcedon or the Tome of Leo [794] using their words, from whom we never received a letter of faith, except that they did not acknowledge the Council of Chalcedon as other countries, cities, and many races? Not only did we not establish a discourse against you dividers through them and by means of them; we did not do so through our own native sincere, familiar, and instructive *vardapets*.<sup>407</sup> But just as we do not debate with Jews using the teaching of the Evangelists and the Apostles, but we induce [them] to believe through their own prophets, likewise for you, we composed treatises using different and multiple citations from your own *vardapets* and those who have glorified your country, in order that the triumph over all schismatics and filthy sects may be all the more evident and remarkable.<sup>408</sup>

Sometimes without knowledge of the text and sometimes twisting the truth maliciously or violating it—the cause does not matter—[you] cite from the holy Scriptures and present as trustworthy evil in the appearance of good, to both the ignorant and the naive. Moreover, you have become in particular profaners of the books and pillagers of the meaning of the texts and [236] converting good to evil and you snatch the desire of men using various means. Sometimes you define faith in terms of numbers, and sometimes in terms of wealth, to the extent that you appropriate the voice of God: ‘Mine is gold and mine is silver’;<sup>409</sup> which is far from the origin of faith and the coming of the Saviour, for he chose<sup>410</sup> a mother loaded with misfortune and ignorant and needy disciples, few in number, so that he might obscure his being, ‘lest anyone should glory in themselves before God’.<sup>411</sup> And if faith is defined in terms of numbers or wealth, the barbarian Persians and the savage Arabs and those who are beyond, at the end of the universe, are more numerous and

<sup>406</sup> *Dēoskoros*, Dioscorus was patriarch of Alexandria between 444 and 451 CE, the successor to Cyril and convenor of the so-called Robber Council, Ephesus II, in 499, but condemned and deposed at the third session of the Council of Chalcedon, on Saturday, 13 October 451, although on the grounds of lawlessness and violence rather than for heresy. He became, however, a symbol of Eutychian teaching. Peter ‘the Fuller’, patriarch of Antioch between 471 and 488, an opponent of Chalcedon, who added ‘who was crucified for us’ to the Trisagion. Such accusations of association were standard elements in polemical discourse.

<sup>407</sup> *vardapet*: Armenian clerical office, usually held to be responsible for teaching and maintaining correct doctrine; see R. W. Thomson, ‘Vardapet in the early Armenian Church’, *Le Muséon* 75 (1962), 367–84. For a similar sentiment, on the merits of native *vardapets*, see II.2 n. 169.

<sup>408</sup> This is a novel argument, disavowing the Fathers of the Church as being of universal significance and defining them as being *yašxarh jer*, of your country. This suggests that the author envisaged a sharp distinction between Byzantine and Armenian tradition.

<sup>409</sup> Haggai 2:9, although the substantives are reversed.

<sup>410</sup> Malxaseanc’ omits *ēntreac’*, he chose.

<sup>411</sup> 1 Corinthians 1:29.

wealthy than you.<sup>412</sup> But this is far from that, 'Do not be afraid little flock'<sup>413</sup> and 'Blessed are the poor in spirit';<sup>414</sup> may these be true for us. [795]

You estrange from the Word the Lord's body mixed with divinity and the servant and created nature rendered divine, and you worship in divine fashion the carved or drawn image on various materials in such multitudes and with such adoration that you have undertaken and you attract the ignorant and those who are not ours, because each one individually is a pagan priest and feast.<sup>415</sup> And while the ignorant frequently approach the subject, it is not very sensible. And the Theologian revealed in his treatise on theology; he says: 'There are some who have taken the image of their loved ones and those who came after did not know [237] the origin and adopting the custom they worshipped God.'<sup>416</sup> Therefore Moses admonished Israel through the law, 'You shall not make any likeness and images';<sup>417</sup> and in Deuteronomy he warned, 'When God appeared, we saw no form.'<sup>418</sup> And for the same reason, he said nothing about the coming into being of angels. Angels were not called son and image of God, like man, for the same reason, so that men may not stray into multiple adorations.

So if you should recall the image of the Saviour made by the woman troubled by blood-loss,<sup>419</sup> in the city of Pennada at the confluence of the Yar and the Dan, sources of the Jordan, the one who described that narrative, Eusebius, in his *Ecclesiastical Composition*, says: 'It is not surprising that heathen men made that in accordance with heathen custom.' And if you should mention the image not made by human hand which the Saviour granted to Abgar, it is not possible for us to treat something made by human hand as an example of something not made by human hand—just as [it is not possible for us to accept] a created God in place of an uncreated

<sup>412</sup> This passage reveals how the relationship between the Byzantine and Armenian churches was conceived, at least in the mind of the author. He noted that the former had referred to its size and wealth when defining itself and so responded by pointing to the humble circumstances of Jesus' birth and his ill-qualified disciples, as well as contending that the barbarian Persians, *xužk'n Parsic'*, and savage Arabs, *dužk'n Tačkac'*, and those beyond, were more numerous and wealthier. Intriguingly, these are assumed to be non-Christian. The author also makes a clear distinction between Persians and Arabs, although the verbal proximity of the qualifying adjectives links them together.

<sup>413</sup> Luke 12:32. <sup>414</sup> Matthew 5:3.

<sup>415</sup> This appears to be a criticism of icon-worship.

<sup>416</sup> de Durand, 'Citations patristiques', 121. This derives Gregory of Nazianzus' Second Theological Oration (Or. 28), para. 14; *Discours 27-31*, 130-1; Wickham and Williams, *On God and Christ*, 47-8.

<sup>417</sup> Deuteronomy 20:4.

<sup>418</sup> This is based on Deuteronomy 4:15, with a switch from second to first person.

<sup>419</sup> Matthew 9:20-2; Mark 5:25-34; Luke 8:43-8. However, none of these passages associates this woman or the miracle with the city of Paneas (Caesarea Philippi). This connection is noted by Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, VII.17 and 18, from which the quotation derives. Eusebius also refers to the Jordan river but does not offer an etymology of its name.

God.<sup>420</sup> But we glorify and adore the uncreated God and the image of the Saviour not made by human hands.

And you have written dismissively, ‘You seal and worship the Cross.’ And because Christ was baptized, do you not worship the water through which he sanctified us, and the wood on which he was nailed, through which he baptized us, through the water and blood which was shed from his side? [796] For this reason we too, in accordance with that example, [238] we baptize [the Cross] with water and wine, taught by the example of the sacrament, through which it is rendered holy with prayers and readings from the Apostolic and Evangelist books. Since you do not esteem this practice as holiness, why do you baptize yourselves or plunge; why do you baptize or corrupt your cup of the sacrament with water?<sup>421</sup> If baptism is not holiness, why should you be involved in the vessels of the Cross which you stamp, as indeed you do;<sup>422</sup> and when you should wish to make your children Christian, instead of baptizing with water, should you do the same? Shall I say something ludicrous and shameful?—Why do you baptize your cup of the sacrament with water, following the fashion of innkeepers who spoil by confusion unadulterated and pure [wine], a source of pleasure for the hearts of men? The great David noted ‘the power of that cup’, as if intoxicated by unadulterated [wine];<sup>423</sup> later on he says, ‘The mercy of the Lord and eternity in the house of God’; which we understand to mean nothing other than the reception of the Holy Spirit or the drinking powerfully of the soul and the mind of the two testaments—I mean the Old and the New—or the mystery of the purity and the unmixed quality of the cup of the sacrament by means of which we understand the immutability of sublime grace. And from this, using a very familiar and appropriate allegory, the singleness and immutability of the external nature of the Word incarnate [is proved], believing that [239] after

<sup>420</sup> Although Eusebius refers to Abgar in his *Ecclesiastical History*, I.13, he does not mention the image. This appears in the first in the Syriac *Teaching of Addai/Doctrina Addai* which was translated into Armenian in the fifth century; the Armenian version is known as *Labubna*. The image is also noted in MX II.32 [150.18–20] but it is not recorded as ‘not made by hand’: see A. Cameron, ‘The History of the Image of Edessa: The Telling of a Story’, *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* (1984), 80–94.

<sup>421</sup> This is an allusion to the practice of mixing water with wine for the Eucharist, consistently repudiated by the Armenian Church. This Armenian custom was described and repudiated at the Council in Trullo of 692 CE: see *The Council in Trullo Revisited*, ed. and tr. G. Nedungatt and M. Featherstone, *Kanonika 6* (Rome, 1995), Canon §32, 106–10.

<sup>422</sup> The system of stamping Byzantine silver vessels made in precious metal workshops under the control of the *comes sacrarum largitionum*, to 609, and then the urban prefect or *Sakellarios*, seems to have ended with the death of Constans II in 668/9 CE: E. Dodd, *Byzantine Silver Stamps* (Washington, DC, 1961); and M. Mundell Mango, ‘The Purpose and Places of Byzantine Silver Stamping’, in S. A. Boyd and M. Mundell Mango, *Ecclesiastical Silver Plate in Sixth-Century Byzantium* (Washington, DC, 1993), 215 and n. 82. There is no evidence to suggest that the stamping of ecclesiastical silver was revived in the tenth century. This implies that this argument has been taken from a much earlier work.

<sup>423</sup> Both quotations seem to be allusions to Psalm 22:5–6.



the ineffable union, it shall not prevail either through a strange nature or corruption in the drinking of the delight of habitual faith, but it shall be vomited up in accordance with those who throw up a fluid.

And what do you say about the cup of the sacrament, about which it is written in the Gospels, 'Blessing the cup and giving to his disciples';<sup>424</sup> there was no mention of any water. And he said to drink from the fruit of the vine,<sup>425</sup> for the vine produces wine and not water. John in his commentary on this word, says that 'These are heretics, those who employ water in the holy mystery'.<sup>426</sup> But since [797] water and blood trickled from the side of life, Cyril in his work *Catechesis* explained the water as the mystery of baptism and the blood in terms of the martyrs in accordance with the martyrdom of Christ.<sup>427</sup>

I question again something more serious, which seemed to your eyes of little importance. The priesthood, which is a high dignity, following the likeness of the chief priest Christ, why do you dare to give to women? And what do I mean 'to women?', because they are creatures of God, but I mean to eunuchs, whom you yourselves have created, like mules, outside the definition and the created beings of God.<sup>428</sup> On this subject, Moses the prophet says, 'If you lay a hand upon him it is unclean';<sup>429</sup> and the canonical law commands to place such persons reckoned with those outside the church. And John Chrysostom in his commentary on the Gospel of Matthew declares on this subject [240] that, 'There are eunuchs who make themselves eunuchs';<sup>430</sup> and in his commentary on the letter to the Galatians on the subject says, 'Blessed if they should be cut off';<sup>431</sup> then he derides them fiercely and expresses astonishment concerning where such an impious tradition entered the race of the Romans,

<sup>424</sup> Matthew 26:27.

<sup>425</sup> Luke 22:18.

<sup>426</sup> This appears to be an allusion to John Chrysostom's *Homilies on the Gospel of Matthew*, LXXXII.1, on Matt. 26:26–8; see *PG* 58:730, although there is no reference to adding water to the sacrament. Intriguingly, Canon 32 of the Council in Trullo, cited in n. 421, states that the Armenians relied on Chrysostom's Commentary on Matthew and offers a long quotation which includes several of the arguments cited here. This paragraph, however, is modelled on, and derives from, the Discourse of Catholicos Sahak III: *GT* I, 479.7–12; tr. van Esbroeck, 'Le Discours de Sahak III', 434–5.

<sup>427</sup> de Durand, 'Citations patristiques', 119, identifies Cyril of Jerusalem's thirteenth Catechetical Lecture as the ultimate source: *Catechesis* XIII.21.

<sup>428</sup> *č'ēzok'ac'n*, to eunuchs. This contemporary gendering of eunuchs as female rather than male is highly significant: see D. C. Smythe's review of *Questions of Gender in Byzantine Society* ed. B. Neil and L. Garland (Farnham, 2013) in *JEH* 66.1 (2015), 167, in which he discuss how eunuchs were gendered in Byzantine society; third gender, 'no gender at all', 'or men...but different'.

<sup>429</sup> Deuteronomy 23:1, which also considers those who have been emasculated by cutting or crushing as being prevented from entering the church of God; this could supply the source for the second half of this sentence.

<sup>430</sup> de Durand, 'Citations patristiques', 122, identifies Chrysostom's *Homilies on the Gospel of Matthew*, LXII.3, on Matthew 19:12 as the source of this citation: *PG* 58: 599. Here *nerk'inik'*, eunuchs.

<sup>431</sup> de Durand, 'Citations patristiques', 122, identifies John Chrysostom's *Homilies on Galatians*, 5:12: *PG* 61: 6689.

since hitherto all the time they were not yet in the rank of the priesthood but in the orders of the soldiers and laity.<sup>432</sup> Now you, admit justly to yourselves: is it right for such people to be appointed to the head of the church and as the distributors of grace?<sup>433</sup> Alas, the ingratitude of the receivers of the grace, those who customarily stray out of ignorance.

Great is the rule of confession in the church, to repent with tears in this way is equal to the source of baptism. In the Catholic Letters, it says that ‘The rule of the church teaches us [798] “confess your sins to one another and pray for one other so that you may be healed”,<sup>434</sup> and “You, say first your trespasses so that you may be made righteous”, and “I have told myself to recount my sins and you shall forgive my impious acts”.’<sup>435</sup>

Why have you neglected this, and why have you established another rule for your people impiously, not to declare trespasses to the priest and to approach the body and blood of the Lord indifferently? Paul exclaimed loudly, ‘May every man test himself and then he shall eat from the body and drink from the cup’;<sup>436</sup> it is the investigation of the priest through confession [that allows him] to allocate to each person the most suitable place.

[241] Now what should you say about long hair, that which you hold as an article of Christianity? See the writings of Paul in his letter to the Corinthians, where he says, ‘A man, if he is long-haired, it is a disgrace for him.’<sup>437</sup> And John, in his commentary on the same work, says, ‘Whenever one prays, it is forbidden to cover it, and to have [long] hair, it shall always be prohibited.’ He says this is forbidden many times.<sup>438</sup> But what has been written is of no concern to you, for not only do you transgress but you also name those who have not transgressed ‘Sarakinós’ because they do not have [long] hair.<sup>439</sup>

<sup>432</sup> In fact Chrysostom does not do this in his *Homilies on Galatians*; however, in his *Homilies on the Gospel of Matthew*, LXII.3, on Matt. 19:12, PG 58: 599, Chrysostom not only cites the same verse from Galatians but also criticizes those that mutilate themselves among the Greeks. Macler, *Histoire universelle*, 120 and n. 4, wondered if this might not be a reference to Origen, but it seems more likely that this is a contemporary allusion; see following note. The distinction between clerical and lay eunuchs is not made by Chrysostom.

<sup>433</sup> Two tenth-century patriarchs of Constantinople—Theophylact (2 February 933–27 February 956) and his successor Polyeyktos (April 956–5 February 970)—were both eunuchs; there was therefore recent precedent.

<sup>434</sup> James 5:16.

<sup>435</sup> The source of the whole quotation is unknown. Only the first citation can be identified and this is integrated within a longer quotation; see n. 430.

<sup>436</sup> 1 Corinthians 11:28. <sup>437</sup> 1 Corinthians 11:14.

<sup>438</sup> de Durand, ‘Citations patristiques’, 122–3, identifies John Chrysostom’s *Homilies on 1 Corinthians*, XXVI.4–5, PG 61: 217–18 as the source of this citation.

<sup>439</sup> An intriguing observation, implying that short hair was a characteristic feature of Saracens. It is striking that hair-length was also one of the disputed issues between Xosrov Anjewac’ik’ and the catholicos Anania Mokac’i in 954 CE: see Anania Mokac’i, ‘Yalags zXosrov nzoveloyn’, *Ararat* (1897), 275–7; repr. *Matenagirk’ Hayoc’* 10, 276.9–11; repr. and tr. Boisson, in *Mélanges Jean-Pierre Mahé*, 833.9–11. This had previously been translated into English by P. Cowe, *Commentary on the Divine Liturgy by Xosrov Anjewac’i* (New York, 1991), 10–13.

But what shall we write concerning your 'winning us from destruction and your converting us from error, as those who understand falsehood as the truth, or darkness as light or bitter as sweet'?<sup>440</sup> I shall say only the testimony of the prophets. And to those who have fallen asleep and who are drunk, the earth seems to move from its fixed position, but for those who walk around, it seems to remain stable.

Now if you were a genuine Theophilos,<sup>441</sup> you would know the fixed quality of our orthodoxy and you would teach not the tradition of old but this new truth, and you would confess the Word of God one and the same from the being of the Father, who is beside God and is God, just as the joiner of materials in furnaces or like rennet in milk—in the womb [799] of the Virgin he curdled his body out of the Virgin's blood, and it was not some body which came into existence by itself, but through a divine [242] conjunction the body was provoked to become the flesh and through [divine] nature the nature of the body was unformed and became the nature of God. Since it had its beginning in this manner, the nature began to exist from the corruptible; and on account of this, the body became incorruptible. For just as the sun travels in a regular fashion [driving out darkness], the incorruptibility of the conception completely drove away the darkness of corruption, and having received [it] kept the nature of the receiver, similarly too the will of the one who received kept whatever followed of the nature. As the rays of a candle disappear completely at the arrival of the sun's brilliance—its individuality remains but the more powerful overcomes, having transformed the lesser light in itself and no distinction or separation or sight of the rays remains; likewise no quality of the human nature or will or operations remained at the Incarnation of God the Word. The will and the operation are said to be completely divine because the Trinity remained pure and in undifferentiated fashion, unmixed with materials. And so the light shone forth from the Virgin over the entire world. And he went to the chariot of the Cross, God incarnate, fulfilling what had been written, that 'You came to your chariot and your victory saved the whole world';<sup>442</sup> and from the cross, with a sovereign shout, he loosed his human soul, through which he descended into the depths of hell, to redeem the souls captured in it; he rose through the same body mixed with divinity; he appeared to his chosen disciples for a forty-day period; and plainly in front of

Evidently there was contemporary discord on the matter. Anania also touches briefly on a dispute over the blessing of crosses corroborating the discussion at 796 and confirming in this too was a point of tension.

<sup>440</sup> Isaiah 5:20.

<sup>441</sup> T'ēop'ilos/Theophilos, in Greek 'God-loving'. This suggests that the name of the metropolitan of Sebasteia may have been Theophilos and that this comment is ironic. The following statement of faith is sophisticated, allusive, and abbreviated, making a satisfactory translation all but impossible in places.

<sup>442</sup> Although reminiscent of several verses, this is not obviously biblical in origin.

them he ascended from [243] the Mount of Olives in a cloud with the ranks of angels; he came to the heights of heaven and was seated at the right hand of the majesty of God the Father, as the first martyr, Step'anos, saw,<sup>443</sup> and after him, the chosen instrument Paul.<sup>444</sup> He shall come again at his glorious coming to judge the living and the dead, not in the body and not without a body but in terms that he himself comprehends, in an even more divinely resembling body, so that he shall be seen by those who wounded and he shall exist and shall remain God beyond a material presence, because he will not descend like dew on a fleece,<sup>445</sup> as at [800] his first coming, but he will come in wonder, a shining light with sublime rays, in supreme astonishing miraculous appearance, as the Redeemer himself says, that: 'The son of man shall come with glory of the Father and all the angels with him';<sup>446</sup> and Daniel says, 'I saw among the clouds of heaven one like a son of man who comes'.<sup>447</sup>

Now, shall you acknowledge one indivisible nature, the one who came and will come in the name of the Lord? Shall you escape from the division of those who divide the holy and are the first in line for the fire? Truly, rather will you be fellow members of the synods and will you worship the Trinity with us and will you glorify the Son and the Father with the Holy Spirit who is blessed for ever? Amen.

#### [244] Chapter 22

*How, by means of a very cruel death, the metropolitan of Sebasteia died; and in relation to the kings of the Bulgars, those who killed him*

On receiving this letter, the metropolitan was filled with shame. He did not, however, abandon his wicked ways. In the same year,<sup>448</sup> king Basil sent him to the country of the Bulgars to make peace. They requested the sister of king Basil in marriage to their [king] and the king gave a woman from his servants, similar in appearance to his sister, and sent in the care of the metropolitan.<sup>449</sup> When they arrived in the country of the Bulgars, they recognized that woman.

<sup>443</sup> Acts 7:55.                      <sup>444</sup> Acts 9:15.

<sup>445</sup> This is an allusion to Judges 6:36–40, but used allegorically to describe Christ's first coming.

<sup>446</sup> Matthew 25:31.                      <sup>447</sup> Daniel 7:13.

<sup>448</sup> The last date to be mentioned, in III.20, was AE 435 (25.iii.986–24.iii.987).

<sup>449</sup> This account is unique. Basil's sister Anna (born 13 March 963) was indeed married off to a leading figure in the north, but to Vladimir, king of the Rus', in 989, rather than a Bulgar. The identity of the Bulgar king is also mysterious. According to Skylitzes, the two sons of Peter, Boris and Romanos, had escaped from Constantinople shortly after the death of Tzimiskes in 976, but Boris, who was married with children, was killed at the border: Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, 297 and 328–9; YA II, 418. His brother Romanos was a eunuch: Skylitzes, *Synopsis* 328. It seems more likely that this passage was intended to show how the oppressive metropolitan of Sebasteia got his just deserts as well as justifying Basil's campaign into Bulgaria reported in the following chapter.

They condemned the metropolitan as a dog and deceitful, and surrounding him with straw and kindling, the kings of the Bulgars burned him with fire.<sup>450</sup> There were two brothers who were called Komsajagk'.<sup>451</sup> The name of the eldest was Samuēl, of Armenian [801] descent, from the district of Derjan;<sup>452</sup> king Basil had conveyed him and his contingents of *salark'* to Macedonia, to fight against the Bulgars.<sup>453</sup> At an opportune time, they rebelled against the king of the Greeks and went to the king of the Bulgars, who was a eunuch, and were honoured in his eyes in reward for their valour.<sup>454</sup>

After this, the king of the Greeks, Basil, [245] seized in battle the king of the Bulgars, the castrated eunuch.<sup>455</sup> Then the Komsajagk' gained control of the

<sup>450</sup> *zšun*, dog, clearly a gross insult, as confirmed by its use in MU ii.43 [216.10–220.8], which records how Markos, metropolitan of Caesarea, had named his dog Armēn and called every dog Armēn; allegedly he was placed in a sack with Armēn and eaten alive. The fate of the metropolitan of Sebasteia here is similar to the execution of the mentally disturbed man reported later in III.29.

<sup>451</sup> *Komsajagk'*, children of the count; a calque of the Greek *Κομητόπουλοι*. See Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, 255–6 and 328–30, and YA II, 418, for the use of this term. Skylitzes notes that there were four brothers: David, Moses, Aaron, and Samuēl, the children of a powerful Bulgar count. Yahya II, 418, envisages only a single figure, named Komētopoulos. Skylitzes seems to imply that Samuēl's three brothers were dead before Basil II attacked in August 986, but Holmes, *Basil II*, 491, notes that this need not be the case; indeed, one of the interpolations made by Michael of Devrol indicates that Aaron was still alive when Basil invaded, and this reference to two brothers supports this.

<sup>452</sup> Flusin and Cheynet, *Jean Skylitzès Empereurs de Constantinople*, 275 and n. 63, note that the fourteenth-century manuscript U (*Vindob. Hist. Gr.* 74) records that the name of the count was Nicholas and the name of their mother was Ripsime. Holmes, *Basil II*, 76, gives the widely held opinion that a Macedonian bishop, Michael of Devrol, was responsible for the interpolations into Skylitzes at the start of the twelfth century. An inscription dated 992/3 CE from the church of St Germanos in Prespa reads: '...I, Samuel, servant of God, lay this cross in memory of [my] father and mother and brother. These are the names of the deceased: Nicolas, servant of God, [Ripsime] and David. Written in the year of Creation 6501, indiction [3]': A. Milanova and M. Zlatkov, "Invincible in Power and Unsurpassable in Bravery": *The Bulgarian Tsar Samuel († 1014)* (Sofia, 2014), 6. Derjan: Derxene, in western Armenia, to the west of Theodosiopolis, on the upper Euphrates.

<sup>453</sup> *gunds salarac'n*, infantry contingents. *salark'*, a Persian term which underwent several changes in meaning but at this time seems to refer to infantry. Macedonia: perhaps the focus of military operations after 976. Step'anos is the only author to record that Samuēl initially fought for Basil II and switched sides later on.

<sup>454</sup> The transfer of allegiance occurred at an unknown date. The castrated Bulgar king can only be Romanos, son of Peter, on whom, see n. 449. Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, 328, reports that he was castrated by the *parakoimomenos* Joseph. Joseph Bringas was a dominant figure in the reign of Romanos II but was deposed by Nikephoros II Phokas in 963 and exiled to the monastery called Asekretis in Pythia, near to Pylai, where he died two years later. If Bringas was indeed responsible for the castration, this probably occurred early in 963 CE.

<sup>455</sup> This event is otherwise unattested. As Holmes has noted, 'working out why and when Basil and Bulgaria came to blows in the first place is a considerable problem': *Basil II*, 488. Skylitzes reports that Romanos, son of Peter, emperor of the Bulgars, handed over the city of Skopje to Basil II, perhaps in 1003 or 1004, but this seems to be describing a different episode: Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, 346.

country of the Bulgars and resisted the king of the Greeks in hard-fought engagements, which we shall recount at the appropriate time.<sup>456</sup>

### Chapter 23

*How the king of the Greeks, Basil, travelled with his forces to the country of the Bulgars and, on being defeated, he returned from here in flight*

After this, king Basil himself gathered forces to go to the country of the Bulgars. He set out with determination and courage and occupied the centre of the country with a vast army. The Bulgars hastened and seized the narrow places, the defiles of the passes of the route (because these are wooded places and difficult to pass through); there they trapped the king with all his force and put everyone to the sword.<sup>457</sup> The infantry contingent of Armenians surrounded king Basil behind and in front and took him across another mountainous route and extricated him to Macedonia.<sup>458</sup> The entire cavalry force was abandoned to them together with their equipment and the palace of the king.<sup>459</sup> [246]

### Chapter 24

*The departure of the usurper Bardas from Baghdad and his entry into the country of the Romans*

In this year, which was 435 of the Armenian Era, Gabriël, the priest of Sebasteia, was tortured and died and [802] the metropolitan who was behind his torture was himself tortured and killed in a cruel manner by the Bulgars through the vengeance of God, and the force of Basil was defeated in the country of the Bulgars.<sup>460</sup>

<sup>456</sup> It is very hard to determine if this is an accurate summary of events before Basil II's campaign of 986, or an imagined context against which to situate that campaign. The specific reference to the capture of Romanos lends weight to the first interpretation whilst the final phrase supports the second.

<sup>457</sup> YA II, 419, records that the battle took place on 16 August 986, 'the tenth year of his reign', and confirms that Basil fled, leaving his baggage train and his treasures to be pillaged and large numbers of soldiers to be killed. Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, 330–1, supplies a detailed political context for the disaster but also notes the loss of the baggage train, including the imperial tent. Leo the Deacon, *Historia*, X.8 [172–3] offers an eyewitness account of the battle, recording the loss of huge numbers of men as well as the imperial command tent, riches, and all the baggage. He also specifies that the ambush occurred in a wooded defile.

<sup>458</sup> *hetewakagundn Hayoc'*, infantry contingent of Armenians. This detail is unique to Step'anos. Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, 331, records that Basil II sought refuge in Philippopolis.

<sup>459</sup> *palatamb t'agaworin*, palace of the king, i.e. the imperial tent, mentioned in the three other accounts; see n. 457.

<sup>460</sup> AE 435: 25.iii.986–24.iii.987. Very unusually, Step'anos summarizes three previous chapters, III.20, 22, and 23, one of which is located before the letter to the metropolitan of Sebasteia. The three are connected chronologically, occurring—or being associated with—the same year.

In the same year, king Bardas<sup>461</sup> left Baghdad and entered Melitene, because Ipn Xosrov, whom we mentioned above, at his death had given his son an order to release king Bardas from his bonds because there was a sworn agreement.<sup>462</sup> He released him with weapons and clothing and horses and with all his own men and removed him some considerable distance from the city of Baghdad.<sup>463</sup> All the common rabble of the city was incited to kill him.<sup>464</sup> But the nomadic Arabs opposed; they took the king and led [him] across deserted places in their tents and from there they swiftly reached the city of Melitene, taking 31 days to travel from Babylon.<sup>465</sup> All the forces of the country came [247] in submission completely, Bat, the *amir* of Apahunik', and Np'rkert and the nomadic Arabs who were with him.<sup>466</sup> The earlier turmoil returned and was stirred up in the country of the Greeks.

### Chapter 25

#### *The campaign of Bardas Phokas and the seizing of king Bardas and his own accession as king*

Then Bardas who [was] also [named] Phokas, at the command of Basil, went out against him in battle with all the forces of the Greeks and Iberians.<sup>467</sup> He sent deceitful messages to him via his envoys saying, 'Come, so that we may make peace with one another and so that we may divide the countries of the Greeks between us, destroying the kingship of Basil.'<sup>468</sup> King Bardas

<sup>461</sup> *t'agaworn Vard*, king Bardas: Bardas Skleros. See III.15, where he is also titled king, and the contemporary treaty with Šamšan al-Dawla which names him Bardas, king of Rūm: M. Canard, 'Deux documents arabes sur Bardas Skleros', *Studi Bizantini e neoellenici* 5 (1939), 55–69.

<sup>462</sup> Ipn Xosrov: the Buyid *amir* of Baghdad, 'Aḡud al-Dawla, who died on 9 March 983. Two of his sons challenged for power: Šamšan al-Dawla, established in Baghdad and Shirdil, titled Sharaf al-Dawla, established in Širāz, the capital of Fārs. A treaty was signed between them in June or early July 986 and it was therefore the former with whom Bardas Skleros negotiated his release. See YA II, 419, implying that Skleros took the initiative rather than relying upon an earlier agreement, suggested here.

<sup>463</sup> YA II, 419, records that more than 300 of his supporters were released with him in December 986 or early January 987 and that their weapons and horses were returned to them; after seven years' confinement; this seems unlikely, but their rearmament seems certain.

<sup>464</sup> YA II, 420 records that his release generated much adverse comment among the local population, prompting him to depart quickly.

<sup>465</sup> *Arapik'* rather than Tačikk'. YA II, 420, records that Skleros and his companions were escorted across the desert by the Banu Noumeir, a Bedouin tribe, to Melitene, which they reached in February 987 (during the month of *chawwal* 376 AH: 3.ii.987–3.iii.987).

<sup>466</sup> Bat: Bādh b. Dustuk, the founder of the Kurdish Marwānid dynasty, see above III.14. YA II, 421 records that Skleros sought assistance from the Kurdish Badh, governor of Diyarbakr/Āmid, who sent his brother Abu-Āli with numerous troops. The same passage also notes that many 'Uḡayli and Numayrī Arabs gathered around Skleros, along with many Armenians. This is remarkably close to Step'anos' narrative.

<sup>467</sup> The close ties between Bardas Phokas and David of Tayk' were noted at III.15 and n. 232.

<sup>468</sup> YA II, 421 also credits Bardas Phokas with taking the initiative in the negotiations, inviting Skleros to send his brother Constantine, who was also Phokas' brother-in-law. The invitation is

believed him and he dismissed the Arab forces. When they met one another, Bardas Phokas broke his oath and after seven days captured Bardas the *siklaros*;<sup>469</sup> he ordered him to be conveyed with an armed escort [803] to the fortress of Žeravs.<sup>470</sup> The Arab force which had been dispatched by the *siklaros* travelled to their dwelling-places. When they heard the news of the arrest of the *siklaros* [248] in the city of Žeravs, they seized [all the territory] from the south as far as Apahunik<sup>4</sup>.

In 435 of the Era, Bardas who was also Phokas became a usurper king.<sup>471</sup> For two years he attacked the royal city of Constantinople, using the whole army of Greeks and Iberians. He constructed a fortress opposite the royal city and appointed Delphinas *mažistros* as its commander together with a garrison, so that no one could exit the city and those outside could not enter.<sup>472</sup> But the guardian of the harbour secured a peace treaty with king Basil.<sup>473</sup> One night he allowed all the forces of the city and those of the western regions to cross to this side. The latter had come from behind the fortress and had been hidden and concealed. From the direction of the city, at dawn, they prepared battle-ships with torches to attack the fortress. When those who were in the fortress saw this, they went out in battle against them. Then the force hidden in the rear rose up and massacred the forces of Delphinas with the sword and threw them into the sea. They also captured Delphinas, the head of the army, whom they took into the presence of king Basil; he was condemned to be mounted on wood.<sup>474</sup> This occurred in 437 of the Era.<sup>475</sup> [249]

recorded in almost identical terms. Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, 334–5 records that it was Skleros who took the lead, contacting both Basil II and Bardas Phokas.

<sup>469</sup> YA II, 422, reports that they met at Ceyhan, for which see III.14 and n. 219. *siklaros*, a rendering of Skleros.

<sup>470</sup> YA II, 422, records that he was imprisoned in a fortress but does not name it. Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, 336, names it as the fortress of Tyropoion. See III.8, which reports that Bardas Phokas was king in the Žrung. The location of the fortress or city of Žeravs is unknown.

<sup>471</sup> According to YA II, 423, Bardas Phokas was proclaimed emperor on a Wednesday, the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, 14 September 987. AE 435 equates to 25.iii.986–24.iii.987, but it could be dating the start of his rebellion rather than his elevation as emperor.

<sup>472</sup> The unidentified fortress was constructed at Chrysopolis, on the Bosphoros, opposite Constantinople. *Tlp'inas*: Kalokyros Delphinas was *patrikios*, *anthypatos*, and *katapano* of Italy before joining Bardas Phokas. For parallel passages, see Leo the Deacon, *Historia*, X.9 [173]; Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, 336; and YA II, 424, although the latter offers less detail. Delphinas is not titled *magistros* in any other source but it may be the case that this was used by Step'anos to identify the *domestikos*.

<sup>473</sup> The treachery of this unnamed harbourmaster is not recorded in any other source. The following narrative supplies the fullest account of the campaign.

<sup>474</sup> The fate of Delphinas is recorded in near-identical terms in Leo the Deacon, *Historia*, X.9 [174], and Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, 336; it is missing in Yahya's narrative.

<sup>475</sup> AE 437: 24.iii.488–23.iii.989.



## Chapter 26

*The coming of Bardas Phokas to the shore of the sea with his forces and the advance of Basil and killing him*

Then Bardas Phokas dismissed the Iberian forces and he himself with all the forces of the Greeks advanced to the edge of the sea.<sup>476</sup> At the coming of another year, while it was spring,<sup>477</sup> king [804] Basil with his brother Constantine and all the forces went out.<sup>478</sup> Dividing the forces into two, he sent one part across the sea against the camp of Bardas; they arrived and burned his ships with fire on the shore of the sea. The king himself went by dry land and approached the camp.<sup>479</sup> At the burning of the ships—because he had given that as a sign—he commanded the battle-trumpets to be sounded, and the army of Bardas was thrown into confusion, became terrified, and turned in flight. And Bardas himself, the usurper king, died in a cruel manner, in 438 of the Era.<sup>480</sup> [250]

## Chapter 27

*The appearance of a star and the shaking of Constantinople and the death of the rebel Ćortuanēl*

In the same year, in 438 of the Era, the star in the shape of a lance appeared a second time in the month *k'āloc'*, on day 15 of the month, at the festival of the Assumption of the all-holy Virgin, the Mother of God;<sup>481</sup> appearing from

<sup>476</sup> This is not mentioned by Leo the Deacon or Skylitzes. YA II, 423–4, records the dramatic events unfolding in the east. Basil II sent Grigor *magistros*, the former prince of Tarōn, by sea to Trebizond to rally support. In response, Bardas sent his son Nikephoros to David of Tayk' asking him to confront Grigor, which he duly did, using his own men and a force of one thousand men under the command of the two sons of Bagrat, who were *patrikioi* holding military office in Chaldea. They defeated Grigor. Yahya's narrative therefore provides the context for this otherwise mysterious reference to the dismissal of the Iberian forces. Phokas himself continued to besiege the key port of Abydos.

<sup>477</sup> AE 438: 24.iii.989–23.iii.990. According to the Armenian calendar, therefore, the year did begin in springtime. YA II, 426 records that the battle of Abydos took place on 13 April 989.

<sup>478</sup> Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, 337, also refers to the presence of Basil II's brother, Constantine.

<sup>479</sup> Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, 337, records that Basil II divided his forces and that he himself approached from behind. However, this notice confirms that Basil took the land route; the implication is that Constantine commanded the naval attack. Leo the Deacon, *Historia*, X.9 [174], supplies a very similar narrative, including the burning of ships, but omits the role of Constantine.

<sup>480</sup> The death of Bardas Phokas is contested. Leo the Deacon, *Historia*, X.9 [174–5], and Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, 337, report that he fell dead on the ground from his horse, although whether as a result of poison or a brain haemorrhage is unclear. His head was cut off and paraded in Constantinople and around the empire. This could be the cruel death to which Step'anos refers, assuming that he was beheaded while still alive. Intriguingly, Step'anos does not address the fate of Skleros, who vanishes from the narrative.

<sup>481</sup> 15 *k'āloc'* 438 AE equates to 5 August 989 CE. Macler, *Histoire universelle*, 132 and n. 4, observed that this feast always fell between 12 and 18 August and suggested a scribal error, replacing 15 with 25.

the direction of the east, it sent its rays of light towards the south for several days; and then having changed its aspect, it stayed over the western country towards the west, stretching its lance-shaped light towards the east.<sup>482</sup>

A few days later, the country of the Greeks was shaken by a terrible earthquake.<sup>483</sup> Many cities and villages and districts were devastated, particularly in the country of Thrace and Byzantium;<sup>484</sup> for the sea, which used to flow gently between them, surged through the shaking, to the extent that in the royal city of Constantinople it demolished and destroyed magnificent and illustrious decoration; superb columns and statues and very large churches. It even struck the very [church of] Sophia itself, which is the cathedral, [which was] split from top to bottom [251].<sup>485</sup> Consequently there were many attempts by ingenious [805] Greek architects to restore it again. But the leading architect of the Armenians, Trdat the stoneworker, happened to be there; he offered a plan of the building and through clever invention, he prepared models of the apparatus and started the rebuilding; it was constructed beautifully, more brilliant than before.<sup>486</sup>

Another of the rebels who had been with Bardas Phokas remained outstanding: Č'ortuanēl the *mažistros*, nephew of T'örnük the monk who had seized the regions of Derjan and Tarön.<sup>487</sup> King Basil sent against him Žan

<sup>482</sup> Although comets were often interpreted as portents of imminent disaster, and one could interpret the second half of this notice in terms of Byzantine military expansion eastwards and specifically into Armenia, it is striking that Halley's Comet did indeed appear in September 989. It is described in very similar terms by Leo the Deacon, *Historia*, X.10 [175].

<sup>483</sup> Leo the Deacon, *Historia*, X.10, records that the earthquake took place on the eve of the Feast of the great martyr Demetrios, namely 25 October 989. YA II, 428–9, records great tremors in the fourteenth year of Basil's reign, in the year 379 AH (11.iv.989–31.iii.990). Skylitzes, *Synopsis* 331–2, dates this event to October 986, but this is clearly erroneous: Holmes, *Basil II*, 37 and n. 37.

<sup>484</sup> YA II, 429, records that many in Nikomedia were crushed in their houses. Leo the Deacon, *Historia*, X.10 [176] also refers to the destruction of the districts near Byzantium, the archaic name for Constantinople.

<sup>485</sup> This features in all four texts, although only Leo the Deacon, *Historia*, X.10 [176], specifies that both a half-dome and the western apse collapsed. The symbolism of this collapse would not have been lost on the author. Leo adds that it took six years to repair.

<sup>486</sup> This is unique to Step'anos. For Trdat, see C. Maranci, 'The Architect Trdat: Building Practices and Cross-cultural Exchange in Byzantium and Armenia', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 62.3 (2003), 294–305. Trdat was also responsible for the patriarchal church at Argina and the cathedral at Ani; see III.11 and n. 203. He was not the only contemporary architect. An inscription on the southern façade of a church north-east of Ani, known variously as Karmirvank' and Xošvank' and dedicated to St Grigor, records the role of the architect Samehan in its construction in 985: A. A. Manuč'aryan, *K'nnut'yun Hayastani IV–XI dareri šinarakan vkayagrevi* (Erevan, 1977), 174–8.

<sup>487</sup> Behind Č'ortuanēl lies the name Chordvanel/Tzordvaneli. Nephew: brother's son, *elbōrordi*. For T'örnük and his extended family, see P. Peeters, 'Un colophon géorgien de Thornik le moine', *AB* 50 (1932), 358–71; and B. Martin-Hisard, 'La Vie de Jean et Euthyme: le statut du monastère des Ibères sur l'Athos', *REB* 49 (1991), 67–142. Peeters confirms that T'örnük's (deceased) father was called Chordvanel and he seems to have had a homonymous brother and nephew, making secure identification very difficult. Euthymius was the son of Ioanē Varaz

*patrik*, who was also called Poitiz.<sup>488</sup> He came and fought once; and at the second [engagement] they killed him on the plain of Bagarič, in the district of Derjan, in 439 of the Era.<sup>489</sup> From then on the country of the Greeks was at peace, subjected under the control of Basil.

## Chapter 28

### *The expulsion of Theodosius from the kingship of Abkhazia and the elevation of Bagarat, son of Gurgēn, as king*

A few years before this, the leading figures of the country had blinded the king of Abkhazia, Theodosius, removing from him the office of king.<sup>490</sup> [252] The *kouropalates* David of Tayk' and Smbat, king of Armenia, made as king of Abkhazia Bagarat, son of Gurgēn, grandson of Bagarat, king of Iberia.<sup>491</sup> And when his grandmother died, his grandfather Bagarat took another wife, who expelled Gurgēn, son of Bagarat, from his patrimony.<sup>492</sup>

Consequently the son of Gurgēn, the king of Abkhazia, marched with many forces from the country of the Sarmatians [806] against the *kouropalates* David and his grandfather Bagarat; he crossed to this side through the Caucasian mountains and went and camped at the bank of the river called Kur.<sup>493</sup>

Vačē and thus also a nephew of T'ornik. See III.15 for an earlier reference to T'ornik, and III.37, 40, and 43 for the fates of other relatives, including another Chordvanel. YA II, 429 records that Basil II sent the *patrikios* Djakrous against two sons of Bagrat, *magistros* of Chaldea, because they had supported Bardas Phokas. The two accounts seem to be versions of the same event.

<sup>488</sup> *Žan patrik*, John *patrikios*. The meaning of Poitiz is not clear; it does not point to any relationship with the Bourtzes family, which is rendered Burčn: III.35. Chapter III.34 confirms that this is John Chaldos, later *magistros*, who was captured by Samuēl in 996 and spent 22 years in prison.

<sup>489</sup> Bagarič, on the south bank of the upper Euphrates, in the district of Derjan/Derxene. AE 439: 24.iii.990–23.iii.991. This implies that the mopping up of erstwhile supporters of Phokas took some time.

<sup>490</sup> T'ewtas, king of Ap'xazk': Theodosius III of Abkhazia. This must be after 977/8 CE, when David and Smbat were at odds with one another; see III.11 above. Theodosius III reigned from c.975 to c.978.

<sup>491</sup> All the manuscripts read Smbat, son of Gurgēn, but this is a scribal error for Bagarat. This figure is Bagarat III of Abkhazia (c.979–1014), son of Gurgēn, future king of K'art'li/Iberia (994–1008) and grandson of Bagarat II, the current king of K'art'li/Iberia (958–94). Bagarat III was also a nephew of Theodosius III through his mother Goranduxt, daughter of Giorgi II of Abkhazia; his accession was not therefore as random as this condensed passage implies. The Georgian Chronicles record that the childless David *kouropalates* had raised him as his son and successor: see *Book of K'art'li*, 275; English trans. R. W. Thomson, *Rewriting Caucasian History: The Medieval Armenian Adaptation of the Georgian Chronicles. The Original Georgian Texts and the Armenian Adaptation*, Oxford Oriental Monographs (Oxford, 1996), 275.

<sup>492</sup> This implies that Bagarat II and his new wife had a child whose rights were now being protected.

<sup>493</sup> Clearly time has passed since Bagarat III became king of Abkhazia, for this passage confirms that David *kouropalates* was now allied with Bagarat II against his former protégé Bagarat III. His advance is recorded in the Georgian *Book of K'art'li*, 276–8, which however offers a different context, namely an attempt by Bagarat III to capture the *erist'avi* Rat, father of Liparit.

The *kouropalates*, David of Tayk', and Bagarat, king of Iberia, contacted the king of Armenia, Smbat, summoning [him] to their assistance. He took all the forces of Armenia and his brother Gagik and went to them to the district of Ĵavaxac'; and they camped in the village which is called Dlivek, together with the young Abas, king of Kars, and his red-clothed contingent.<sup>494</sup> The whole force of Iberia and the princes of Vaspurakan, of Siwnik', and of Albania united against the force of Abkhazians.<sup>495</sup> They became frightened, requested peace, and established good relations between one another. The *kouropalates* David requested from the king of Abkhazia the fortress of Sakurēt', and having received it, gave it to the king of Armenia, Smbat, as a present to him in return for his assistance.<sup>496</sup> At [253] the death of Smbat, they took away from Armenia the fortress of Sakurēt' once again. When they had established peace with one another, they returned each to his own dwelling-place. This happened in 437 of the Era.<sup>497</sup>

### Chapter 29

#### *The evil deeds of Smbat and his death*

While the actions of the king of Armenia, Smbat, were successful, in both internal and external affairs, and he boasted at the abundance of bread and profusion of wine, yet he sinned; his heart became proud and he rose above himself. He committed three wicked deeds, difficult to describe and worthy of tears.<sup>498</sup>

The first was that he burned to death an innocent man for the following reason. He had granaries of grass and grain in [807] the city of Ani, which had been filled over many years.<sup>499</sup> They burned down. There was a certain man in the city who was confused and mentally incapacitated. At dawn, he was praying in the church with the congregation. He stepped out and lifted up the source of the flame which heated the incense and caused it to smell. And the people said, 'What is that?' And he said, 'I am going to set fire to the

<sup>494</sup> Ĵavaxac':Ĵavaxet'i. Dlivek: the *Book of K'art'li*, 277, records that they besieged the fortress of Dliv, in Ĵavaxet'i, south of Axalkalak'i. Abas became king of Kars in AE 433 (25.iii.984–24.iii.985); see III.17. *karmrazgest zgundn*, red-clothed contingent, a rare insight into contemporary military dress.

<sup>495</sup> The *Book of K'art'li*, 277, refers to David *kouropalates* calling on 'all the kings of Armenia'. This episode shows David at the height of his powers, during the rebellion of Bardas Phokas.

<sup>496</sup> Sakurēt': Saxuret'i, north-east of Samšvilde, south of Tiflis. The *Book of K'art'li*, 276 reports that Ĵat held all of K'art'li south of the river Kur, including Skiwret'i. Evidently David rewarded Smbat with a fortress at the north-eastern limits of his kingdom, implying that Samšvilde was under his control.

<sup>497</sup> AE 437: 24.iii.988–23.iii.989.

<sup>498</sup> The three anecdotes criticize the character and conduct of Smbat II Bagratuni; this is remarkable, given that his brother Gagik was king at the time of composition.

<sup>499</sup> The location of these stores is not known. That both grain and hay was stored implies the presence of horses—and hence stables—within the city.

granaries of the king.' And they went [254] and repeated this to the king. He ordered that they should first tear out his eyes and then surround him with stalks and reeds and then burn it all up. When they had done this, they threw [his body] outside the city.

There were some hermits who happened to be in the city. When they heard the news, they came to the piteous sight. They wanted to place the body of the Christian in the ground and they buried [it] according to the rite of Christians.<sup>500</sup> When the king heard about this, he was infuriated and in great wrath; he commanded that the body of the Christian that had been burned should be removed at night and thrown to the dogs. At dawn the next day, the monks intended to leave through the gate of the city, to travel to their own dwelling-places.<sup>501</sup> When they saw that he had become carrion for dogs, they raised shouts and wept at the piteous sight. They pronounced execrable curses upon the king and in their angered hearts they said, 'In the same way, his bones shall be removed from the tomb.' This in fact is what happened.

The second of his wrongdoings was that he broke the oath which he had established with the *amir* of Golt'an, respecting it according to heathen fashion rather than preserving it according to Christian religion.<sup>502</sup> He became an oath-violator and gave the Armenian forces to support Salar, in order to make him *amir*.<sup>503</sup> This would have been rejected by God, if he had not been deterred by the suspicion of treachery on the part of his brother Gagik.<sup>504</sup>

The third evil is even more appalling; he had sexual intercourse with his niece.<sup>505</sup>

Through all these wicked deeds, he antagonized the one who must not be angered, God. Thus, in his great wrath [255] God struck first his wife and she died,<sup>506</sup> when the king had been plunged into great mourning on her account, [808] he himself was struck with a fever involving a painful inflammation. He died from this and was buried in the same city, in 438 of the Era.<sup>507</sup>

<sup>500</sup> *ēst ōrini k'ristonēic'*, according to the rite of Christians, a strange phrase which could imply that Ani contained different religious communities at this time.

<sup>501</sup> This indicates that the gates of the city were shut at night and opened at dawn; a curfew may also be implied.

<sup>502</sup> See III.12, 13, and 19. The *amir* of Golt'an was Abū Dulaf, who controlled Dvin at this time.

<sup>503</sup> Salar: the Sallārid Abū al Ḥayjā b. Ibrāhīm b. Marzbān b. Muḥammad b. Musāfir, grandson of Marzbān or Marzubān. His confrontation with Abū Dulaf and his fate were reported above at III.12; he was strangled in the capital of David *kouropalates*, Uht'is/Olt'isi, before 987 CE.

<sup>504</sup> Evidently Gagik was on good terms with Abū Dulaf, and this dissuaded Smbat II from switching sides.

<sup>505</sup> *zdustr k'uern*, daughter of his sister. An inscription at Mren dated 992 CE records the transfer of a vineyard to the church by 'Sop'i, daughter of the great Ašot *šahanšah* of Armenia and Virk', queen', and hence Smbat's sister: Ališan, *Širak*, 138. It could therefore have been Sop'i's daughter who was involved.

<sup>506</sup> Her identity is not known.

<sup>507</sup> AE 438: 24.iii.989–23.iii.990. It is intriguing to note that he was buried in Ani rather than in a family mausoleum.

And then a certain woman from the city described a dream for many days, that ‘the king has been placed in the tomb using sleep-inducing draughts and he is alive and he has appeared to me’. The news disturbed the whole city, until his brother Gagik ordered the same man who had removed the corpse of the one who had been burned to death to go and remove [the corpse] and to look at it and report back to the city and the forces that, ‘Behold, he has died.’ Thus, through this other matter, the Lord fulfilled the prediction of the monks, because he is a righteous judge who repays in part now but in full in the future.

### Chapter 30

#### *The accession of Gagik as king and whatever transpired in his days*

Immediately after Smbat, on the very same day, Gagik his brother became king, in 438 of the Era, during the days of winter, in the city of Ani.<sup>508</sup> [256]

He controlled many fortresses and districts along the borders of Vayoc’ Jor and Xaç’ēn and P’arisos, more than his brother.<sup>509</sup> There was no one who caused us Armenians to be afraid, right up until the day when I wrote this record. He was a sharp-witted man, experienced in war and generous in distributing [largesse]. He freed the levy of taxes from many places and he performed the night offices on Sundays with psalm-singing—but, alas, he had one sin which prevents me from including a eulogy in my history.<sup>510</sup>

His wife, queen Katramidē, the daughter of Vasak, prince of Siwnik’, was pious.<sup>511</sup> She constructed the church whose foundation had been laid by Smbat [809] in a magnificent and elegant style, a dwelling similar to heaven with a dome and a very high vault; and she decorated it with tapestries of various colours, embroidered with purple flowers and threaded with gold, with silver and gold vessels, and with the elegance of very bright, light-giving lamps, by means of which the holy cathedral, which was in the city of Ani, blazed like the heavenly firmament.<sup>512</sup>

<sup>508</sup> This indicates Gagik succeeded during the winter of 989/90.

<sup>509</sup> Step’anos is reflecting on Gagik’s achievements at the time of composition, after a decade in power, and records expansion south-eastwards, down both sides of lake Sewan. P’arisos was to the north-east of lake Sewan, Vayoc’ Jor to the south of the lake, and Xaç’ēn to the south-east.

<sup>510</sup> Macler, *Histoire universelle*, 138 and n.7 suggested ‘une faute politique’, but in the light of the highly personal criticisms of Smbat II in the previous chapter, this seems unlikely.

<sup>511</sup> Katramidē here, but Katranidē in the inscription on the southern façade of the cathedral in Ani; see Örbelyan, *CIArm* 1, no. 101. In the inscription she is also described as daughter of Vasak, king of Siwnik’; cf. MU i.10 [14.6–7], where she is described as the daughter of George, king of K’art’li/Iberia.

<sup>512</sup> This may be compared with the description of the cathedral at Argina, at III.9. For the hanging of tapestries on the walls of churches, see also the description of the church built by bishop Step’anos at Aparank’ to house the relic of the holy Cross, which imagines the building as a combination of different textiles: Grigor Narekac’i, *Patmut’iwn Aparanic’ Xaç’in*, 922.81–924.100.

Their—Smbat's and Gagik's—nephew David, son of Gurgēn, together with his brother Smbat occupied the regions of Taširk', and the plain of Iberia and Samšvilde, the great city-like fortress.<sup>513</sup> He established this for himself as a royal residence. Then swiftly he took control of the city of Dmanec' and subjugated even the *amir* of Tiflis, along with his city.<sup>514</sup> Although he was in the years of adolescence, [257] the young man became outstanding both in size and elegance; he grew wise in understanding, pleasing to God and man, emboldened through courage; he became very powerful in strength and victorious over all his opponents.<sup>515</sup>

The *amir* of Ganjak, P'atun, hastened to make war against him lest, growing stronger, he might conquer him.<sup>516</sup> Then David fought with steadfast heart and defeated him; he put his forces to the sword and drowned them in the river. He himself escaped in flight by the skin of his teeth.

At that time, the *marzpan* Demetr, who was prince in the fortress of Gag, on the border of that one, became mistrusted by him; he abandoned the traditional faith of being Armenian [*hayut'iwn*] and accepted the support of Iberians as allies.<sup>517</sup> The doubly dead water from them washed him and he appointed his son *mamp'ul* of Taširk', in the monastery of Hiwnē.<sup>518</sup> David, the young man furnished with beautiful flowers and a king of tender age, then cleverly expelled him from the fortress of Gag; he deprived him of all of his fortresses and his whole patrimony; he then wandered and travelled around, but he was killed in a very cruel manner. His family was extinguished. Demetr learned that those who depart [810] from the Lord perish, die, and finally are consumed.<sup>519</sup> [258]

<sup>513</sup> As noted previously, Smbat and Gurgēn feature in relief on the exterior of the monastery of Halbat: see III.8 and n. 152. If Gurgēn predeceased his brothers, this would explain the prominence of his sons David and Smbat. Step'anos confirms that David controlled Tašir and the districts to the north and east of it; this became the kingdom of Lori-Tašir. Šamšultē: Samšvilde, 35 miles south-west of Tiflis and highly contested throughout the tenth century.

<sup>514</sup> Dmanec': Dmanis, 25 miles south-west of Samšvilde. It is not clear from whom he seized control. The *amir* of *Tp'leac'*, Tiflis: almost certainly 'Ali b. Ja'far, *amir* between c.981 and 1032 CE. It is not clear when this happened.

<sup>515</sup> This personal reflection on David is in keeping with earlier passages on Abas I, Ašot III, Smbat II, and Gagik I Bagratuni: see III.7, 8, and 29, and this chapter.

<sup>516</sup> Faḍl b. Muḥammad b. Shaddād, *amir* of Ganjak between 985 and 1031 CE. He was of Kurdish origin and had recently driven out the Sallārid Ibrāhīm b. Marzbān b. Muḥammad b. Musāfir.

<sup>517</sup> Demetr: of unknown background and family. As *marzpan* in the fortress of Gag, he was a trusted figure with military responsibility. Gag: in the east of Lori-Tašir, close to several borders, including, it seems, the emirate of Ganjak. He switched allegiance and religious confession, although it is not stated to whom he submitted.

<sup>518</sup> *mamp'al*, Georgian social term meaning 'lord'. Hiwnēvank': unknown, unless it should be equated with Hnavank', close to the city of Lori but a long way from Gag.

<sup>519</sup> Cf. the aphorism at the end of III.29.

## Chapter 31

*The death of lord Xaç'ik*

In the days of lord Xaç'ik, patriarch of Armenia, this people of Armenia spread and extended across the regions of the west, to the extent that he consecrated bishops for it in Antioch of Syria, in Tarsus of Cilicia, and in Sulind, and in all these districts.<sup>520</sup> This man came to the end of his days and finished his life in good old age; he was translated from this world and placed in his tomb on the north side of the church of Argina which he himself had built, in 439 of the Armenian Era, which was reckoned to be in his 19th year; we shall count the days of his patriarchate as 20 years.<sup>521</sup>

## Chapter 32

*The Catholicosate of lord Sargis*

Then in 441 of the Era, Gagik, king of Armenia, appointed as catholicos of Armenia lord Sargis.<sup>522</sup>

This man had been dedicated to God in his childhood years. He was brought up [259] and matured beside his father's brother, a virtuous and diligent husbandman of Christ.<sup>523</sup> He did not devote himself at all to worldly concerns but, shunning the pleasures of transient distractions which unbalance this world, according to the injunction to holiness, he became a servant of the apostolic sanctuaries on the lake of Gefam, at the monastery of Sewan, which the blessed man of God, lord Maštoc', had built.<sup>524</sup> This was in line with his personal desire for the solitary life; his conduct appeared similar to that of the vigilant and incorporeal angels. With psalm-singing and diligent prayers he worshipped before the Lord day and night. [811]

Gagik, in the days of his youth, when he visited the district of Gefam, gave to him a place and a monastery for living in, the monastery which is named after the emanation of divine light, Šoġagay.<sup>525</sup> Then, when he became king of all

<sup>520</sup> Antioch: see III.8 and n. 177, noting its capture on 28 October 969. Tarsus fell on 16 August 965. Sulind: unknown. Since Antioch and Tarsus are located precisely in regions, it appears that something has dropped out of the text which might have otherwise assisted. Macler, *Histoire universelle*, 141, n. 3 offers several suggestions, preferring Seleucia.

<sup>521</sup> AE 439: 24.iii.990–23.iii.991. Argina: see III.11.

<sup>522</sup> AE 441: 23.iii.992–22.iii.993. This suggests an interregnum of at least one year.

<sup>523</sup> The identity of his uncle is not known. It is, however, striking that Yakob, the metropolitan of Siwnik', was the nephew of Yovhannēs V Draxanakertc'i, and that catholicos Xaç'ik I Aršaruni was the nephew of catholicos Anania I Mokac'i. Sargis may have been a nephew of catholicos Step'anos III Sewanc'i. See III.8 for the elevation of Step'anos.

<sup>524</sup> Maštoc', catholicos for nine months in AE 846 (16.iv.897–15.iv.898): see III.3. Step'anos seems to be legitimizing Sargis both in terms of his family background and his association with the monastery at Sewan.

<sup>525</sup> Šoġagay, 'Ray-emitting'. The monastery of Šoġagavank' was located in the district of Gelark'unik', at the south-western end of lake Sewan. This implies that Gagik Bagratuni had



Armenians, he returned him once more to the same place of his upbringing, to the community of Sewan, in order to give to him the honour of the office of abbot and leader. Moreover, in everything he appeared to everyone excellent, with good management, he was pleasing to God and man. After lord Xaç'ik, Gagik, king of Armenia, convened a council of bishops, those who were from this country of Armenia and from the side of the Greeks, whose head was lord Sahak, bishop of Aršarunik'.<sup>526</sup> They settled him on the throne of the office of catholicos with magnificent honour, on the Tuesday after Easter, without any bribe or other worldly inducement.<sup>527</sup> He himself did not chase after the honour; [260] rather, the honour chased after him. Arriving at the glory of the supreme apostolic honour, he retained the same mind in line with his previous humility and he did not alter his conduct; but modelling himself on the image of God, generous in mercy and dressed in humility, with diligent prayers by day and by night, he fulfilled the canon of the rule of the monastic order, labouring eagerly, using the purification of fasting and in bodily appearance, similar to that of St Basil, praised by the Theologian.<sup>528</sup>

### Chapter 33

*How king Basil travelled a second time to the country of the Bulgars and he took the city of Vēra*

When the king of the Greeks had some breathing-space, once the rebels had been eliminated, those who had risen against him, in 440 of the Era, he gathered together troops in a countless multitude in order to attack the country [812] of the Bulgars and exact revenge for his wrongs.<sup>529</sup> He marched

territorial interests in this district before he became king in winter 990. See III.30 and n. 509, which reports Gagik's territorial expansion in the first decade of his rule in the same region.

<sup>526</sup> A fascinating insight into how the Armenian church conceived of itself at this time, distinguishing those in regions under Armenian rule and those now under Byzantine control. Sahak, bishop of Aršarunik': the head of the council, rather than the head of those from the Greek side. This is confirmed by an inscription at the church of Mren, dated to 992 CE, which records how, at 'the command of me, Gagik šahanšah, I have freed the service [zkořn] of Mren which was to Naxčawan of man and ox [zmadoy ev zezin] at the request of the God-honoured lord Sahak, bishop of Ašarunik'...': Ališan, Širak, 138. Another inscription at Mren records the gift of a vineyard, 'that which is on the river-bank...to the holy cathedral, into the hands of the God-honoured and spiritual lord Sahak': Ališan, Širak, 138. This implies that at this date, the episcopal see of Aršarunik' was centred on Mren.

<sup>527</sup> ST I, 811, n. 14. Manuscripts A and C read *erkšabat'oŷ*, O has *erkšabat'woŷ*, Monday: either 28 or 29 March 992.

<sup>528</sup> Respectively, Basil of Caesarea and Gregory of Nazianzus; see Gregory's Funeral Oration on the death of Basil the Great, bishop of Caesarea (Or. 43), para. 61, which considers both his fasting and his appearance: *Grégoire de Nazianze, Discours 42–43*, 256–9.

<sup>529</sup> AE 440: 24.iii.991–22.iii.992. This picks up the Byzantine narrative from the final notice in III.27. YA II, 430, records that Basil II set out on campaign against the Bulgars in 380 AH (31.iii.990–19.iii.991). This suggests the campaign began in spring 991. He adds that it lasted for 4 years.

and besieged the city of Vēra and took it, and he left there the *mažistros* Grigor, son of the prince of Tarōn, with his forces against the Bulgars.<sup>530</sup> He also left with him Sahak, son of Habel, from Hanjit', [261] who had fought on many occasions against the Bulgars.<sup>531</sup> At an unexpected time, they came upon the army of the Bulgars; the son of Grigor, a young man called Ašot, attacked them but was taken prisoner. Then his father applied himself in battle for the sake of his life, but died in the same, with all his troops. They also captured Sahak, who was with him.<sup>532</sup>

### Chapter 34

#### *The sending of Žan patrik to the country of the Bulgars and his detention*

After this, king Basil sent to the east and summoned Žan *patrik*, who had killed Č'ortuanēl; and making him *mažistros*, he sent him to Macedonia against the Bulgar. He fought valiantly on many occasions; later on he was defeated and fell into their hands.<sup>533</sup> They took him and conveyed him to their country and imprisoned him in some fortress and kept him, like Sahak and Ašot. And so the war against the Bulgars lasted for many years. [262]

### Chapter 35

#### *The expedition of the Arab force of Egyptians to the country of the Greeks and the fighting, once and twice, and the campaign of king Basil against them*

At this time, the *amir* of the Egyptians who was in Babylon, named Azaz, sent many forces against the city of Aleppo and the regions of Antioch.<sup>534</sup> The *mažistros* Romanos, son of Skleros, marched against them with a few forces,

<sup>530</sup> Vēra: the city of Berroia. YA II, 431, reports that this was destroyed, although he does not state in which year. Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, 339, records that Basil II left the *magistros* Gregory Tarōnites as commander in the regions of Thrace and Macedonia.

<sup>531</sup> This Sahak is otherwise unknown. Hanjit': Anzitene, east of Melitene.

<sup>532</sup> Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, 341, repeats this account, noting the death of Gregory as he went to try and rescue his son Asotios, who had been captured. Sahak does not feature in Skylitzes' account. The date of Gregory's death is not given and need not have occurred immediately after his appointment, as implied here.

<sup>533</sup> For Žan *patrik*, see III.27 and n. 488. He is to be identified as John Chaldos, *magistros* and *doux* of Thessalonika, who was captured by Samuēl in c.996 and spent the next 22 years in captivity: Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, 347 and 357. See Holmes, *Basil II*, 404 and n. 15. This, therefore, is a cast-forward, something which is implied by the reference to many engagements.

<sup>534</sup> Abū Maṣṣūr Nizār al 'Aziz, Fatimid caliph between December 975 and his death on 13 October 996. Halp: Aleppo. This campaign may have been prompted by the death of the Hamdanid Sa'd al-Dawla in December 991, although the death of al-'Aziz's powerful *wazīr*, Ya'qūb b. Killis, in the same year may also have allowed the caliph to pursue a more ambitious strategy in Syria. At this time: either 991 or 992.

and since he was not able to fight he secured himself in the mountainous regions.<sup>535</sup> [813] They plundered a few places and returned to Egypt.

After the second year, the same *amir* sent all the Maxrarapin and the forces of Jerusalem and Libya to the country of the Greeks, to the same regions of Antioch.<sup>536</sup> Bučn *mažistros* marched against them, at the command of king Basil, in 443 of the Era; he fought on the plain of Burz and was defeated by them and turned in flight.<sup>537</sup> The forces of Arabs pursued them and they put many to the sword and captured several prisoners, including Žanak *patrik*, son of Xōras, and T'oros, pious and God-loving, from the district of Haštēank', and others from the *azats* of the country of Armenia.<sup>538</sup> [263]

When the king of the Greeks heard this, he arrived there in person with his forces; when the Egyptians learned of the arrival of the king, they set fire to the baggage of their camp by night and went in flight to their own country.<sup>539</sup> The king crossed over into this country of theirs, plundered many districts, and built a city on the shore of the great sea, for the security of his forces.<sup>540</sup> He himself turned from there in haste to Constantinople.

## Chapter 36

### *The earthquake in Fourth Armenia*

At the same time, in 444 of the Era, there was an earthquake which was especially severe in the country of Fourth Armenia, Haštēank', Xorjean, Cop'k', Balu, and Pałnatun.<sup>541</sup>

<sup>535</sup> Romanos Skleros, appointed *magistros* by Basil II to stabilize the east while he campaigned in Bulgaria. His exact command is unknown: Holmes, *Basil II*, 346–7.

<sup>536</sup> Maxrarapin: nomadic Arabs from the Maghreb in North Africa. Libyan forces are also mentioned; the specific reference to troops from Jerusalem, however, is surprising.

<sup>537</sup> Bučn: Michael Bourtzes, appointed *doux* of Antioch by June 992: YA II, 438. AE 443: 23.iii.994–22.iii.995. This engagement took place on 15 September 994 at al-Arwadj: YA II, 440. Step'anos does not refer, however, to the role of Leo Melissenos.

<sup>538</sup> These figures are not known; YA II, 441, reports that more than 5000 soldiers were killed but does not supply any names. Haštēank': a district west of Tarōn, under Byzantine control for several decades by this time.

<sup>539</sup> YA II, 442 records that Basil II arrived in Antioch unannounced in April 995 (Rabi' I 385 AH), precipitating an immediate retreat by the Fatimid forces, on 5 May 995. According to YA II 442–3, an Arab raiding party was ambushed by Basil II, using his Bulgar forces; he released them, having cut off their hands.

<sup>540</sup> The city: perhaps Tortosa, captured, rebuilt, and manned with Armenians, according to YA II, 443.

<sup>541</sup> AE 444: 23.iii.995–21.iii.996. Fourth Armenia: according to the seventh-century *Ašxarhacoyc' Movsesi Xorenac'woy*, ed. A. Soukry (Venice, 1881; repr. New York, 1994), 30.7–25, Fourth Armenia comprised eight districts: Xorjajn, Haštēank', Pałnatun, Balaxovit, Cop'k', Anjit', Dēgik, and Gōrēg. All five of the districts identified by Step'anos were therefore part of this province. This was, originally, a Roman provincial designation which overlaid districts of western Armenia; by the tenth century it held no administrative meaning but evidently lived on in Armenian cultural memory.

All the buildings collapsed completely, shaken from their foundations, consistent with the statement, 'He shakes from below, from the foundations and its columns totter',<sup>542</sup> or 'He contemplates the world and makes it tremble.'<sup>543</sup>

Instead of the prophets, God caused the walls to shout; and instead of the Apostles, the mountains gave voice, so that [814] the foolish might know and understand the awesome power of God; so that those who did not listen by ear might experience through sight and through their own sufferings. The mountains were split [264] and the rocks were broken; springs emerged in dry places and the usual water-courses dried up; the plains undulated and the mountains seemed to lean towards one another. The dust that was raised filled the air like smoke. All the buildings in the cities, the villages, and the estates fell down with the inhabitants still inside, crushing them dead or half-dead. The wails of lamentation and the cries of groaning from those still alive rose up. The fortress of Balu with its buildings and even the rock collapsed.<sup>544</sup> Čapałajur, the Tigris fortress, At't'ax, and Amida were destroyed and all the cemented stone, well-built churches and palaces.<sup>545</sup>

This occurred in the month of k'āloc', on the last day [of the month], and it continued in this pattern for 7 months, until navasard.<sup>546</sup>

### Chapter 37

*Again the expedition of the force of Egyptians and in relation to Babylon and the death of Dalasanos*

In 437 of the Era,<sup>547</sup> the *amir* of the same Egyptians, the son of Azaz, after the death of his father [265] assembled a force much greater than his father from Jerusalem and Babylon and sent it to the country of the Greeks.

This Babylon is not that one which is in the land of Senēar in the country of the Chaldeans, where the tower was built, which Nebuchadnezzar, the son of Nabopolassar, fortified in 15 years; now the site of the city has moved a little further away and is named Baghdad.<sup>548</sup> Rather, it is this fortress in the land of

<sup>542</sup> Job 9:6.      <sup>543</sup> Psalm 103:32.

<sup>544</sup> Balu: on the river Aracani/Arsanias, the southern branch of the upper Euphrates, 25 miles north-west of Arsamosata, in the district of Balahovit.

<sup>545</sup> Čapałajur: 30 miles north-east of Balu, close to the site of Kitharizon; Dklat': Tigris, unidentified but a local name for a fortress on the upper Tigris; for At't'ax, read At'ax, At'ał or Hattāk, a fortress in Ałjnik', 50 miles north-west of Mayyāfāriqīn/Martyropolis; Amit': Amida/Diyarbekir, a city on the upper Tigris. These locations are clustered together. Some, or perhaps all, of them were under Kurdish Marwānid control at this date.

<sup>546</sup> Macler, *Histoire universelle*, 149 and n. 6: from 19 August 995 until March 996.

<sup>547</sup> A scribal error; for 437 read 445: 22.iii.996–21.iii.997. The numerals for 5 and 7, Ƨ and Ƨ, are often confused, 30 and 40, L and ʌ less so. YA II, 450, records that al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh succeeded his father al-'Aziz as Fatimid caliph in Cairo on 16 October 996.

<sup>548</sup> Babylon in the land of Senēar, see Genesis 10:10. The reference to Nebuchadnezzar is unexpected but derives from Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 1:55; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 19.2–4. Bałlat: Baghdad.

the Egyptians, named Babylon, as Epiphanius describes in [815] his books of Precious Stones.<sup>549</sup> Now a palace has been built there and it has been honoured by name. The force departed from it in order to ravage the regions of Antioch of Syria.

At the order of the king of the Greeks, the *mažistiros* Dalasanos marched against it.<sup>550</sup> He fought with them and defeated them, causing them to turn in flight. The force of the Greeks plundered the camp. The Arab force turned back against them, and with well-bent bows and vigorous lance-thrusts, they put the force of the Greeks to the sword. The *mažistiros* Dalasanos died, together with his brother and son and the whole force turned in flight.<sup>551</sup> And they captured many of them and transported them along with the others, and Č'ortuanēl the *patrik*, nephew of the monk T'ōrnik.<sup>552</sup> [266]

### Chapter 38

#### *The death of amir Bat and the capture of Manazkert and the coming of Mamlan and the encounter with David kouropalates*

A few years before this, the previous *amir* of Apahunik' and Np'rkert, Bat, died in battle against the nomadic Arabs.<sup>553</sup> And in his place his nephew, the son of Mruan, became *amir*.<sup>554</sup>

Now after the death of Bat, the *kouropalates*, David of Tayk', besieged the city of Manazkert, and constraining it with the sword and famine, he took it.<sup>555</sup> He removed and expelled its Arab [population] and filled the city with Armenian and Vrac'i inhabitants [who were] under his authority.<sup>556</sup> For this

<sup>549</sup> Epiphanius' *De Gemmis* was translated into Armenian, although only epitomes and other fragments survive: see M. E. Stone, 'An Armenian Epitome of Epiphanius' *De Gemmis*, *HTR* 82 (1989), 467–76, where Babylon is associated with *sardion*, i.e. cornelian, and *akintn*, hyacinth. Whilst Step'anos is correct in noting these references, there is no suggestion that Epiphanius is referring to the fortress of Babylon in Egypt, the site of Roman resistance to 'Amr b. al-Āṣ in 641 CE, near to which Fustāt was built.

<sup>550</sup> Damian Dalassenos was appointed by Basil II in 995 to replace Michael Bourtzēs; see III.35. YA II, 444, records that Damian enjoyed initial success against Tripoli and took the fortress of al-Lakamah in the first two years of his command.

<sup>551</sup> YA II, 455–6, offers a very similar account, noting that the Byzantine victory was followed by a skirmish around the baggage train, in the course of which Damian was killed, on 19 July 998, along with 6000 soldiers. Yahya also reports that Damian's two sons were captured and spent ten years in prison in Cairo before being ransomed and released.

<sup>552</sup> For Chordvanel, see III.27 and n. 487. Clearly two homonymous figures have been conflated. One was the nephew of T'ōrnik, the other was not. There can be little doubt that they came from the same family and were closely related.

<sup>553</sup> Bād̄h b. Dustuk, the founder of the Kurdish Marwānid dynasty; see III.14, 19, and 24. He was killed in 990.

<sup>554</sup> His nephew (sister's son): Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. Marwān.

<sup>555</sup> Although Malxaseanc' read *kiwrपालतn Hayoc'*, of Armenia, Manukyan prefers *Tayoc'*, of Tayk', found in manuscripts A, B, C, and E: ST II, 815, n. 27.

<sup>556</sup> This is presented as independent action undertaken by David. YA II, 429, reports that David had by this time submitted to Basil II and had agreed to make Basil II his sole heir, because

reason, all the Persians and Arabs were provoked with zealous anger and they sent envoys with a message to David *kouropalates* to return the city to them; otherwise they would meet him in battle.<sup>557</sup> [816]

On hearing a hostile reply, they assembled a multitude of forces under the *amir* of Atrpatakan, Mamlan; they came to the district of Calkoyotn, to the village which is called Kostēank.<sup>558</sup> [267] The *kouropalates* David and the king of Armenia, Gagik, and Abas with him, and Bagarat, king of Iberia, went out against them in the district of Bagrewand; they had brought together a great army in the city of Vałaršakert.<sup>559</sup> The Persian force was obviously afraid to fight; the contingent dissolved, [and] marching by night with lamps and torches, they set fire that night to the whole region of Bagrewand and several villages to the east; and they themselves returned to their own land.

### Chapter 39

*How the nephew of Bat became amir and he expelled the Arab inhabitants from Np'rkert and his death in Amida*

When the nephew of Bat, Apumsar, became *amir*, he was viewed with fear and suspicion by the Arab inhabitants of Np'rkert.<sup>560</sup> During the days of one of their festivals, when they made sacrifices, in the third month, which is called by them Zlhejēn, he made his move, saying to the inhabitants of the city, 'All the men together should go outside the city to perform the sacrifices because there is a great envoy from the king of the Greeks.'<sup>561</sup> When they had gone out

he was advanced in years and had no son or successor. It could therefore be the case that this action was prompted or encouraged by Basil II. The removal of the city's Arab and Persian population and their replacement with Armenians and Iberians is reminiscent of similar exchanges in Syria: YA II, 443, where Basil II inserted an Armenian garrison into the reconstructed fortress of Tortosa.

<sup>557</sup> Evidently the existing population of Manzikert comprised both Arabs and Persians. Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb šūrat* II, 348–9; tr. Kramers and Wiet, *Configuration de la terre*, 342, states that the common language for the majority of the inhabitants of Armenia is Persian, although they also use Arabic.

<sup>558</sup> Mamlān b. Abū al Ḥayjā Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad. His ascendancy lasted from 988 CE until 1025; see III.19 and n. 269. Calkoyotn or Calkotn: a small mountainous district to the north-east of Manzikert, and immediately east of Bagrewand. Kostēank': on the upper Aracani river, south of Zarehawan and Tatēon. Presumably he approached from the east.

<sup>559</sup> Vałaršakert: about 50 miles west of Kostēank', in the centre of Bagrewand. Gagik I Bagratuni: see III.30 and n. 508; Abas of Kars: see III.17, n. 252; Bagarat II, king of K'art'li until 994 CE. Macler, *Histoire universelle*, 152 and n. 5, suggests Bagarat III of Abkhazia, but he did not become king of K'art'li until 1008, and his eponymous grandfather should be preferred.

<sup>560</sup> Np'rkert: Martyropolis/Mayyāfāriqin (modern Silvan), captured by Bādh, the uncle of Apumsar [Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. Marwān]. It had previously been under Hamdanid control (until 979), and one suspects that the ongoing rivalry between the Kurdish Marwānids and the Arab Hamdanids was at the heart of this mutual suspicion.

<sup>561</sup> 'īd al-Aḏhā, the Festival of the Sacrifice, commemorating willingness of Abraham/Ibrāhīm to sacrifice his son. Its date moves year by year. This is an Armenian transliteration of the Arabic

beyond the circuit wall, he sent out his brother along with his forces and took possession of the gates of the circuit wall; they killed some with the sword and threw out and completely expelled the others, [268] to the extent that no Arab remained in Npʿrkert, only Armenians and Syrians were living in it.

Now the Arabs scattered to various places. Many of them went to Amida. The inhabitants of the city of Amida wanted to take revenge against him. They summoned the *amir* deceitfully to the city, and when he entered through the gate of the city they struck him with a lance and killed him.<sup>562</sup> [817]

## Chapter 40

### *Massacre of the Iberian force in the city of Xlatʿ*

At this time, the *kouropalates* David heard about this episode and sent the forces of Iberia to blockade the city of Xlatʿ.<sup>563</sup> The force arrived during the winter of 446 of the Era.<sup>564</sup> They harassed the city with the sword and famine. And the church of the Armenians outside the circuit wall, which had become a bishop's residence and monastery—previously it had been an Armenian complex [dedicated] to the Holy Cross and St Gamaliel—they converted it into stables and billets for the forces of Iberia.<sup>565</sup> The Arabs shouted from the wall, 'Why are you Christians treating the sanctuary of Christians in that way?' And the Vrac'ik' replied, 'We shall occupy the Armenian church and your mosque in the same way.' For this reason, the wrath of God was provoked against them. [269]

In succession to the son of Mruan, his brother became *amir* over them, and he was also a nephew of Bat.<sup>566</sup> He gained control of Amida, and took a few troops and attacked the forces of Iberia, those who were blockading Xlatʿ, on

name for the festival and not the name of a month. Third month: presumably of the Armenian calendar.

<sup>562</sup> For the death of Abū 'Ali al-Ḥasan b. Marwān in Amida in 387 AH (14.i.997–2.i.998): Kennedy, *Age of the Caliphates*, 262–3; Ripper, *Die Marwāniden*, 137.

<sup>563</sup> The city of Xliat'/Chliat on the northern shore of lake Van was also under Marwānid control; hence the opportunistic action by David.

<sup>564</sup> AE 446: 22.iii.997–21.iii.998. The siege therefore began in the winter of 997/8.

<sup>565</sup> This implies that an extramural Armenian church, dedicated to the holy Cross and St Gamaliel, had been converted first into a bishop's residence and then desecrated by being turned into stables and billets for the Iberian forces besieging the city. For the reuse of existing religious sites as episcopal sees by an expanding Greek church at the end of the tenth century, see Greenwood, "Imagined past, revealed present", 384. The text does not state that the bishop was an Armenian bishop. The confessional dimension in conflict is also brought out in an earlier narrative, involving Abas and Bēr; see III.7.

<sup>566</sup> Abū 'Ali al-Ḥasan b. Marwān's brother, Sa'īd b. Marwān, who was given the honorific title Mumahhid al-Dawla by the 'Abbasid caliph. He controlled Mayyāfāriqin until his assassination in 1011 CE, but his authority in Amida was more limited. Here the *qādī* Yūsuf b. Damna ruled in tandem with the leading citizens of the city and paid an annual tribute of 200,000 dirhems to Sa'īd. This reference, therefore, is intriguing, for it implies that Sa'īd did initially have control in the city.

the day of Great Easter in 447 of the era.<sup>567</sup> Roused against each other in battle, the valiant and expert archers of Tayk' wounded many of them. They turned from there and established billets. That night, after Easter, the wrath of God apprehended the force of Iberia and they themselves fled from themselves during the night without a battle. When the Arab force and the citizens realized this, they pursued it and made great slaughter, putting them to death with the edge of the sword. In that flight, the *mažistros* Bagarat, son of T'ornik [818] the monk, died.<sup>568</sup> They captured Bakuran, prince of princes, and many others.<sup>569</sup>

### Chapter 41

#### *The great battle of Persians and Christians in the district of Apahunik'*

In this year and in the same days, in 447 of the Era, Mamlan, the son of Ablhač', the grandson of Ŗovid, *amir* of Atrpatakan, assembled a force in order to go into battle [270] against the *kouropalates* David.<sup>570</sup> He gathered to himself a multitude of the forces of Persia and Media, and with the assistance of the *amir* of Khurasan and with many other savage forces, he planned to take control of Armenia and Iberia, to rebuild the city of Karin, and to plunder the land of Tayk', because the Christians had destroyed their house of prayer in Manzikert.<sup>571</sup> He departed from T'avriz, his city, making for the borders of Hēr with a huge mob, and with a massive army he passed across the country of Vaspurakan and came and descended upon the district of Apahunik'.<sup>572</sup>

<sup>567</sup> AE 447: 22.iii.998–21.iii.999. Easter fell on 17 April 998.

<sup>568</sup> Bagarat son of T'ornik: for references to the extended family of T'ornik, see III.27 and n. 487. Again it is not possible to offer a secure identification. One of the colophons cited by Peeters describes Bagrat *patrikos* as a son of T'ornik and another as his nephew. There is also a reference in this second colophon to the soul of Bagrat *magistros*, suggesting a figure who had died before T'ornik, whose traditional date of death is 15 December 984.

<sup>569</sup> Bakuran: almost certainly to be identified with Pakourianos, one of three brothers named by Skylitzes as the leading nobles in Iberia at the death of David *kouropalates*: Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, 339. He was later appointed *strategos* of Samos and *patrikos*: *Actes d'Ivrion I. Des origines au milieu du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. J. Lefort and N. Oikonomidès (Paris, 1985), 19. By this date, *išxan išxanac'*, prince of princes, seems to have designated an overall military command rather than the leading prince.

<sup>570</sup> Mamlān b. Abū al Ḥayjā Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Rawwādī. For his recent failure to relieve Manzikert and prevent it falling into the hands of David *kouropalates*, see III.38.

<sup>571</sup> The *amir* of Khurasan: perhaps Abu'l Ḥārith Maṣūr b. Nuh (Maṣūr II), one of the last of the Samanids, whose short and unstable reign lasted between 997 and 999. Alternatively, this could be the powerful Ghaznavid Maḥmūd b. Sabuktakin who came to power in 997. Neither figure is known to have had western interests, however. The earlier narrative (III.38) does not refer to the destruction of the mosque in Manzikert.

<sup>572</sup> T'avriz: Tabriz, east of lake Urmia. Kennedy, *Age of the Caliphates*, 259, notes that the Rawwādīs were first heard of in the first half of the tenth century in the Tabriz-Marāgha area, and they controlled central Āzarbayjān from 983. Apahunik': district immediately to the north-west of Manzikert.



The *kouropalates* David did not go into battle against them in person, because he was an old man and advanced in years, but sent to the king of Armenia, Gagik, and to the king of Iberia, Gurgēn—because Bagarat, the father of Gurgēn, had died and Gurgēn his son had become king after him—that they should give him forces in assistance.<sup>573</sup> Gagik detached from all the forces of Armenia a contingent of 6000 elite armed men, gathering them under the control of the prince of princes, Vahram, son of Grigor {Pahlawuni who built Marmašēn and Bgnērñ},<sup>574</sup> and *mažistros* Smbat, son of Vahram, and the *marzpan* Ašot, and the forces of the king [819] of the Vanandec'ik', Abas.<sup>575</sup> In the same way, Gurgēn, king of Iberia, supplied 6000 out of his chosen cavalry under the control of P'eris, prince of princes, son of Jojik.<sup>576</sup> The whole mass of [271] the forces of *kouropalates* David was placed under the control of Gabriēl, son of Oč'opēntir.<sup>577</sup>

Those who had gone ahead to the mountain of Sukaw, to the valley of Alitk', watched the advance guard of the Persian force which was intending to enter Bagrewand.<sup>578</sup> The forces of Armenia and Iberia arrived there together, and moving on they went to the district of Apahunik'. They camped opposite the camp of Mamlan, at an elevated and very secure spot, on the edges of the village of Cumb, and for many days they stayed in the same place.<sup>579</sup> They had been terrified by the violence of the Persian troops and did not dare to go beyond the rocky outcrop of the camp; they sent up requests to God in prayer. Likewise, all the Christians poured forth prayers of supplication with tears

<sup>573</sup> Bagarat II died in 994 CE and was replaced by his son Gurgēn as king until 1008.

<sup>574</sup> Vahram was not identified as Pahlawuni in the text; this was added subsequently in the right-hand margin of M2865, at fol. 236a: Mat'evosyan, 'Yovhan grč'i', 110; ST II, 818, n. 37. The title 'prince of princes' is again found in a military context, implying a sense of overall command. According to its inscription, the church at Marmašēn was begun by Vahram in AE 435 (25.iii.986–24.iii.987) during the reign of Smbat II Bagratuni, but was not completed until AE 478 (14.iii.1029–13.iii.1030), during the reign of Yovannēs: Ališan, *Širak*, 148. Bgnērñ: Bagnayr.

<sup>575</sup> Smbat *magistros* and Ašot *marzpan* are not otherwise attested. An inscription at Marmašēn dated AE 464 (18.iii.1015–16.iii.1016) on the tomb of Vahram's wife Sop'ia describes her as the daughter of Tigran, *marzpan* of Armenia and lord of Anjewac'ik': K. Kostaneanc', *Vimakan Taregir. Č'uc'ak žolovacoy arjanagrut'eanc' hayoc'* (St Petersburg, 1913), 14–15. Evidently this was not a hereditary office.

<sup>576</sup> P'eris, Pherses, son of Jojik. Jojik/Tzitzikios had served as the commander of the forces of David *kouropalates* in the first civil war, against Bardas Skleros, in 979 CE (III.15 and n. 234), and it is possible that P'eris was his son. Here P'eris is recorded serving the Iberian king Gurgēn. He was named Phersēs, the brother of Bakuran/Pakourianos, by Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, 339; see n. 569. For a full study, see M. Canard and H. Berbērian, *Aristakēs de Lastivert, Récit des malheurs de la nation arménienne* (Brussels, 1973), 20 and n. 1. Aristakēs, *Patmut'wn*, 35.8–25, records that Pherses participated in the rebellion of Nikephoros Phokas and Xiphias in 1021 CE, but was captured at Salk'ora on the river Araxes in eastern Basean and taken to Xahtoyarič, west of Theodosiopolis, where he was beheaded.

<sup>577</sup> Gabriēl, son of Oč'opēntir: unidentified.

<sup>578</sup> Sukaw: Sukawēt, a mountain 25 miles north-west of the city of Valaršakert in Bagrewand. Valley of Alitk': unidentified.

<sup>579</sup> Cumb: 20 miles north-east of Manzikert.

before God, invoking his awesome name for assistance for themselves and the forces. The kings distributed charity to the needy generously, and the clergy together with the patriarch celebrated the worship of night-offices with psalm-singing.<sup>580</sup>

When the forces of the Persians realized that they did not want voluntarily to come down to them battle, and especially when they realized their lack of numbers in comparison to their own multitude, on the first day of the month of *areg*, a Monday, towards dawn, they rose and set out a formation in a complicated disposition;<sup>581</sup> they fashioned a battle-line across the face of the broad plain employing a Delmastanean shield-wall.<sup>582</sup> They went and drew near to the hill of the camp of the Armenians and [272] Iberians. The sight of them was reckoned terrible in terms of its multitude by the onlookers; their number was reckoned to be 100,000 Persian infantry and cavalry. [820] They gave a shout to prepare for battle and advance to the arena and to the place of encounter. The forces of Armenians and Iberians were afraid and sent [to them], ‘Let us do battle not today, but on another day.’ Then the Persians boasted arrogantly and sent messengers to them, ‘Willingly or unwillingly, let us engage today.’ But they refused and did not mount their horses, staying there in the camp, except for a few men who went down to them and engaged in single combat. And 5 men from the force of Iberia died. Then the Persians abandoned their battle preparation; they broke the order of the battle-line and deserted the arrangement of the battle-line. Each one galloped and charged in order to plunder booty and pillage, as if ransacking corpses or refugees. They went from every direction against the camp of the Christians.

The force of Armenians and Iberians had no king, but they did have the king of everyone, Christ, as head and assistant. They petitioned him in one voice, and equipping themselves with arms, swiftly they mounted their horses. They were organized not according to the formation of a line of battle, but everyone charged by family and seniority of contingents, roaring like lions, towards the [273] forested multitude of the army of the Persians. They veered in attack against the right side; the Armenian force charged against the great

<sup>580</sup> This sentence evokes the actions of the priests Yovsēp and Łewond on the eve of the battle of Awarayr: Łazar 38 [69.29–73.7]. The context, of resistance in the face of Persian aggression, is also similar and suggests a strong literary dimension to this account. The reference to kings sits uncomfortably with the earlier passage recording the commanders appointed by the kings and the following statement that the army had no king. Furthermore, the identity and role of the single patriarch is hard to interpret, given the confessional tensions expressed in the previous chapter (III.40); if this was the Armenian catholicos Sargis, to whom the composition is dedicated, it is surprising that Stepʿanos does not name him.

<sup>581</sup> The first day of *areg* in AE 447 equates to Monday, 18 October 998.

<sup>582</sup> *delmastanean*, i.e. Daylamite, the people of the northern Iranian provinces of Gīlān, the south-western shore of the Caspian, and Daylam, the mountainous interior. Their reputation as hardy foot-soldiers was well known. It is unclear whether Daylamite qualifies the infantry or the military strategy employed.

crowd of people inflicting numerous wounds and striking deadly and deep sword-blows, they turned the savage barbarians with cruel thrusts. The Kam-rakēlk', the celebrated Mēsxuni brothers,<sup>583</sup> of the Iberian army struck with powerful strength, destroying either the cavalryman or the horse cut in two. Out of fear of them, they [the Persians] became scattered and they happened to encounter the whole force of Tayk' stretched out; they [the force of Tayk'] scattered their corpses dead underneath their feet, [821] the horses following this same example; like a fire kindled in forests or like eagles swiftly pouncing on startled flocks of birds. Here one could see streams of blood that became channels, and rivers were flowing, the corpses stretched out and the half-dead fallen among the dead. Then Mamlan, terrified, hastened to escape with the Persians who had survived. The force of Armenians and Iberians went in pursuit of them; they struck them with terrible blows, putting them to the edge of the sword, until sunset, as far as the gate of the city of Arčēš.<sup>584</sup> Turning from there, they plundered their camp, loaded with a mass of treasures and horses and valuable clothing. The joy was even greater because, apart from the first five men who had died from the force of Iberia in single combat, no one else had been struck with a sword and no one was found dead out of all [274] the multitude of Armenians and Iberians. Therefore, filled with joy, they returned exultantly each one to his own country, praising God.<sup>585</sup>

## Chapter 42

*The entrance once more of Basil into the country of the Arabs, into the region of Syria*

After the defeat of the Greek forces by the Egyptian forces, in which the *mažistros* Dalasanos died, king Basil himself went to Antioch.<sup>586</sup> He crossed through Aleppo to the plain of Syria, to the place where his forces had been defeated, and collecting together the different piles of bones, he ordered a trench be cut to bury all of them in one place and over them he built a

<sup>583</sup> Although this Iberian family is not known, evidently it was connected to the region of Mesxet'i, on the northern bank of the upper reaches of the river Kur, adjoining the north-eastern border of Klarjet'i, hence their description as 'Mesxunian'. It is striking that the heroic actions of these Iberian brothers are highlighted, suggesting that this reflects the historical memory and culture of Tayk'.

<sup>584</sup> Arčēš: on the northern shore of Lake Van, east of Xlat'. It is unclear who had possession of this important town at this time, although it seems it was not under Bagratuni or Marwānid control.

<sup>585</sup> Again the literary qualities of this battle narrative are evident, from the organization of the combined Armenian/Iberian force by family to the formulaic description of their actions and the statement that they did not suffer any casualties.

<sup>586</sup> This refers back to the final notice in III.37, and n. 551. Damian Dalassenos was killed outside Apamea on 19 July 998 CE. For the arrival of Basil II, see YA II, 457. He was in Antioch by late summer 999.

church.<sup>587</sup> He himself crossed and took the city of Šazar and several other fortresses, and he campaigned as far as the mountain [called] Libanos and plundered that country.<sup>588</sup> From the feast of Exaltation of the Cross [822] until Epiphany, he stayed in that country.<sup>589</sup> Then he returned and came to winter in the country of Cilicia, in the city of Tarsus, which king Senek'erim of Assyria had built.<sup>590</sup> This was very similar to Babylon, because the river Kidnos passes through its centre, just as the Aracani passes through the centre of Babylon.<sup>591</sup> This occurred in 448 of the Armenian Era.<sup>592</sup> [275]

### Chapter 43

*The death of the great kouropalates David and the coming of Basil, king of the Greeks, to the country of the East*

I would have considered it necessary to record at length with lamentations the death of the great *kouropalates* David, if I had not intended to cut short the length of this composition.<sup>593</sup> There is no time for a discourse, only for a very brief reflection. He was a mild and calm man, more than all the kings of this age. He was responsible for the peace and prosperity of all the east, especially Armenia and Iberia, because he brought an end to the crash of battles in all regions; having defeated all the surrounding peoples, all the kings voluntarily submitted to him. This man came to the end of his days, in good old age; he died on the great day of redemptive Easter, in 449 of the Era.<sup>594</sup> Since he had

<sup>587</sup> This detail is unique.

<sup>588</sup> Šazar/Chaizar/Sayjar on the river Orontes. YA II, 457, records that the siege of the town began on 19 October 999 CE. Under the terms of its surrender, those who wished to leave went to Hama, near Aleppo, and Basil II installed a garrison of Armenians. YA II, 458, records that several other towns were captured, that Homs and Baalbek were threatened, and that the coastal city of Tripoli was besieged, unsuccessfully.

<sup>589</sup> Macler, *Histoire universelle*, 160 and n. 6, notes that Basil's campaign lasted from 11 September 999 until 6 January 1000 CE.

<sup>590</sup> YA II, 459–60, states that Basil II left Tripoli on 22 December 999 for Laodicea/Latakia, Antioch, and ultimately Maššiša/Msis and Tarsus in Cilicia, where he spent six months with his troops. The reflection on the foundation of Tarsus by Senek'erim is unexpected but derives from Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 1:43; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 13.29–30, 14.7–8.

<sup>591</sup> This sentence is lifted verbatim from Eusebius, *Chronicle*, ed. Aucher, 1:53; Karst, *Die Chronik*, 18.5–7; the Aracani is the Armenian name for the southern branch of the upper Euphrates. Compare III.37 and n. 548.

<sup>592</sup> AE 448: 22.iii.999–20.iii.1000. Although Malxaseanc' gives AE 447, Manukyan's edition prefers the figure 448 found in M3502 (dated 1661 CE): ST II 822, n. 10. This removes the problematic chronological contradiction with YA; it also resolves the duplication of AE 447 and the omission of AE 448 from the final notices of the text.

<sup>593</sup> See also YA II, 460, where the notice on Basil's six-month sojourn in Cilicia is followed by a notice recording the death of David.

<sup>594</sup> 31 March 1000. AE 449: 21.iii.1000–20.iii.1001. However, a colophon published in Mat'e-vosyan, *Hišatakaraner*, no. 90, is dated to AE 450, during the reign of David *kouropalates*.

no son or brother, he had entrusted his *azatagund* and his country to the king of the Greeks, Basil.<sup>595</sup>

When he heard news of the report of his death, in Tarsus of Cilicia, king Basil immediately set out to come to this country of ours. He left for the regions [276] of Melitene, and on meeting the priests of Sebasteia, he commanded them to be free in all religious practices and to sound the call of the bell-ringer which the metropolitan had banned, [823] as we said previously.<sup>596</sup> The king passed across Hanjit', and through Balu, and arrived on the day of the feast of the Transfiguration at the mountain [called] Koher, which was between Haštēank' and Cop'k' and Xorjean.<sup>597</sup> From there he moved into the district of Aršamunik', arriving at the city of Erēz.<sup>598</sup> The *amir* of Np'rkert, the nephew of Bat, came to him in the city of Erēz.<sup>599</sup> [Basil] honoured him with royal presents and accorded to him the title of *mažistrōs*. He ordered the forces of Fourth Armenia and Tarōn to assist him whenever he should call.<sup>600</sup>

He himself travelled and arrived at the mountain of Hawčič', at the city [of that name].<sup>601</sup> There Bagarat, king of Abkhazia, and his father Gurgēn, king of Iberia, met him; receiving the king of Abkhazia with very honourable respect, [Basil] honoured him with the title of *kouropalates*; he made his father *mažistrōs* and sent them back to their countries.<sup>602</sup>

On the same day that he left, a great battle broke out in the camp of the Greeks for a trivial reason. The princes and *azats* of the *kouropalates* David had gone and camped close to the camp of the Greeks. One of the infantry of the Rus had gone out to fetch hay for his horse.<sup>603</sup> One of the Iberians approached and seized it. [277] He [the Rus] cried out and one of his own came to his assistance. Likewise the Iberian shouted to his own, who came and killed the first Rus. Then the whole company of Rus who were in that place were provoked to battle (for these were 6000 infantry, spear and shield in their

<sup>595</sup> Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, 339, confirms that David had stated in writing that the emperor was his heir.

<sup>596</sup> See III.20. The passage implies that the priests from Sebasteia travelled to Melitene to plead their case before the emperor.

<sup>597</sup> Hanjit'/Anzitene, east of Melitene across the Euphrates. Balu/Palu: in Balahovit, on the river Aracani. Feast of Transfiguration: 7 July 1000. Mt Koher: 2371 m high, located between these three regions.

<sup>598</sup> The city of Erēz: in Aršamunik', some 15 miles east of Mt Koher.

<sup>599</sup> Mumahhid al-Dawla Sa'id b. Marwān, see III.40 and n. 566. YA II, 460 records that he was honoured with the title *magistros* and given presents, but adds that he was also appointed *dux* of the east.

<sup>600</sup> This agreement is unrelated to the preceding notice governing relations with the Marwānids, and implies the presence of independent military forces in these districts.

<sup>601</sup> Hawčič': 100 miles north-east of Erēz.

<sup>602</sup> Gurgēn was king of K'art'li/Iberia between 994 and 1008 CE; see III.41 and n. 573. Bagarat III of Abkhazia (979–1014) succeeded his father as king of K'art'li/Iberia in 1008; see III.28 and n. 491.

<sup>603</sup> *azats*: literally the free, but perhaps by this date noble or even cavalry man. *Ruzk'*: Rus.

hands, whom king Basil had claimed from the king of the Rus, when he gave his sister in marriage to him, at which time they also believed in Christ).<sup>604</sup> And all the princes and *azats* of Tayk' went out against them, and were defeated by them; the great prince of princes, who was called Patriark', died and two sons of Oč'opěntir, Gabriēl and [824] Yovhannēs, and Č'ortuanēl, grandson of Apuharp, and many others; the wrath of God came upon them according to their pride.<sup>605</sup>

King Basil had set out a little time before. The king of Vanand came to him, the young Abas, revealing in his horse-control evidence of valour and adorned with martial skill;<sup>606</sup> and Senek'erim, the king of Vaspurakan, brother of Gurgēn.<sup>607</sup> King Basil was delighted with them and he honoured them with royal honours and he gave to them horses and mules and glorious clothing and much gold and returned them to their own places.

He himself travelled and crossed the district of Hark', to the city of Manazkert, and from there to Bagrewand.<sup>608</sup> He camped in the plain near to the city of Valaršakert and awaited the coming of Gagik, king of Armenia.<sup>609</sup> However, he reckoned his [278] going to him as a diminution. Gagik's nephew, Apusahl, spoke ill of him to Basil.<sup>610</sup> Consequently Gagik gave an

<sup>604</sup> This refers to the agreement between Basil II and Vladimir, prince of Kiev, probably in late 988, under whose terms Vladimir married Basil's sister Anna and was baptized, in return for military support against Bardas Phokas, then camped on the Bosphorus opposite Constantinople: Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, 336.

<sup>605</sup> Patriark': unknown *išxan išxanac'*, prince of princes; Malxaseanc' omitted *išxanac'*, in error. Gabriēl, son of Oč'opěntir: see III.41 and n. 577; again he is otherwise unknown. Čortuanēl, grandson of Abuharp: Chordvanel: perhaps the same figure as the Chordvanel captured after the defeat and death of Damian Dalassenos on 19 July 998 (see III.37 and n. 551), but more probably a close relative. One of the relevant colophons indicates that T'ornik' had an uncle called Abuharb, and he would be of the right generation to be the grandfather of this Chordvanel: see Peeters, 'Un colophon géorgien', 368.

<sup>606</sup> For Abas, see III.17 and n. 252; III.28 and n. 443; III.38 and n. 559; and III.41, which is the first reference to Abas as king of the Vanand rather than king of Kars. Abas became king of Kars in AE 433 (25.iii.984–24.iii.985). It is therefore surprising to find that he is still called *manukn*, young.

<sup>607</sup> The last reference to an Arcruni king was to Hamazasp Apusahl, son of Gagik: see III.13 and n. 214. He was the father of Senek'erim and Gurgēn: Mat'evosyan, *Hišatakaraner*, no. 87, dated to AE 448 describing Senek'erim as 'son of Abousahl'.

<sup>608</sup> It is not clear where Basil II met Abas and the Arcruni kings, but he had clearly left Hawčič'. He moved south-eastward across Hark' to Manzikert and then north into Bagrewand. Manzikert had been seized by David *kouropalates* in the early 990s (III.38), but had been one of the key targets of Mamlān b. al-Ḥayjā Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Rawwādi during his campaign in the summer and autumn of 998 just two years previously (III.41). Basil's decision to go there was therefore a very public assertion of control as the heir of David.

<sup>609</sup> The choice of Valaršakert in Bagrewand might imply that it was not presently under the direct rule of Gagik at this time; Basil II's previous meetings had all taken place in locations under his control rather than on terms dictated by the local lords he was meeting.

<sup>610</sup> Apusahl is identified as *k'uerordin Gagkay*, son of Gagik's sister. Gagik's elder brother was Smbat and his younger brother Gurgēn; see III.30 and n. 513 for the prominence of Gurgēn's sons, David and Smbat, and the contention that Gurgēn was dead by this time. See III.29 and n.

order to his son Yovhannēs and he pillaged the district of Apusahl, Kogoyovit, and Całkoyotn.<sup>611</sup>

Then king Basil set out and went to the city of Uxt'ik', and gained control of all the fortresses and strongholds of Tayk';<sup>612</sup> he appointed trustworthy men for them and took the remaining *azats* of Tayk' and conveyed them with himself to be settled in the country of the Greeks.<sup>613</sup> He returned via Karin and Xaltoyarič to Constantinople.<sup>614</sup>

### Chapter 44

#### *The coming of Gurgēn to the land of Tayk' and the forces of the Greeks in the district of Basean*

Then Gurgēn, king of Iberia, reckoned the office of *mažistros* with which king Basil had honoured him as an insult, and becoming light-headed, he rose against him.<sup>615</sup> He went with all his forces and took control of the country of Tayk'. When he campaigned against the small fortress of Uxtik', he was unable to occupy it or any other fortress; [825] he gathered the multitude of his force and camped in the valley of Mamruan.<sup>616</sup> [279]

When king Basil heard this, he gave an order to the *mažistros* who was called Kanikl to attack him with all the forces of the Greeks.<sup>617</sup> He followed the same route of the king and camped in the district of Basean, in 450 of the Armenian Era.<sup>618</sup> And for the whole year, up until winter, both sides stayed in the same places. Then, once Kanikl had negotiated peace with Gurgēn, on the

505 for the Mren inscription referring to Sop'i, daughter of Ašot, *šahanšah* of Armenia and Iberia. Gagik therefore had at least one sister and Apusahl may have been her son.

<sup>611</sup> Kogovit and Całkotn: adjoining districts to the east and south-east of Bagrewand, on the south-eastern fringe of Gagik's kingdom. Yovhannēs must have been of an age to conduct such a campaign.

<sup>612</sup> The city of Uxtik': Uht'is/Oltisi in Tayk', 100 miles north-east of Theodosiopolis and the principal centre of David *kouropalates*.

<sup>613</sup> Those who left with Basil II included the three brothers Pakourianos, Phevdatos, and Pherses: Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, 339. See III.40 and n. 569, and III.41, n. 576.

<sup>614</sup> i.e. via Theodosiopolis and the fortress of Xaltoyarič, west of Theodosiopolis, on the main route westwards into Cappadocia.

<sup>615</sup> YA II, 461, states that Basil II returned and embarked on 4 years of campaigning in Bulgaria. Gurgēn was the father of Bagarat III (see III.43 and n. 602) and might have expected to be honoured with the senior title of *kouropalates*, but this was given to his son.

<sup>616</sup> The symbolic significance of Uxtik'/Oltisi presumably guided his decision to attack it; Mamruan/Mamrvan was situated due south of Uxtik'/Oltisi in the valley of the river Jlayac'.

<sup>617</sup> *Kanikl*: *κανίκλειος*, inkstand. This is Nikephoros Ouranos, who had succeeded Damian Dalassenos in Antioch in late 999 (YA II, 459–460), holding the titles *magistros* and *kraton* of the east; see Holmes, *Basil II*, 349 and 384. He had held the position of keeper of the imperial inkstand, *epi tou kanikleiou, ἐπί τοῦ κανικλείου*, in 982 CE. The use of this shorthand Greek title is striking.

<sup>618</sup> AE 450: 21.iii.1001–20.iii.1002. Basean: to the east of Theodosiopolis and lying immediately to the south of Mamruan.

basis that the king would do his wishes, whatever he might request, they came out to meet one another, Gurgēn and the *mažistros*, at the pine-covered mountain of Mecrac', at the village which is called Holy Mother of God because of the name of the church which is in it; and on meeting one another, and negotiating peace, they departed for their respective places.<sup>619</sup>

### Chapter 45

#### *How Gagik pillaged the district of Tašir and the Iberian plain*

Then David, the nephew of Gagik, whom we recalled above, gradually became more disobedient towards his uncle Gagik.<sup>620</sup> King Gagik became irritated with him, and went with his forces to Tašir; and meandering around through Samšvilde and the plain of Iberia, he demolished and ruined everything because he stayed in it for a period of three months [280] during winter, in 450 of the Era, and he passed through the fortress of Gag and departed for the district of Ałstew.<sup>621</sup>

Although on two occasions David wanted to fight, he was not able to do anything because of the paucity of his troops in comparison with the multitude of the forces of Gagik. Through the intercession of the patriarch lord Sargis, he came into submission [826] to king Gagik and he submitted to him in the *awan* of Širak.<sup>622</sup> Lord Sargis established a treaty of peace requiring David to submit as a son to a father and Gagik to love him with paternal care.

### Chapter 46

#### *The ancestry of Arcrunik', who in our times ruled as kings in Vaspurakan*

That family line was descended from the sons of Senek'erim, the Assyrian king in the time of Paroyr Haykazuni; they came and settled in this country of ours and were named Arcrunik'.<sup>623</sup> By genealogy, they went down as far as Gagik, who was a contemporary of Smbat the Great, who was suspended on a tree by the impious son of Abusač, which we described previously.<sup>624</sup> During

<sup>619</sup> The meeting took place in late 1001 CE in a village in the Mecrac' mountain range between Tayk' and Basean. The manuscripts are consistent in their reading of Mecbac', but Biwzandac'is amendment should be preferred.

<sup>620</sup> For David, see III.30 and n. 513. Šamšultē: Samšvilde in the north of Lori-Tašir and described previously as the royal residence of David.

<sup>621</sup> The winter of 1001/2 CE. The fortress of Gag was in the east of Lori-Tašir and had been taken by David from the *marzpan* Demetr (III.30). Ałstew: the district to the south of Gag.

<sup>622</sup> Catholicos Xaç'ik had recently developed the site of Argina; see III.9 and n. 185. It is therefore surprising to find that the encounter took place at Širakawan, where king Smbat I Bagratuni had founded a church at the start of the tenth century. Tellingly, the encounter did not take place in Ani but on more neutral ground and through the mediation of catholicos Sargis.

<sup>623</sup> T'A I.1 [20.13–20] and I.6 [46.32–3] records the Arcruni descent from king Senek'erim. However, it is more likely that this reference derives from MX I.23 [70.1–71.6], because this chapter contains all of the elements summarized in this sentence.

<sup>624</sup> See III.4.



the devastation [281] of this country of Armenia, he became king in the regions of Vaspurakan, for 29 years. He died in 392 of the Era.<sup>625</sup>

After the death of Gagik, his son Derenik became king for 15 years and he died in 407 of the Era.<sup>626</sup> Then {Ašot, son of} Abusahl, became king for 22 years, and he died in 429 of the Era.<sup>627</sup> His two brothers then reigned together, Gurgēn and Senek'erim, sons of Abusahl.<sup>628</sup> When the king of the Greeks, Basil, came to the countries of the east, they met him, first Senek'erim and then Gurgēn his elder brother, and were honoured with royal presents by him together with liberal amounts of gold and silver.<sup>629</sup> He sent out an edict to the neighbouring Arab *amirs*, that they should not harm the country of Vaspurakan; he put a stop to their plundering [827] and tax-gathering tyranny. Then Gurgēn died, in 452 of the Era, and Senek'erim has occupied the throne of the kingdom for 20 years.<sup>630</sup> [282]

### Chapter 47

*The building by king Gagik in the city of Ani of the great church in the name of St Grigor*<sup>631</sup>

<sup>625</sup> AE 392: 5.iv.943–3.iv.944. According to Anania Mokac'i, 'Yałags apstambut'ean tann Ałuanic', *Ararat* (1897), 131; repr. *Matenagirk' Hayoc'* 10, 258.25; repr. and tr. Boisson, in *Mélanges Jean-Pierre Mahé*, 792.25, 'the crown of our assistance, the glory of the church and the splendour of Christians, the brave and powerful, with sea-wisdom skill, lord Gagik, king of Armenia' died in AE 391 [5.iv.942–4.iv.943]. He was succeeded by his son, Grigor Derenik.

<sup>626</sup> Anania Mokac'i, 'Yałags apstambut'ean tann Ałuanic', *Ararat* (1897), 140; repr. *Matenagirk' Hayoc'* 10, 269.152–3; repr. and tr. Boisson, in *Mélanges Jean-Pierre Mahé*, 819.152–3, confirms that Grigor Derenik died in AE 407 [1.iv.958–31.iii.959]. He was succeeded by his brother, lord Hamazasp. See also Mat'evosyan, *Hišatakaranner*, no. 71, a colophon dated 965 which confirms that Hamazasp was also called Apusahl: '...There arrived to me the oppressed Pantalēon and not worthy of being a priest, as if from the direction of God, from the order of the second universe-holder my senior lord Apusahl Hamazasp, king of kings of the great headship of this house of Armenia...'

<sup>627</sup> AE 429: 26.iii.980–25.iii.981. The reading 'Ašot son of Abusahl' should be amended to read Abusahl. Ašot Acruni succeeded his father in AE 429. It seems that a sentence opening 'Ašot son of Abusahl' and giving the length of his reign and his date of death has dropped out. According to Grigor Narekac'i's account the formal deposition of the relic of the True Cross at Aparank' on Maundy Thursday 983 was attended by the three kings of Vaspurakan, Ašot-Sahak, Gurgēn-Xac'ik, and Senek'erim-Yovhannēs; see III.13, n. 214.

<sup>628</sup> The death of the eldest brother Ašot-Sahak is not recorded, but it could have occurred in the context of the disorder in Vaspurakan reported by Step'anos in III.13, dated to the year AE 432 [26.iii.983–24.iii.984].

<sup>629</sup> See III.43, which only refers to the attendance of Senek'erim.

<sup>630</sup> AE 452: 21.iii.1003–19.iii.1004. This suggests that Gurgēn and Senek'erim had ruled for 20 years at this point, setting their accession in AE 432, the date proposed in n. 627 on different grounds for the death of their elder brother Ašot. There is no reason to treat his reign of 20 years as starting from the death of Gurgēn.

<sup>631</sup> The phrase 'Trdat vardpet of the church' was added in red ink into the upper margin of M2865, at fol. 241a: Mat'evosyan, 'Yovhan grč'i', 109.

At that time, when the year 1000 from the Incarnation or becoming man of our Lord was finally reached,<sup>632</sup> in the days of the emperor Basil, Gagik, king of Armenia, conceived an excellent idea. He planned to fashion in the city of Ani a replica, both in terms of size and decoration, of the magnificently built church built in K'alak'udašt in the name of St Grigor, which had fallen down and was ruined.<sup>633</sup> It was founded on the side of Calkoc'ajor, on an elevated site;<sup>634</sup> it was extremely attractive for onlookers, with very smooth, well-carved stones, fashioned with intricate sculpting, with windows for light, with the portals of three doors, and a miraculous sight, dome-shaped like an upturned and heaven-like globe. [283]

### Chapter 48

#### *The extinction through death of the princes of P'arisos*

At this time, in 452 of the Era, the princes of P'arisos, who were from the Haykazean line, who had endured until Senek'erim and Grigor, came to a natural end.<sup>635</sup> The king of Armenia, Gagik, and P'atlun, *amir* of Ganjak, divided their country [828] after a dispute between them.<sup>636</sup> [284]

### Glorious Conclusion at the end of this record

How unfathomable are the depths of the marvellous miracles of God for those rational beings who are myriads of flames. Our Supreme Being himself creates

<sup>632</sup> See III.2 and n. 13 for an earlier date calculated by reference to 'the coming of our Saviour Lord God'.

<sup>633</sup> The church on the 'City-plain' of Valaršapat was the church of Zuart'noc', on which there is a substantial literature. Evidently it had collapsed by this date. On Zuart'noc', see S. Mnac'akanyan, *Zuart'noc'* (Moscow, 1971) and C. Maranci, 'Byzantium through Armenian Eyes: Cultural Appropriation and the Church of Zuart'noc'', *Gesta* 40.2 (2001), 105–24. On the connections between the two churches, see T'. T'oramanyan, *Zuart'noc'-Gagkašēn* (Erevan, 1984) and C. Maranci. 'The Architect Trdat', 298 and 301, who notes the similarity of plan and measurements but also subtle differences as well. A fragmentary inscription discovered by Marr in 1905 confirms the roles of Gagik *šahanšah* and lord Sargis; unfortunately, only parts of the final four lines can be reconstructed with any confidence: see Orbelyan, *CLArm I*, no. 119. It was here that the famous freestanding statue of a turbaned Gagik holding a model of the church was found. See also Marr, *Ani*, 107–21.

<sup>634</sup> i.e. towards the 'Valley of Flowers', which indeed it does overlook.

<sup>635</sup> P'arisos: situated to the north of lake Sewan, and bordering Tašir to its north-west and Ganjak to the east. See III.45, which confirms that two years previously Gagik had secured the fortress of Gag and passed across the small district of Ałstew which lay on the border with P'arisos. Therefore, whilst confronting his nephew David may have been the primary motivation behind Gagik's campaign, it seems more than simply a coincidence that he travelled so close to P'arisos. For Senek'erim and Grigor, see III.17 and n. 259.

<sup>636</sup> Fađl b. Muḥammad b. Shaddād, *amir* of Ganjak between 985 and 1031 CE; see III.30 and n. 516, which confirms recent conflict between Fađl and David, Gagik's nephew.

a supreme light, constantly shining, incomprehensible and unintelligible for all spiritual ones.

Likewise below, with an actual sun, he illuminated the palpable ones through the four seasons, through hours which make up days, through minutely regulated mixtures to the nadir and to the zenith, constantly revolving, through never-changing, always moving cycles, which the wise, filled to the brim with the knowledge of God, have calculated in terms of days and months and have worked out how long we have existed in terms of years.<sup>637</sup> [285]

We examined this and found that there are 6282 years from the year of Adam until us,<sup>638</sup> [there are] 972 years from the Crucifixion and the life-giving Passion of the Lord; moreover, according to the Era of the Greeks, [there are] 757 years from the emperor Philip;<sup>639</sup> and [there are] 453 years in terms of the measure of our Armenian Era,<sup>640</sup> which corresponds to the thirtieth year of the reign of Basil, emperor of the Greeks,<sup>641</sup> and the fifteenth year of the reign of king Gagik of Great Armenia.<sup>642</sup> This year is the thirteenth [year] of the patriarchate of lord Sargis,<sup>643</sup> the world-shining and greatly favoured chief shepherd, at whose command, and above my own ability but in following the rules of obedience, and with shallow understanding, I have written this chronological composition.

But you, who pursue humility completely, and carry in your soul the Word who humbled himself, being humbled by this, may you accept this

<sup>637</sup> The opening sentences of this Conclusion develop several themes articulated in the Preface to this third book; see III.1. It also echoes the opening of the colophon composed by Grigor Narekac'i in AE 451 [21.iii.1002–20.iii.1003] for his *Matean olbergut'ean* or *Book of Lamentation*: 'In accordance with the rotation of the courses of the advance of time [and] under the brimful, radiant, luminous, light-bearing, day-balancing, darkness-dispelling, attractive eye of the sun, the created star which assembles and collects the mass of years in the measure of centuries, breath-ending and life-renewing across travelling eternity...': Mat'evosyan, *Hišatakaraner*, no. 93; Mahé and Mahé, *Grégoire de Narek, Tragédie*, 777–8. For a separate study, see J.-P. Mahé, 'Basile II et Byzance vue par Grigor Narekac'i', *TM* 11 (1991), 555–72.

<sup>638</sup> This does not fit with the standard Annus Mundi chronology but it is consistent with the chronology at I.2 and n. 99, where Step'anos asserts that there were 5310 years between Adam and the Crucifixion:  $5310 + 972 = 6282$ .

<sup>639</sup> This confirms the use of the Era of Rome (or the Romans) as a contemporary chronology in Armenia. Remarkably, it is calibrated from the foundation of the city of Rome in 753 BCE, and is thus the equivalent of *ab urbe condita*, from the foundation of the city (of Rome). The millennium of its foundation occurred in 248 CE, during the reign of Philip the Arab, and so the chronology began again at 1, so from 249 CE. See V. Grumel, *La Chronologie* (Paris, 1958), 146–51, and Mosshammer, *The Easter Computus*, 266–8. With one exception, found in the *Chronicon Pascale*, this dating system was never employed in the Byzantine Empire. It appears to have emerged, briefly, in the second half of the tenth century in Armenia: Mat'evosyan, *Hišatakaraner*, no. 75, which refers to 725 of the Era of the Romans, i.e. 974 CE. Emending the final digit from 7 to 5 (Է to Ե) generates the year 1004 ( $755 + 249 = 1004$ ).

<sup>640</sup> AE 453: 20.iii.1004–19.iii.1005.

<sup>641</sup> Thirtieth year of Basil II: 10.i.1005–9.i.1006.

<sup>642</sup> Fifteenth year of Gagik I Bagratuni: winter 1004–winter 1005; see III.30.

<sup>643</sup> Sargis became catholicos in AE 441 [23.iii.992–22.iii.993]; see III.32 and n. 522. His thirteenth year therefore fell in 1004/5.

inconsiderable contribution. I entreat you and all the children of the church, in love to ignore my mistakes and liberties, especially because the always agitated vicissitudes and [829] daily travails of the church, following your command, did not allow my mind to find any opportunity for the proper arrangement of this composition, for which I acknowledge the glory and the blame, the praise and the criticism, from our hard-hearted and stiff-necked people, from right-thinking and lascivious men, for each of whom there will be restitution at the just judgement of God. [286]

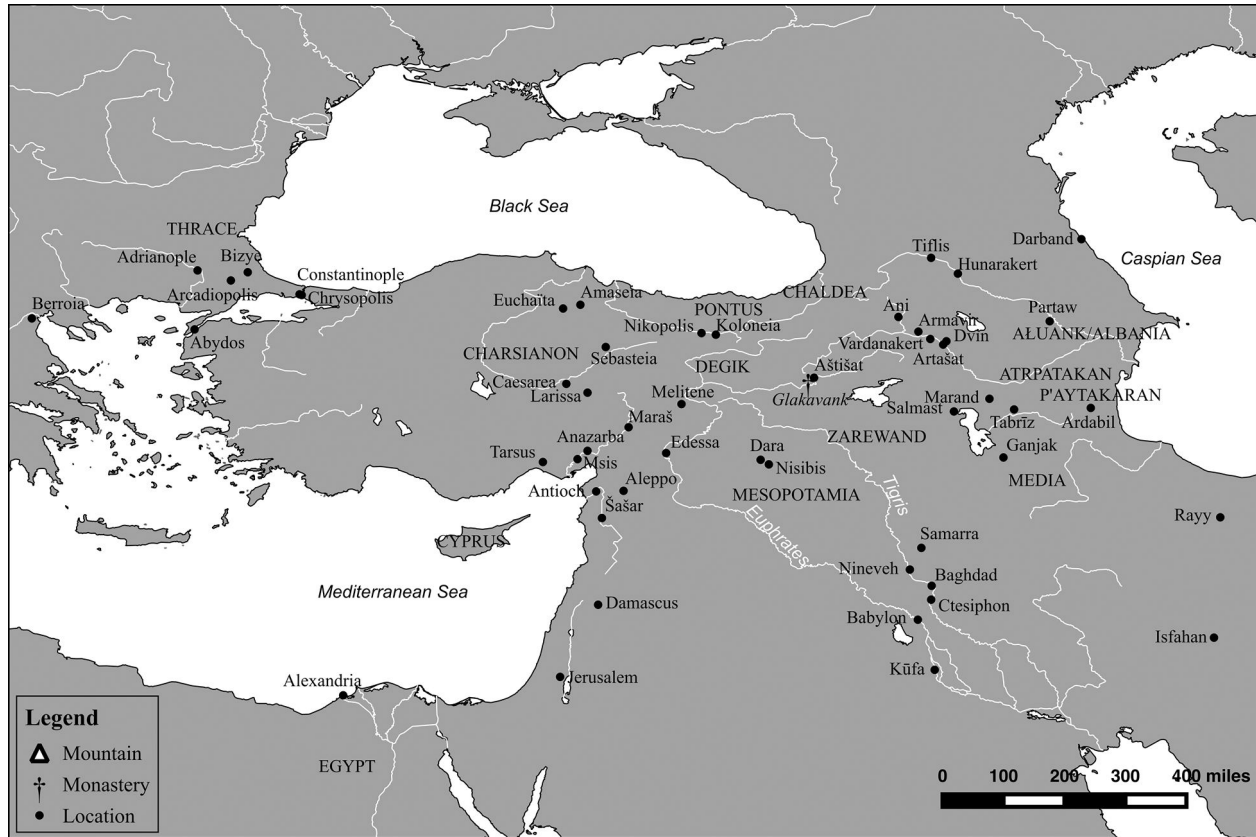
I appeal to your paternal concern and to your brotherly love, readers, that you shall remember me at the time of prayer through your righteous-entreating supplications, so that I shall be just like you, with the incorporeal ranks of angels, and I shall have found mercy with you. I shall be reckoned worthy to sing the songs of praise to the three persons and consubstantial holy Trinity, who is blessed for eternity from eternity. Amen.



# Maps

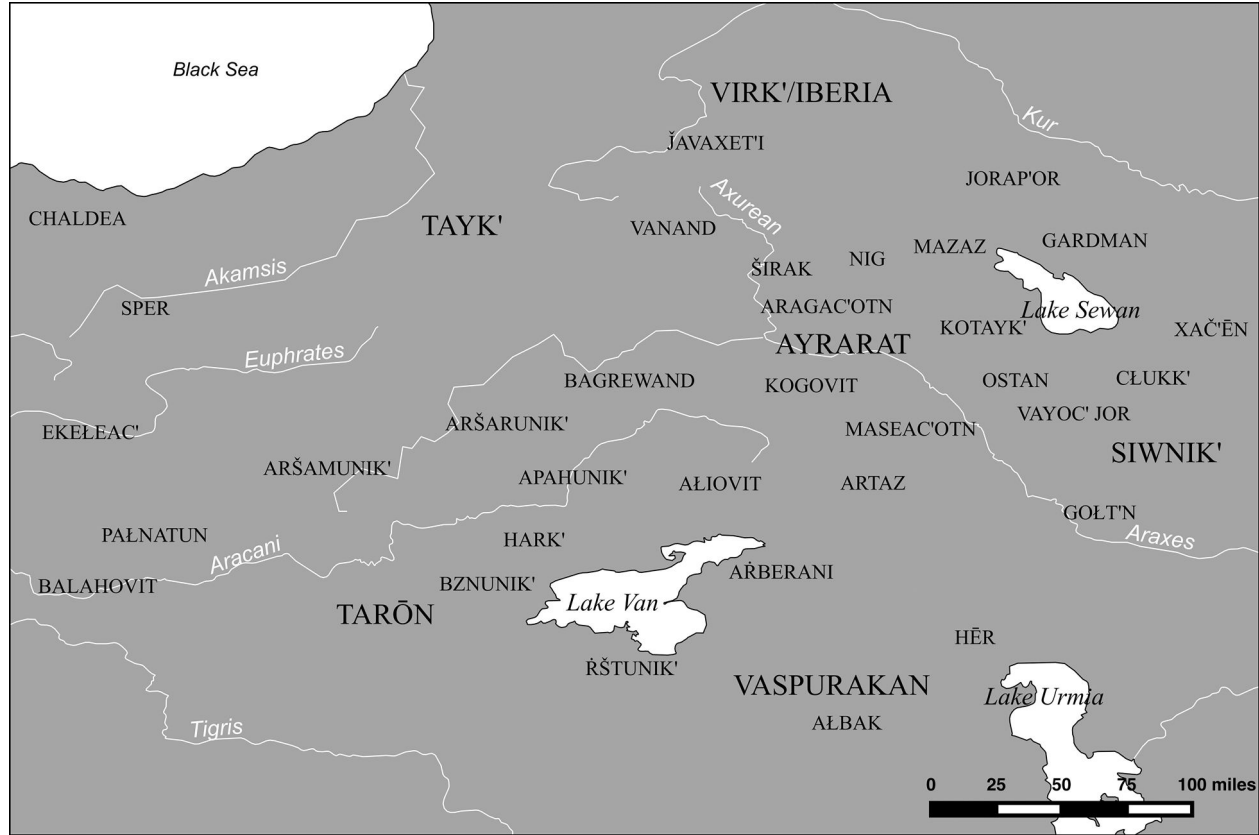
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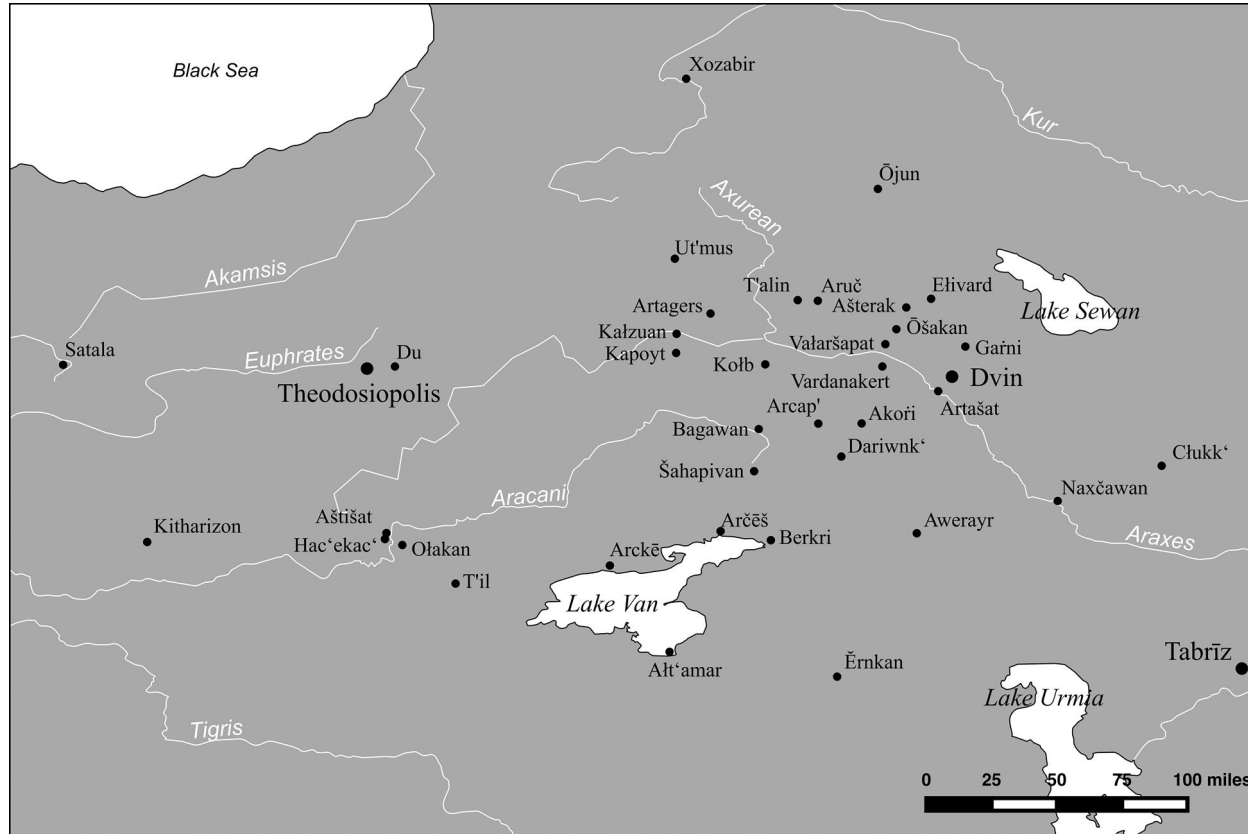


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Map II. Districts of Armenia recorded in Book II. Drawn by and reproduced with permission of Emma Dove



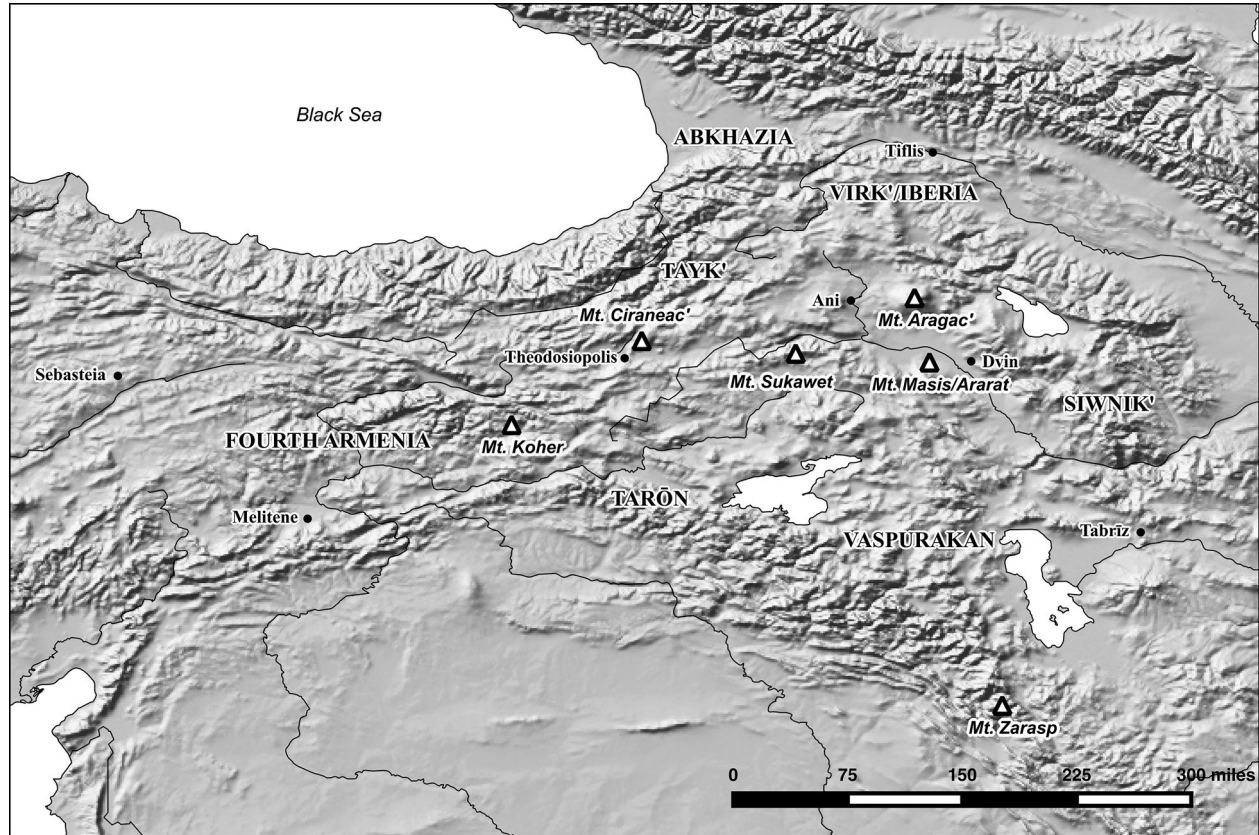
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Map VI. The Caucasus in relief. Drawn by and reproduced with permission of Emma Dove

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## *Note on Indices*

The following indices reflect the human and topographical dimensions of this study, comprising lists of names of people and places as they occur. They are not limited to the translated text but cover the Introduction and all the footnotes as well, allowing readers to trace individuals and locations throughout the study. The page numbers relate to this volume and not an edition of the text.

Both are arranged alphabetically. The index of personal names uses first names rather than attempting to group by family names or dynasty. Where different figures all have the same first name—a common occurrence in Armenia with so many figures called Ašot, Smbat, or Step'anos—I have adopted the following sequence: firstly, homonymous imperial or clerical leaders with the numeral usually associated with them, so 'Constantine VII'; then homonymous individuals who also employ a family name, so 'David Bagratuni of Lori-Tašir, son of Gurgēn'; and finally those identified by their first name only, but who may be distinguished further through some relationship, office or function, so 'Sargis, *azat* of Vaspurakan'. This approach has avoided some challenges but has had the effect of extending the index and disrupting the strict alphabetical order.

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